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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME XCVII.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

Rulers of India. The Marquess of Hastings, K. G. By MAJOR ROSS-OF-BLADENSBURG, C. B. Coldstream Guards. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press, 1893.

MAJOR Ross of Bladensburg, C. B. is responsible for the memoir of the Marquess of Hastings in the Clarendon Press "Rulers of India" series. Himself a distinguished soldier and man of action, he has been able to appreciate the character of the soldier statesman who, more than a hundred years ago, did so much towards laying the foundations of the India Empire broad and deep. Major Ross is modest, calls his work a compilation, and is careful always to cite his authorities. If other writers of history would be equally self-sacrificing, what much better histories we should have ! In this sketch of the Indian administration of Lord Hastings, there are no fads aired, no theories interfering with the warp and woof of the story to be told : 'tis a plain unvarnished tale, and as such it is valuable. Four preliminary pages are devoted to the genealogy of the Norman French family of Rawdon-Hastings which owed its origin to Robert, Portgrave of Hastings, and dispensator, or steward, of William the Conqueror—a family not lacking in achievements and honours. John de Hastings, Seneschal of Aquitaine, was, in 1290, an aspirant to the throne of Scotland, in right of his grandmother. Shakespeare has made all the world familiar with the prominent part taken by the family in the Wars of the Roses. In 1583 one of the daughters of the House received the doubtful compliment of an offer of marriage from Ivan the Terrible, Tzar of Muscovy. Good Queen Bess, although she knew that the barbarian despot had a wife already (whom he proposed to repudiate), desired to promote the alliance : happily the girl's family were less selfish, less inclined to subordinate humanity to statecraft.

Francis Rawdon, after a course of schooling at Harrow, when Dr. Sumner was Head Master there, was, in 1771, at the age of 17, gazetted an ensign in the 15th Foot. This, however, did not interfere with his education, which he prosecuted by matriculating at University College, Oxford, and proceeding immediately on the grand tour considered necessary a hundred years ago as a finishing touch for young gentlemen of quality. This occupied rather more than a year, and then he was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 5th Foot. So far his soldier-

ing had been all on paper ; now it began in earnest, for he had to embark immediately with his new Regiment for America, to take part in the War of Independence. In America, he staid nearly eight years, gaining his first great experiences of life and action. At the battle of Bunker's Hill he displayed such conspicuous gallantry as to attract special notice from General Burgoyne, and soon afterwards was promoted Captain in the 63rd Foot, and made aide-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton. In 1777, we find him raising a Regiment of Irish Volunteers, of whom he was given the command, and which, under his leadership, greatly distinguished itself, but was seemingly incorrigible in the matter of desertions. The future Marquis of Hastings dealt characteristically with the difficulty :

A man was caught in the act of going over to the enemy ; instead of trying him by court-martial, Rawdon brought him on parade before the whole regiment, and delivered him over to his comrades, in the most impressive way, to be judged, and punished or acquitted. The officers were all ordered to withdraw, and in a short time the offender was convicted and immediately hanged on the next tree. Desertion thenceforward was almost unknown among the men of the Irish Volunteers.

Another matter was dealt with characteristically. *More Americano*, wholesale charges of cruelty were brought against British commanders, Rawdon amongst others. In connection with which we read that, in February 1782, a motion by which it was sought to condemn the execution of one Isaac Haynes, an American taken in arms after having given his parole, was brought forward in the House of Lords. It was defeated ; but Rawdon, who had been in command at the time of the execution, and who had, in truth, done what in him lay to save the man, was so incensed by the reflection on his character, that he demanded and obtained a public apology from the mover of the motion. On his return to England, Rawdon found that, during his absence in America, he had been returned member for Randals town, Co. Antrim, to the Irish House of Commons. In 1783 he was raised to the peerage of Great Britain, under the title of Baron Rawdon of Rawdon, Co. York. Becoming warmly attached to the Prince of Wales and his cause, he gradually drew away from the Pittites, the party he had first associated himself with, and in 1787 openly joined the Opposition. In his biographer's opinion—

He was certainly ambitious, and dreamt of power, but he also sought and stipulated for independence, and he endeavoured to make a position for himself, with a party of his own, by coming prominently forward to advocate the interests of the Prince on the Regency question. The recovery of the King, early in 1789, frustrated the hopes he entertained, and he does not appear again in political life until 1797. He still, however, took an interest in some public

questions, and, in 1793, attempted unsuccessfully to alter the harsh laws then prevailing against insolvent debtors.

The times were not as our times. It is odd reading that, at the personal request of the king, he acted as second to the Duke of York in the duel between him and Colonel Lennox in May 1789. It is still more odd, having regard to the punctilios of the law of duello then obtaining, to find him taking credit to himself for having rendered Lennox's aim unsteady by delaying the signal to fire. It is doubtful whether we of this generation are at all able to conceive what the word loyalty meant for gentlemen in the days before the French Revolution had topsy-turvied so many traditions.

By the death of his father in 1793, Rawdon became the second Earl of Moira in the Irish peerage. Soon after, he was made Major General, and undertook an expedition to La Vendée, to support the attempt there being made to stem the tide of Revolution in France. It was a fiasco. Lord Moira had better luck in Flanders, and the good he did for the British Government entailed loss on his family after his death, when "some thousands of pounds were exacted from Lady Hastings, to liquidate a charge which had been incurred for the benefit of the public service, and which had enabled the Duke of York to receive a substantial reinforcement when the British army under his command was in imminent danger." Parliament probably appointed a committee to look into the matter, and do justice; and that tantalization was all that the poor lady ever realized out of what was owing to her. Lord Moira was not a Parliamentary success, though his Parliamentary career throws servicable side-light on his character. In 1799, in all seriousness, he sent a sort of manifesto to Colonel McMahon, announcing—

That a large number of Members of Parliament who supported the Government had proposed that he should become Prime Minister, to the exclusion of both Pitt and Fox; and he intimated that he was quite ready to form an administration if the King wished it, but that he declined to co-operate with the greater part of Pitt's colleagues, especially the Duke of Portland, and would only admit a few of Fox's friends; his 'hancellor of the Exchequer was to be Sir J. Pulteney. This news, according to his critics, 'threw the whole town into paroxysms of laughter,' and drew the following remarks from his old friend and late commander Cornwallis: 'It is surely impossible that Lord Moira's letter can be genuine; if it is, excess of vanity and self-importance must have extinguished every spark of understanding, and I am sure there was a time when he had sense.'

* Cornwallis Correspondence, ii. 329. Readers of the Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, will remember the 'Ode to Lord M—ra' written upon this occasion, of which the following is the last stanza:—

Old P-l-t-n-y too your influence feels,
And asks from you th' Exchequer seals,
To tax and save the nation:
T-ke trembles, lest your potent charms
Should lure C—s F—x from his fond arms,
To your Administration.

Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, p. 55; Ed. Lond. 1799.

Per contra, Lord Moira's views on Irish affairs and the policy proper to be pursued in that then, as now, "most distressful country" were statesmanlike and in advance of his time. In the Irish House of Lords, as well as at Westminster, he frequently called attention to the grievances of the Irish people, to the hardships inflicted on them by the military, to English want of sympathy and conciliation, to the manifold political disadvantages under which the Irish laboured, as aliens and suspects. He opposed the Union, on the ground that it was not acceptable to the people, and advocated Catholic Emancipation in the teeth of Protestant bigotry, and the opposition of his political party. He went so far in his enthusiasm as to justify, or to be understood to justify and encourage the Irish Jacobin movement that broke out in armed rebellion in May 1798.* His exuberances notwithstanding, Moira was admitted to the Privy Council when Fox and Grenville came into office, in 1806, and was appointed Master of the Ordnance. He stayed in office only for a year, when there came a cabinet split on the question of appointments in the Royal Household, and Disraeli's "arch mediocrity," Lord Liverpool, wriggled into office. (Imagine, now-a-days, the collapse of a Ministry on such a question as the appointment of a Mistress of the Robes, and Ladies of the Bed Chamber! Parliament is pettyfogging enough still, but on different lines; not to such hurdy-gurdy tune as that.) Lord Moira always had luck on his side. His hearty interest in backstairs politics commended him to the first gentleman in Europe, Prince Regent by that time, who made him a Knight of the Garter, and, on Lord Minto's resignation, contrived to have him rewarded with the appointment of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India. It was a position for which he was much better fitted by nature and training than the court intrigues that made up so much of Parliamentary life in England under the Georges: a high position for which he was at many points prepared and suitable. He had military ability and experience: he was liberal minded, and when disassociated from Court kickshaws and undermin-

* Moira's views received a rude, if not an amusing, illustration, when, only a short time after making one of his most violent speeches against the Government, the rebels selected his demesne near Ballynahinch as their battlefield against the King's authority. The wits of the day thereupon composed 'A New Song' called 'Ballynahinch,' in which the following lines occur:—

'Determin'd their landlord's fine words to make good,
They hid pikes in his haggard, cut staves in his wood;
And attack'd the King's troops—the assertion to clinch,
That no town is so *Loyal* as Ballynahinch.

Oh! had we but trusted the *Rebels'* professions,
Met their cannon with smiles, and their pikes with concessions;
Tho' they still took an *ell*, when we gave them an *inch*,
They would all have been *Loyal*—like Ballynahinch.'

Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, p. 214.

ings, considerable strength of character, and faculty for independent judgment. Of his personal integrity and scrupulous sense of honour, according to his lights, there could be no question. He sailed from Portsmouth on the 14th April, 1813, and landed at Calcutta on the 4th October following. He remained in India rather more than nine years, and of his administration there, Major Ross of Bladensburg renders succinct and faithful account. Into particulars of it we do not propose to enter: there are no new lights thrown on the history of the times, or Lord Hastings' views on administration to induce our doing so. The Major's table of contents prefixed to his book will sufficiently indicate to Indian readers what they may expect. Here it is—

Family History; War of American Independence, 1754-81; Further Military Services; Political Life; Appointed Governor-General of India, 1781-1813; Condition of India in 1813; The Story of a Treaty; the Gurkha War, 1814-16; The gathering of the storm: Events in Central India, 1814-16; The struggle, 1817; The Pindary war; The Maratha powers rise in revolt; The final overthrow of the Maratha powers, 1818-19; Reconstruction in Central India and in the South-West, 1818-23; Foreign relations: Internal affairs: the great case of Palmer and Co.; Administrative Reforms; Conclusion; Lord Hastings' Work in India; Index.

His biographer claims for the Marquess of Hastings that—

When he reached Calcutta, English possessions were disjointed and fragmentary, long frontiers had to be guarded and maintained, communications between the parts were uncertain and difficult, rapid access to many of the provinces impossible. These territories were in contact with turbulent and hostile neighbours, and were exposed to the desolating effects of unchecked violence, and to the ruin and misery caused by inroads of predatory hordes. The Maráthá communities were in a state of anarchy, their rule was one of devastation, it was continually destroying and never repairing.* The numerous bands of freebooters and mercenary troops that infested the country, crushed the inhabitants and sorely embarrassed government within the Company's borders. Development was checked, peace was precarious, and the stability of British authority was in imminent peril of being overturned and annihilated.

All this was changed by the Marquess of Hastings. The hostility of Nepal was overcome, and the northern frontier was secured. The Maráthá combination against British rule, and the predatory system which threatened the Company's territories, were annihilated. Central India was settled and pacified. In a word, the independent Native States who conceived in 1813 that they could expel the English from India were defeated, and in 1823 every prince in that vast region up to the Sutlej was brought into subjection to the Government of Calcutta.†

In so many words, Hastings' policy was a continuation of Wellesley's. His earlier career is less well known to Indian readers: therefore we have given prominence to the earlier chapters of this biography.

* Opinion of Sir T. Munro; Auber, ii. 529.

† Summary, &c., p. 35.

Boswell's Life of Johnson. Edited with an Introduction by Mowbray Morris. London : Macmillan and Co. and New York, 1893.

STURDY, strong-minded, self-sufficient Samuel Johnson was a British Worthy of the eighteenth century whose fame has outlived that of wiser men of his time, and whose memory will always be kept green amongst Englishmen because he was such a thoroughgoing, typical John Bull, stalwart, dogmatical, ever ready to back his opinion in season and out of season with the bulldog tenacity and enduring courage that Englishmen recognize as a racial trait, and nationally pay homage to with a grunt of satisfaction. Following in that respect the personal embodiment of their repressed proclivity to a hero-worship that has died, that has got beyond reach of contemporary jealousies, and, after adequate lapse of time, has had a tablet in laudation of its talents and virtues put up in some parish church, thanks to the liberality of the provisions of some moribund Philistine's last Will and Testament, executed with a view to the then main chance of "laying up treasure in Heaven."

Posterity's thanks are due to the notoriety-hunting Boswell for his rescue of Johnson's memory from oblivion. The men foremost now to cast stones at his sycophancy are identically the same natured men as those who now frequent backstairs in the interest of "Society" journals, and habitually put themselves on a par with the gossip and scandal-mongering of Servants' Halls, and who so win credit in the guild of Literature, and are knighted and made baronets of, for doing what they turn up their noses in society at Boswell for doing. Nature has been duly and unduly reprobated. Boswell was far from being one of Nature's gentlemen. If he had been, we should never have had his inimitable life of Johnson ; but it is a fouling of their own nest when latter day writers for "Society" papers and reviews air their wits at Boswell's expense. Whatever his faults and fallings away from canons of æsthetic, or even Society perfection may have been—and they were not few—Boswell was a painstakingly *honest* biographer. Therein lies his sufficient title to the regard and respect posterity entertains for his work. A fool? Certainly. It nevertheless happens that a man with a fairly-balanced mind will assimilate to himself more wisdom from Touchstone and other Shakespearean men in motley, than he will be able to do from Plato, or Schopenhauer even. To young men of this competitive generation, Johnson, Boswell, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Topham Beauclerk, the Literary Club are unbræ. How nobly Johnson withstood patronage, and, against the attacks of personal privation and hardship, held his citadel of in-

dependence, is an old story. It will do nobody any harm to read it over again in these pages: some weak spirits may, by the reading, be strengthened in reasonableness; others will find pleasure in the literary flavour of the canny Scot's chef d'œuvre. The 718 pages which Messrs. Macmillan and Co. have had steam-pressed into a handy octavo volume, are full of interesting information, abound in unplatitudinarian morals, can never be dull in the ear of sensible, catholic-minded men of the world.

The time had come for a new edition: the only fault we have to find with this one, is that it is printed on too thin paper, in too thin ink and too much of it in type so microscopic that no man over 30, having proper regard for his eyesight, will attempt to read at all the extracts from correspondence, footnotes, &c., and that no man at all can hope to read the body of the book by lamplight—the time when most men are prone to, and have most leisure for reading. Some day, perhaps, men will comprehend what is the rational, essential meaning of the word cheap. Meanwhile, since we cannot get what we want, let us be thankful for what we have got—to wit, from a literary point of regard, the best arranged life of Johnson that has ever appeared in print. Malone, Macaulay, Carlyle, John Wilson Crocker, (the “slashing” *Quarterly Review* critic of Disraeli's *Coningsby*) have all had their share in the laying of foundations for it: Mr. Mowbray Morris has ornamented its cornices with a sympathetic introduction. He wins praise to himself by his modesty, saying:—

“Of the present edition there is little to say. Neither the plan nor the size of the series to which it belongs permits much indulgence in the alluring, though often dangerous, pastime of annotation, had I been disposed to exercise it. All Boswell's own notes have of course been preserved, and distinguished with the initial B. That is the first duty of every editor; but it is a duty which the portentous length, tediousness, irrelevancy of some of Boswell's notes must often have tempted his editors to omit. For the rest I can claim to have done little more than feed upon my predecessors, who have, indeed, left little more to be done. My own contributions are few and unimportant; what has been selected from others will, I trust, be found to the purpose.

Discriminating readers will not find Mr. Morris's glosses on his text either unimportant or unneeded. Nor will they incline to quarrel with his generous apology for Boswell.

We cannot indeed apply to poor Boswell all the fine and generous judgment pronounced by Johnson on Goldsmith; but though he was not a very great man, at least we can surely now afford to forget his frailties.

It should be remembered, too, that Boswell was essentially a man of whom it may be said, that he was his own worst enemy. No member of that distinguished society which he so assiduously courted, seems to have nourished an unkindly feeling for him. He often

annoyed them by his importunities and indiscretions, and he sometimes more than annoyed them. But the vexation soon passed. It would, indeed, have been impossible to take Boswell seriously enough to be really angry with him for long. The lines which Pope, in jest, wrote on his own character, would stand in sober earnest for Boswell's.

Still idle, with a busy air,
Deep whimsies to contrive ;
The gayest valetudinaire,
Most thinking rake alive.

The very frankness of his follies, the sublime audacity with which he flourished them in the faces of his friends, dissolved anger in laughter. Laugh at him they must and did, but they could not dislike him. And against his failings must be set off his cheerfulness, his good temper, his real fondness for his friends, the meekness with which he bore the just reproofs he so often earned, his admiration for all that was good and great, which, though often ludicrously expressed, nor always capable of preserving him from admiration for other things that were neither great nor good, was undoubtedly genuine. His extraordinary want of tact, and his transcendent vanity made him often seem malicious, and his desire to stand first with Johnson sometimes took the form of deprecating those whom he found in his way ; yet his nature was generous and kindly at the core. But Johnson's attitude to him is at once the best explanation of Boswell's character and the best testimony to his worth. Though often laughing at him, scolding him, insulting him, there can be no question that the great man in his heart loved his little friend well. Boswell might, in truth, be called the Oliver Proudfoote of the society he has immortalised.

Boswell did many foolish things. Ninty-nine men out of a hundred do, without being accounted fools. Boswell's misfortune, rather than his fault, it was to have lived before Carlyle's time, and not to have realised the worldly wise efficacies of the dogma, "Silence is Golden." Nobody has as yet had cheek enough to call Edmund Burke a fool. Burke babbled as much as Boswell with more pomposity, but no whit more to the purpose ; not so much ; and Burke pronounced Boswell's portraiture of the Master at whose feet the saved had been content to sit humbly as a disciple should be "a greater monument to Johnson's fame than all the Doctor's writings." Reynolds declared that "every word (of Boswell's) might be depended on as if given on oath." These were contemporary judgments delivered by competent judges.

For men who care to put themselves *en rapport* with the 18th century Mr. Morris's vindication of Boswell will not seem the least interesting part of his discriminate piecing together of contrary opinions.

We advise re-reading or initial-reading of Boswell's life of Johnson. Like all talking men, he talked too often for mere talking's sake and the glory of it, as Mr. Gladstone does in our own time : *e.g.*

In talking of Hackman, Johnson argued, as Judge Blackstone had

done, that his being furnished with two pistols was a proof that he meant to shoot two persons. Mr. Beauclerk said : " No ; for that every wise man who intended to shoot himself, took two pistols that he might be sure of doing it at once. Lord _____'s cook shot himself with one pistol, and lived ten days in great agony. Mr. _____, who loved buttered muffins, but durst not eat them because they disagreed with his stomach, resolved to shoot himself, and then he ate three buttered muffins for breakfast, before shooting himself, knowing that he should not be troubled with indigestion : he had two charged pistols ; one was found lying charged upon the table by him, after he had shot himself with the other. " * - " Well," said Johnson, with an air of triumph, " you see here one pistol was sufficient. " Beauclerk replied smartly, " Because it happened to kill him. " And either then or very little afterwards, being piqued at Johnson's triumphant remark, added, " This is what you don't know, and I do. " There was then a cessation of the dispute ; and some minutes intervened, during which dinner and the glass went on cheerfully ; when Johnson suddenly and abruptly exclaimed : " Mr. Beauclerk, how came you to talk so petulantly to me, as ' This is what you don't know, but what I know ? ' One thing I know, which *you* don't seem to know, that you are very uncivil. " BEAUCLERK : " Because *you* began by being uncivil (which you always are). " The words in parentheses were, I believe, not heard by Dr. Johnson. Here again there was a cessation of arms. Johnson told me, that the reason why he waited at first some time without taking any notice of what Mr. Beauclerk said, was because he was thinking whether he should resent it. But when he considered that there were present a young Lord and an eminent traveller, two men of the world with whom he had never dined before, he was apprehensive that they might think they had a right to take such liberties with him as Beauclerk did, and therefore resolved he would not let it pass ; adding, " that he would not appear a coward. " A little while after this, the conversation turned on the violence of Hackman's temper. Johnson then said : " It was his business to *command* his temper, as my friend, Mr. Beauclerk, should have done some time ago. " BEAUCLERK " I should learn of *you*, Sir. " JOHNSON : " Sir, you have given *me* opportunities enough of learning, when I have been in *your* company. ' No man loves to be treated with contempt. " BEAUCLERK (with a polite inclination towards Johnson). " Sir, you have known me twenty years, and however I may have treated others, you may be sure I could never treat you with contempt. " JOHNSON : " Sir, you have said more than was necessary. " Thus it ended.

Horae Sabbaticae. Reprint of Articles contributed to the *Saturday Review*. By Sir James FitzJames Stephen, Bart., K.C.S.I. London, Macmillan and Co., and New York, 1892.

MEN with a bent toward metaphysic will enjoy the third volume of *Horae Sabbaticae* as much as its two predecessors. Berkeley is done justice to ; Abraham Tucker is resuscitated and rendered respectable ; it is pointed out that the moral teaching of his *Light of Nature* has passed into other forms, and is to be got in a condensed shape in Paley's *Moral Philosophy*. Sir FitzJames Stephen holds that there are

* This looks like the origin of one of Sam Weller's famous anecdotes.

still reasons for reading Tucker's *Light of Nature* even in these days, and that those who "discharge that task," will get from the book something which they will hardly find anywhere else. Mainly, it would appear, a serviceable *Religio Laici*. Paley and his *Evidences* are by way of being rehabilitated, the reader thinks, as he begins that essay :—

The great difference between Paley and the later writers who are now in fashion is, that he writes professedly as a controversialist, maintaining special propositions, which he states with the greatest care and proves point by point, instead of writing merely as an historian, trying to appreciate and revive the events of a past age. Each method has its advantages, and we are a little apt, in our passion for understanding and describing past ages, to underrate the importance of establishing specific propositions. The number of unsupported conjectures, of omissions of inconvenient passages, of determinations to put a nineteenth century construction upon sayings and doings of a different age in the world, which we meet with in such books as *Ecce Homo*, or M. Renan's works, lead us sometimes to regret the precision, the measured language, and even the affectation of understating his case, which occur in every page of Paley.

Half a dozen pages further on, Paley is damned. Thus, touching his chapter on Christian Morality—

This chapter has always seemed to us the worst and most ignoble performance that can be pointed out in any book which can, in any sense of the word, be called great. It is essentially mean, and it is closely connected with an observation which the whole tone of the book suggests, though it would not be easy to quote any particular passage to prove it. It is that Paley nowhere gives the least indication of his being sensible of the fact, that the moral beauty of Christianity, and the personal influence and character of its founder, would of themselves, and quite apart from the question of miracles, exercise a prodigious influence over the first Christians.

He is constantly asking what motive the first disciples could have had for running such risks and taking so much trouble, unless they had seen miracles worked which fully satisfied them that it was their interest to do so. It never seems to occur to him, that they had the very strongest motive known to human nature—namely, passionate love and enthusiastic devotion, excited by a wonderful manifestation of that type of goodness which exercises the most powerful effect on most of those who are capable of being much influenced by sympathy. It is not quite easy to forgive him for missing this evident truth, in his anxiety to give proof that would satisfy a court of justice of the fact of miracles having been performed; but this ought not to blind people, as it often does, to the real force of his argument, which we think is greater than it is usually supposed to be, notwithstanding this defect.

There are four essays on Burke and his statemanship—somewhat heavy, as was inevitable to the subject. Cobbett is fairly treated, Tom Paine scornfully :—

To say that he (Bishop Watson) fully answers all the difficulties which Paine starts would be untrue. They are, and will long continue to be, the subject matter of one of the broadest and deepest controversies in the world; but is quite true to say that he gave the answers which at

that time were supposed to be the proper ones, in a way which showed conclusively that he was a most accomplished gentleman and scholar, and that Paine was coarse, brutal, grossly ignorant, and in the last degree rash and presumptuous. In our own days some of Paine's theories are advanced in a very different manner from his, and are defended by weapons which he did not know how to use; but, with every respect for the Episcopal Bench, we know of no living bishop who can write like Watson.

A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary. Including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian Literature, being Johnson and Richardson's Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary revised, enlarged, and entirely reconstructed. By F. Steingass, Ph.D., of the University of Munich, Author of the Student's Arabic-English Dictionary and of the English-Arabic Dictionary. Published under the Patronage of the Secretary of State for India in Council. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Ltd., 13, Waterloo Place, S.-W., Publishers to the India Office.

THE special motive of his formidable undertaking is described by Dr Steingass in a learned, and not too long preface, an extract from which will be the best means of informing scholars as to his object and methods:—

Persian is so deeply imbued with Arabic, and the two languages have, in the course of time, become so intimately connected in the literature of the former, that sooner or later the student of Persian must become a student of Arabic also, if he aspires to take rank as a Persian scholar of real eminence. When this moment has arrived, he will naturally have need of an Arabic dictionary, constructed on a plan most conducive to the acquirement of that language, and based on the knowledge of its grammar. But what he will want until then is a copious Arabic vocabulary, "chiefly in relation (to quote Johnson's words) to the indefinite extent to which the best Persian writers avail themselves of the Arabic language, either to enrich their style or to display their erudition." While fully acknowledging the legitimacy of this object, it has nevertheless been thought that the accomplished and conscientious scholar who formulated it, in carrying out his task, has partly gone beyond and partly fallen short of his own standard. He himself admits that he retained in his work not only "a large number of Arabic words of very questionable usefulness, merely because they had found a place in the former editions," but also added "many others which may *possibly* be foreign to Persian literature, but which *may* also be found in it, and of an explanation of which the student may occasionally stand in need." To justify this somewhat haphazard mode of proceeding, the plea "that superfluity appeared preferable to deficiency," would only hold good if this very indictment of deficiency in some essential points could not be urged against his compilation.

It seemed more advisable to restrict the selection to such words as may either *reasonably* be supposed to occur in Persian authors, or which are *actually* found in the prescribed text-books, and in those productions of Persian literature the perusal of which will be most beneficial to the student. In the former direction it appeared to the present author that a collection made by a learned Persian for the

use of Persians had a paramount claim to serve as a groundwork for this part of the undertaking. 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd al-Husainī, the author of a highly-valued Persian dictionary, called the "Farhangī Rashīdī," has made a collection of this kind under the title of "Muntaabu 'l-lūghāt," dedicated by him to Shah Jahān of Dehlī. The following reasons have induced the author to embody the whole of this compilation in the present dictionary :—

'Abdu 'r-Rashīd professes in the introduction to his work to have made from the "Qāmūs," the "Surih," the "Siḥāh," and other sources, a selection of those Arabic words which are "necessary (*zarūriyāh*) and of frequent use (*kaṣratu 'l-isti'māl*)," and to have explained them in Persian equally "comprehensible to the popular understanding (*ʿām-fahm*) and approved by the educated (*khāṣṣ-ḥasaṇa*)." What he means by *necessary* and *of frequent use* becomes evident from the passages which he quotes in support of his explanations, and which are exclusively taken either from the chief Persian poets, as Firdausī, Anwarī, Khaqānī, Nizāmī, Sa'dī, Hāfiz, &c, or from the Qur'ān and Hadīs. This implies that the words selected by him are indispensable to a Persian of a studious turn of mind who is anxious to understand thoroughly the poetry of his own language, or who aspires to an initiation into the knowledge most highly prized by Muhammadans, namely, that of matters theological, moral, and metaphysical, which abounds in quotations from and allusions to "the book" and the "traditions." If, therefore, an acquaintance with such words is considered indispensable to the Persian student, it must be so *à fortiori* to the student of Persian.

The "Muntakhab," however, takes no notice of a large number of Arabic words which have become naturalized in Persian, to such a degree that a Persian of average education needed no explanation on their account. Foremost among these are many current technical and scientific terms. A discreet choice of vocables of this category was considered indispensable, especially in reference to grammatical and metrical terminology, with which a student must make himself acquainted if he wishes to understand the native commentaries on the great Persian poets.

Still greater importance has been placed on including in this dictionary Arabic words in daily use, such as in reality are met with in the best Persian authors from the days of the "Shāhnāmāh" to the Rūznāmāhs (Diaries) of the reigning Shāh. For this purpose their principal works, especially those read for examination, have been carefully gone through, with the result that the information given by Johnson under many of his Arabic headings has been largely supplemented by instances where the Arabic words enter into Persian phrases of a highly idiomatical character.

Summarily we may say that Dr. Steingass lays claim to comprehensiveness for his work. The work appears to have been executed with conscientious thoroughness; in scholarly fashion, too, and with a happy avoidance of pedantry. Turning cursorily over the leaves of this Dictionary one realizes what a "carpet-bag language" Persian is. *e.g.*, and by way of illustration of a new lexicographer's war with words, take this instance :—

آتش *ātiṣh*, Fire; light, splendour; rage; levity, fickleness; valour, value, dignity; dearness, scarceness; (met.) the Devil; a courageous man, bold, brave; a lover; fire of love; desire, appetite, greed;

digestive heat ; sulphur ;—*ātishi āb-parwar*, A sword of good temper ;
—*ātish az āb bar āwardan* (*afrokhtan*), To do something extraordinary
or wonderful ;—*ātish az chasmi kase gīftan*, To frighten ;—*ātish az*
chanār āyad, It happens unexpectedly ;—*ātishi azhdahā*, The seven
planets ;—*ātishi āsmān*, a thunderbolt ;—*ātish āshāmīdan* (*khawwīdan*,
noshīdan), To grieve violently ;—*ātish uftādan* (*gīftan*, *raftan*), To
catch fire ;—*ātish afgāndan* (*andakhtan*, *rekhtan*, *sadan*), To set on
fire ;—*ātish ba jīn*, Sorrow, grief ; desire, love ;—*ātishi basta*, Red
gold ;—*ātish ba dāstar bastan* (*bar ziri pahlū gustādan*), To suffer
wrong, to be oppressed ;—*ātishi barzīn*, Name of the sixth fire-temple ;
—*ātish bar kardun* (*kardun kashīdan*), To set a fire ablaze ;—*ātishi*
bahār, A rose, a tulip ; the beauty of spring ;—*ātishi bī bād*, Wine ;
the bustle of a market ; injustice, oppression ;—*ātishi bī dād*, Wine ;
injustice, oppression (*ātishi bī dād afrokhtan*, Glorify injustice) ;—
ātishi bī dūd, The sun ; rage, fury ; wine ; a ruby ;—*ātishi bī zabāna*,
Wine ; a precious stone, as a ruby, a cornelian ;—*ātishi pārsī*, The
Persian fire, the disease called St. Anthony's fire ; pustules breaking
out on the lips after a fever ;—*ātish pāshīdan*, To be hasty, or un-
steady ; to oppress ;—*ātishi pur āb*, Wine ; tears of grief ; a goblet
of wine ;—*ātishi paimāna* (*jām*), Wine ;—*ātishi tābanda*, The burning
sun ; human nature ;—*ātishū tāk*, Wine ;—*ātishi tar*, Wine ; the lip
of a mistress ; a ruby, a sapphire ;—*ātishi tazwīr*, Soup for the sick ;—
ātishi toba soz, Wine ;—*ātishi fāni zabag*, Red wine in a goblet of
crystal or silver ;—*ātishū hajar*, Fire struck from a flint ; a ruby, a
cornelian ;—*ātishi khāmosh*, A fire that throws out no sparks ; an
extinguished fire ;—*ātishi khāmosh kardān* (*sard kardān*, *kushtān*
nishāndan), To extinguish a fire (*khustān*, *mardān*, *nishāstan* are
construed with *ātish*, in the sense of being extinguished) ;—*ātishi*
khas pos, A lip on which mustachios are sprouting ;—*ātishi khawr-*
shed, The light of the sun ; love ; grief ;—*ātish dādan*, To fire ; to
shoot ; to provoke ; to unsettle the mind ; to abandon ;—*ātishi dlhān*,
A burning up of stubble, to fertilize the land ;—*ātish raz*, Wine made
from grapes ;—*ātishi rūhāniyān*, Angelic bodies ;—*ātishi roz*, The
sun ; light and heat ;—*ātish sadan*, To set on fire ;—*ātishi zar*, Lustre,
elegance, beauty ;—*ātish zaman*, The sun ;—*ātish ziri pā dāstan*, To
be restless ;—*ātishi sard*, Red wine ; the lip of a mistress ; gold ;—
ātishi sag, The dog-violet ;—*ātishi sum*, Fire struck from a stone by
the hoop of a horse ;—*ātishi sandā*, Love ; pensiveness, melancholy ;
—*ātishi sayāl*, Red wine ;—*ātishi sīmābsūn*, The sun ;—*ātishi shajar*,
Wine ; a pomegranate ;—*ātishi subh* (*salīb*), The sun ;—*ātishi tab'*,
Moroseness, hairiness ;—*ātishi tūr*, The fire that appeared to Moses
at Mount Sinai ;—*ātishi fārsī=ātishi pārsī* above ;—*ātishi fusrda*,
Congealed fire, i.e. gold ;—*ātishi qāfila* (*kārvān*, *manzil*, *wādī*), A
fire lighted by the caravans at night, to direct those who have remain-
ed behind ;—*ātishi qibrīt*, A fire kindled with brimstone ;—*ātishi gul*,
The splendour of a rose, a flower ;—*ātishi qanāt*, The ardour of the
heart, of love ;—*ātishi kutf*, Bounty, liberality ;—*ātishi mujassam*, A
well-tempered sword ;—*ātishi mi'da* (fire of the stomach), Hunger ;—
ātishi mūsh, The fiery pillar which served as a guide to the Israelites ;
—*ātish nishāndan*, To extinguish a fire ; to appease anger ; to quell a
riot ;—*ātishi namrūd*, The fire into which Abraham was cast by
Nimrod ;—*ātishi naistān* (*nāyistan*), The beauty of the spring ;—
ātish u āb, A sword ; a goblet of wine ;—*ātishi wādī imān*, The
sacred valley in which God conversed with Moses ;—*ātishi haft mij-*
marah, The seven planets ;—*ātishi hindī*, An Indian sword ;—*bar*
ātish nishāstan, To become ruined.

Footprints of Statesmen during the eighteenth century in England.

By REGINALD BALIOL BRETT. London : Macmillan and Co., and New York 1892.

“**F**OOTPRINTS of Statesmen” is dedicated to a youth of fifteen, and avowedly does not make an attempt “to rise to the dignity of history.” To our thinking, it goes considerably over the heads of youngsters of fifteen, and imputes to them a precocious knowledge of the world, and of the fruits of the Tree of Evil, which we should be sorry to think common amongst fifth form boys. On the other hand, regarded as historical essays, the eight chapters that make up Mr. Brett’s book need not be disparaged as being beneath the dignity of history.

The subjects of which they treat, are the very backbone of English history, they are unfolded with a simplicity that evinces skill, and a student of real history—as opposed to a record of dates, conquests, treaties and royal marriages—will be sure to derive instruction and profit from it, though scarcely at such an immature age as fifteen.

The following criticism, taken almost haphazard, illustrates our meaning.

The songs said to be contributed by Swift to the *Beggar’s Opera* compare favourably with those by Gay himself. It is, however, as a writer of simple prose, in which he clothed ideas of singular ingenuity, and reflections of curious and manifold interest, that Swift will be remembered. Among ephemeral writers upon controversial topics, he is unsurpassed. Not even Junius can be compared with him. His place among men of letters is especially interesting as the founder, in England, of that great school of journalism of which Voltaire and Diderot were the origin in France, and which has become part of the machinery of government in both countries.

Here is another bit of criticism, apropos of Gay, the *Beggar’s Opera*, and the Duchess of Queensberry.

In fighting the battle of her literary friend, she presumed so far as to incur the displeasure of the King, and to find herself excluded from Court. Her written reply to the verbal intimation that her presence would not in future be pleasing to the Sovereign, was couched in a form that would create astonishment even in these democratic days : “The Duchess of Queensberry is surprised and well pleased that the King hath given her so agreeable a command as to stay from Court, where she never came for diversion, but to bestow a great civility on the King and Queen.”

No one would have been more astonished than the Duchess of Queensberry, could she have foreseen that a century and a half later, the Lord Chamberlain would still retain and exercise the power to suppress political caricature on the stage. Arbitrary as Walpole’s act of rigid censorship appeared to his contemporaries, it should not cause surprise in these days.

Two well considered schemes of reading for adolescence are contained in an Appendix.

Eminent Persons Biographies. Reprinted from the *Times*. Vol. I, 1870-75. London: Macmillan and Co., and New York, and The *Times* Office, Printing House Square, 1892. *

IT is a happy thought on the part of Macmillan and Co., and the political engineers who rule the world from Printing House Square, to reprint *Biographies of Eminent Persons*, derived from bygone issues of their journal, unbound and perishable. The *Times* spent a fortune, a few years ago, in exposing Fenian machinations against the State, and did so at a far greater than mere money loss. It has never been dominated by either fear or favour: it is a deal more representative of the broad bottom of British interests than the House of Commons is; it is never afraid to say what it thinks, and to act in accordance with its convictions. These tendencies, and their makings for righteousness and common sense views on public affairs, are fairly well exemplified in the 34 essays bound up in the book before us (1870-1875).

Lord Mayo figures in the obituary notices, and is appreciatively noticed; Lord Dalling and Bulwer, too, less accredited to fame than his more brilliant brother, the author of "The Caxtons," "My Novel," and many other ephemeral productions.

Lord Dalling was a second son, but had the good luck to inherit a fortune from an ancestress. Harrow and Cambridge and the Guards had primarily the educational making of him. *L'homme propose mais Dieu dispose*. Captain Bulwer managed to win between £6,000 and £7,000 at play in Paris, and thereon, promptly and sagaciously entering the Diplomatic Service, found his *metier*, his proper work in life, and, out of a reverse of fortune, won for himself reputation and honour.

Eminent Persons is an olla podrida, in which the Count de Montalembert and Baron Liebig, Manzoni and Samuel Wilberforce, the Bishop of Winchester, Sherard Osborne and Arthur Helps are jostled together in kaleidoscopic variety. The salient facts of their careers are set forth tersely, or sympathetically, as the case may be; morals are, where necessary, drawn. In short we have in this book a collection of short biographical histories of public men of our own time and their public actions. A book useful as a political aide memoire, as well as a collection of crisp *multum in parvo* memoirs of great men. We shall look forward to future volumes of "Eminent Persons."

Indian Wisdom; or Examples of the Religious, Philosophical, and Ethical Doctrines of the Hindus. With a brief history of the Chief Departments of Sanskrit Literature, and some account of the Past and Present Condition of India, Moral and Intellectual. By Sir Monier Monier-Williams, K. C. I. E.,

M. A. Hon. D. C. L. Oxford ; Hon. LL. D. Calcutta ; Hon. Ph. D. Gottingen ; V. P. of the Royal Asiatic Society ; Hon. Member of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Bombay, and of the Oriental and Philosophical Societies of America ; Boden Professor of Sanskrit ; Hon. Fellow of University College, Oxford, etc. Fourth Edition, enlarged and improved. London : Luzac & Co., Great Russell Street, publishers to the India Office, 1893.

A FOURTH edition of Sir Monier Monier-William's *Indian Wisdom* has just been published by Messrs. Luzac & Co. A note following the title page informs us that the author has made in it various additions and improvements. Many will be sorry to hear that the state of his health did not permit him to revise the proof sheets. Not that the book has suffered from that cause : it is indeed free from reproach at all points, and indispensable as a guide to all who are desirous of understanding the inner springs of the religious and social life of Ancient India.

Students of Aryan law and affinity are well aware of this, and know Sir Monier's happy style of conveying information and suggesting suggestive comparisons. Good wine needs no bush. We are not going to review and praise over again work that has already been reviewed and praised. This notice is by way of being an advertisement to scholars rather than anything else. Turning over the pages of the book it has struck us that the following verse from Hitopadesa epitomises the pith of most Hindu philosophies.

Pain and not pleasure has a real existence—
'Tis hence the name of pleasure is applied
To that which gives relief from present pain (92).

Surely never in the world's history was there another people so well disposed to make pain a pleasure. Underlying regard for asceticism pervades the typical man of all the encasted Hindu races on the continent.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Tatini. A volume of Poems. By the authoress of *Pramila*.
Printed at the Kohinoor Press, Calcutta 1299 B. E.

WHEN an educated Bengali lady turns out an author, she writes poems just as a literary English lady is almost sure to be a novel writer. The first literary efforts of educated females in Lower Bengal that date their existence twenty-five years back, were poetical effusions contributed to the columns of the vernacular journals of the time, and up to this day the tendency to pour out their souls in verse does not show any sign of decline among them. The Bengali authoresses of the day, with one or two exceptions, are all distinguished as writers of poems. Perhaps there is no reason to wonder at this circumstance, for it is a historical truth that, in the infancy of the growth of the male mind in India, its literary efforts were hymns or songs, which were but poems in a simpler form. The female mind in Bengal is now but in its first stage of development, and perhaps it is following an inevitable psychological law in lisping out its first thoughts in metrical language.

There are now about half-a-dozen Bengali poetesses whose productions posterity will not willingly let die. Girindra Mohini Dassi, Swarna Kumari Devi, Prasannamoyi Devi, and Miss Kamini Sein have produced works that have enriched the poetical literature of Bengal. We have no hesitation in adding to these names that of the fair writer of the volume under notice. It is not for the first time that Srimati Pramila Devi is before the public as an authoress, and the reputation for poetical powers that she has acquired by her first volume of poems, published under the name of "*Pramila*," is undoubtedly enhanced by her later publication now before us. We have been struck no less by the command of a chaste and elegant style that she displays than by the rich poetry with which almost every piece in *Tatini* overflows. Srimati Pramila's poems are distinguished by their truth and tenderness, their simplicity and deep pathos, and their feminine grace and exquisite finish.

The most unflinching constancy and conjugal fidelity have always been the noble characteristics of the Hindu married woman. One would, therefore, expect that the poetical effusions of Hindu ladies should bear on them the stamp of this trait in their character. There is in the book under notice, a remarkable

poem, headed “শুভ দিনে” addressed to the authoress’ husband, on the day of their wedding, which is peculiarly illustrative of the depth and intensity of conjugal devotion in a Hindu female heart. The poem is a real gem, and we need not apologize for quoting it below :—

শুভ দিনে শুভ ক্ষণে এস আজ এস সখা !
 শূন্য এই হৃদয় আসনে,
 ও তোমার অঁখি তারা অঁধারে আলোক ধারা
 চিরদিন ঢালে যেন প্রাণে,
 যেন, উজলিয়া যদি সর, ফুটে থাকে নিরন্তর*
 ও চরণ কমল তোমার,
 তোমারি আননে সখা ! পূরে যেন জীবনের
 সৌন্দর্যের পিপাসা আমার !
 ফুটিলে প্রভাত রবি কুমুমের চারু ছবি
 দেখি যেন তোমারি নয়নে,
 উষার তরুণালোকে সৌন্দর্য্য ভূষিত বুকে
 যেন, নাহি হয় ছুটিতে কাননে ।
 যখন, দেখিয়া সন্ধ্যার তারা হৃদয় উদাস পারা,
 চেয়ে রব গোখলী আকাশে,
 তুলি ওই অঁখি তারা, ঢালিয়া প্রণয় ধারা
 তুমি এসে দাঁড়াইও পাশে ।
 যখন ভূষিত বুকে, ভ্রমিব মলিন মুখে,
 মরুময় নিঠুর সংসারে
 ও প্রণয় সিন্ধু হতে বারি বিন্দু দিও, নাথ !
 শীতলিয়া তাপিত অন্তরে ।
 জীবনের সব সাধ প্রাণের বাসনা, নাথ !
 ঘুমাক ও চরণে তোমার !
 তোমারি স্নেহের স্বরে মেটে যেন চিরদিন
 প্রাণের আকাঙ্ক্ষা আমার !
 জানিনা হৃদয় তব, দেখি নাই এ জীবনে,
 হাতে বেঁধে দিতেছে সংসার ।
 আমি শুধু এই জানি দেবতাও অদৃশ্য ত
 পূজি তবু চরণ তাঁহার,

তোমায় (ও) দেবতা বলি দিতেছি এ পূজাঞ্জলি,
 দিতেছি এ হৃদি উপহার,
 পেতেছি হৃদয়াসন এস তবে এস সখা !
 লও প্রেম অঞ্জলী আমার !
 অদৃশ্যে জগত পিতা ! শাস্তিময় করে তুমি
 বেঁধে দাঁও যুগল হৃদয়,
 পবিত্র বন্ধন এই কভু যেন নাহি ক্ষয়,
 আশীর্বাদ কর দয়াময় ।

Jñān O Dharmer Unnati, or Sermons on the Progress of Knowledge and Religion. By the Chief Minister of the Brahmo Samaj. Taken down by Kshitindra Nath Tagore. Published by the Adi Brahmo Samaj. Calcutta, 1815, Sak.

THIS book is a collection of sermons by the venerable patriarch of the Theistic Church in India, known as the Brahmo Samaj. Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, who is now far advanced beyond his grand climacteric, and has devoted his whole life to the cultivation of his naturally strong and vivid religious instincts, commands the deepest reverence and confidence of many of his countrymen as a religious leader. He is looked upon as an individual whose whole career has been a bright example of a God-devotedness, deep, fervent, sincere and steady, comparable only to that believed to have been possessed by the *Rishis* of Ancient India. It is no wonder then that his admirers have for a long time delighted to call him a *Maharshi*, or a great *Rishi*.

The book under notice is devoted partly to illustrating the gradual steps by which the Indo-Aryans attained, with the progress of general knowledge among them, to a high conception of God and of the duties of man, and partly to elucidating the contention that the discoveries of modern Science only serve to strengthen the intuitive belief of man in the existence of a Supreme Soul of the Universe. What strikes one most in the book is the spirit of fervent religiousness which glows in every page, and which cannot fail to exercise a sanctifying influence on the reader's mind, making him feel a better man and empowering him to get a glimpse, as it were, of a high and pure state of spiritual enlightenment and felicity. One of the great ideas which the work is calculated to instil into the mind of a reflective reader is that God is both Law and Love ; an idea which is in perfect harmony with the most enlightened religious thought of the day, and which has found

beautiful expression in the following well-known lines of Tennyson :—

“God is law, say the wise, O soul, and let us rejoice ;
For if He thunder by law, the thunder is yet His voice.
Speak to Him, then, for He hears, and spirit with spirit may meet.
Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.”

We highly commend *Jñān O Dharmar Unnati* to all who find solace in that high order of religious thought, which is untarnished by dogmas, unperverted by bigotry, and unadulterated by the subtle quibbles of metaphysical sophistry.

Bichārpātī Dwarka Nath Mitrer Jiban Charita, or A Biographical Sketch of the late Justice Dwarka Nath Mitra. By Kali Prasanna Dutt. Calcutta, 1299, B. E.

THE late Justice Dwarka Nath Mitra was an eminent member of the English-educated class in Bengal, one who did much to raise the Bengalee race in the estimation of the civilized world. He was one of the few natives of India who combined in himself some of the best features of the European character with many of those excellent qualities that characterize his own nation. As a judge of the Calcutta High Court, he has left a name which may be mentioned in the same breath with the noblest ornaments of the Bench of that Court, with judges like the late Sir Barnes Peacock, who himself thought very highly of Dwarka Nath. There are few among the worthy sons of Bengal who better deserve the monument of a well-written biography than the late Justice Mitra. It is somewhat singular that though Dwarka Nath died in 1874, his life appears in 1893. This fact is only illustrative of the apathy to the production of biographical works which afflicts Bengalee authors.

The biographer Baboo Kali Nath Dutt, deserves all praise for the pains he has taken to bring out the book ; but the manner in which he has treated his subject is hardly up to our expectations. The author is apparently a novice in the art of writing. In style and thought, the book betrays a want of culture, of which fact the author seems to be absolutely in blissful ignorance. The predominant feeling with which we rise from a perusal of the work is that a life of Dwarka Nath Mitra remains yet to be written, one which would prove his most fitting memorial amongst his countrymen for generations to come.

Parinaya Rahini. Printed at the Bharat Mihir Press, Calcutta 1299, B. E.

IS a small volume containing several thrilling stories illustrative of the pernicious consequences of some Hindu

marriage customs. Kulinism which entails the marriage of one man to many wives, irrespective of extreme disparity of age and other objectionable circumstances ; the practice of what virtually amounts to the selling of brides that prevails among *Srotriya* Brahmins ; the demoralising custom of putting high prices on bridegrooms by their fathers or guardians, now widely prevailing among the *Kayasthas* all over Bengal, a custom which is proving absolutely ruinous to men who are fathers of many daughters ; the vicious habit of wealthy and well-to-do elderly Hindu widowers to take unto themselves wives of tender age ; these are the social customs and practices that form the theme of the stories in *Parinaya Kulin*. The stories which have real occurrences for their basis, are told in a highly impressive manner, with excellent taste, and striking effect. They cannot fail to move the hearts of even the most callous of the custom-ridden Bengalee Hindus or the most recklessly unprincipled and blind worshippers of Mammon and Eros among them. We are hopeful the book will do great social good. We shall be glad to see steps being taken to give the publication the widest possible circulation among those whom it is intended to enlighten, instruct, and reform.

Police O Lokerakha, or Police and Protection. By Ramakhay Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1892.

THERE are few or no Bengalee authors who would think it worth their while to write exhaustive works on subjects concerning practical politics, for politics is regarded in Bengal as belonging exclusively to the sphere of the newspaper editor. It is for the first time, if we are not mistaken, that we see a Bengalee writer publishing a pretty comprehensive work on a subject which is thought to come only within the purview of the vernacular journalist. "Police and Protection" is a departure from the ordinary run of Bengalee books, and the author deserves the credit of being the pioneer in a line of vernacular literary work which we should be glad to find pursued by other Bengalee authors. Baboo Ramakhay Chatterjee, who is on the retired list of the Bengal Subordinate Executive Service, has had, by reason of his office, splendid opportunities to study and investigate the subject with which he so ably deals in the publication under notice. We are much pleased to read the second chapter of the work, which is thoughtful and has a special value, as it contains many practical observations and some suggestions as to the reconstitution and improvement of the Police in these Provinces, and although we may not quite agree with the author in all his opinions, we strongly think that they deserve the attention and consideration of the Government and the public.

Gorāya Galad. By Rabindra Nath Tagore. Printed at the Adi Brahmo Samaj Press, Calcutta, 1299. B. E.

IS a farce or rather a farcical comedy, the evident object of which is to ridicule certain frivolities and vagaries of a class of Bengalee youths, chief among which are a spirit of vain sentimentalism, and a mock Multhusianism, softened by a touch of dreamy romance, and so superficial in its character as to give way under the weight of the least pressure or the semblance of a pressure from friends or relatives, and whenever temporarily persistent, subsisting only on a feeling of crossed love or on a fanciful longing for union with girls for whom a special liking has been clandestinely conceived. *Gorāya Galad* is a capital caricature of this strange type of lackadaisical and frivolous young Bengalees, of whom we are afraid, there are not a few. The farce is brimful of pleasant wit and humour, and written in a style having a special charm of its own. The characters are strongly drawn, and we almost feel that some of them are drawn from real life. The production bears marks of that originality, freshness and power which so prominently distinguish all other performances of Baboo Rabindra Nath, and give them an individuality of their own.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

- A Grammar of the Hindī Language*: In which are treated the High Hindī, Braj, and the Eastern Hindī of the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās, also the Colloquial Dialects of Rājputānā, Kumāon, Avadh, Rīwā, Bhojpūr, Magadhā, Maithilā, etc., with copious Philosophical Notes. By the Rev. S. H. Kellogg, D.D., LL.D., of the American Presbyterian Mission, North India; Member of the American Oriental Society; Author of "The Light of Asia and the Light of the World;" etc., etc. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., Limited, Paternoster House, Charing Cross Road, 1893.
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 193.—JULY, 1893.

ART. I.—CURIO-HUNTING IN A BENGAL BAZAAR.

INDIA is a ruin, beautiful only by moonlight ; and, like a ruined temple, old India's beauties dwell no longer in perfect design and harmonious unity, but linger in fragments and details—a shattered architrave, a broken capital, "cornice or frieze with bossy sculpture graven."

The dying genius of India soars no more to broad and lofty conceptions ; her failing inspiration is dwarfed and stunted to curious and minute beauties, intricate ivories, quaint enamels, and mosaic miniatures. Where ancient India's sculptors hewed the giant bas-reliefs from Elephanta's rocks, and cut the stately curves of Orissa's Tiger-Cave, her children of to-day carve graceful figures and statuettes of stone but a hand's breadth high ; and where the old artist drew Ellora's thousand friezes, the modern intricately adorns an inlaid cup, or delicately chisels a diminutive vase.

In the shadow of some ancient pile of sculptured stones, are huddled together the huts of the modern Indian craftsmen, who busy themselves to reproduce on some ivory miniature, or marble toy, the grand curves and tracery of the mighty ruin above their heads. They imitate nothing, they invent nothing ; their traditions and models are millenniums old. There, in the lucent air, under their withered palm-leaf screens, they work away noisily, merrily, with the garrulity of a nation's extreme old age.

Beneath a pale, hot sky that glistens fiercely round the flaming sun, we made our way among the huts, under the stiff plumes of the cocoa-nut palms, along the red, dusty path that led to a bazaar, clustered round the ruins of an old Bengal Raja's palace. The distant rattle of a wandering juggler's drum reached us ; the clang of an anvil ; the loud croak of a purple crow that looked askance at us from the roof-pole of a doorless hut. Faint wreaths of pungent blue smoke tinged the air, mingling with the damp woody odour of bamboos.

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A crowd of chattering, naked dusty children escorted us, in noisy, delighted excitement, laughing and shouting to us, "Mem-Sahib, baksheesh! Ekti paisa do, Sahib! Mem-Sahib, paisa do!" and tripping and tumbling against each other in their eagerness; and one little toddler, a plump coffee-coloured boy, decorated with a belt of old coins and keys, constituted himself our bodyguard, and did us signal service by dislodging the gaunt, ugly pariah dogs that howled and snarled at us, but slunk away rebuked before the little fellow's fat brown fist, or pink, spurping heel, undipped in their dusky Styx. At last, turning a corner under a quaint old arch, or watch-tower, of crumbling dull red brick, we found ourselves in the sun-steeped bazar, with long rows of sheds of Hindu artisan and Mussulman merchant ranged on each side of the narrow street, with its heaps of red dust, broken straw, sleeping pariah dogs, and brown, naked children; the whole gay with a bright-clad, laughing throng, that our appearance only stimulated to fresh noise.

The burning air penetrated the whole picture, and gave its colours a brilliancy only seen in eastern lands. As we entered the bazar, an old village woman, in faded grey muslin *sari*, squatting on a much worn mat, began screaming to us the virtues of her wares, heaps of green plantains, scarlet chillies, white garlic, blue brinjals, and brown and yellow nameless fruit, ranged round her in a crescent on the mat. At her right hand, and well within sight and grasp, a little pile of dirty coppers, and brown-streaked cowrie shells, the currency of her village wares.

We appeased her by a purchase and calmed the vehemence that lighted up her thousand wrinkles, receiving some carefully counted cowries as our change.

While our bargaining with the old fruit-seller went on, a few craftsmen and shopkeepers left their sheds, and, gathering round us, volunteered advice and criticism, opening up wordy discussions on their own and their neighbours' wares. "Come, Mem-Sahib! come to my shop!" cried one, a keen wiry fellow, with bright, restless eyes, the end of his white muslin scarf flung jauntily over his brown right shoulder;—"Come to my shop and see the new stone platters and dishes I have brought from Patna! very nice, *bahu! achcha!* Mem-Sahib!" This last condescendingly in Hindustani, the only native language ladies are supposed to understand. "No, Sahib!" interposed a gaunt, hawk-like, one-eyed man; lean, and with sunken chest. "Come first and see my beautiful Dacca muslins!"

"Your Dacca muslins, indeed!" laughed a third; "why, you weave them here in a back lane and then put Dacca labels on them!" At this the crowd all laughed, and the hawk-like man retired discomfited.

"No, Mem-Sahib!" cried another, a silversmith, redolent of his charcoal forge; "come and see my bangles and female ornaments, all made of Company rupees!"

"Come first and see my lamps and Ingreji (English) goods, Sahib! Mem-Sahib says she wants to buy some silver ornaments:" cried the silversmith. "No! Mem-Sahib says she wants to see my Kashmir cloths," cried a big, Jewish-featured Kabuli merchant, far paler than the undergrown Bengalis round him. And so on till we were rescued from this babel-din by the arrival of a white-robed, spectacled village schoolmaster, who at once took us under his protection in virtue of having once been a Government clerk; and whose grey hair and semi-official position, supported by an unlimited assumption of dignity, gave him a position of authority amongst the crowd.

He assured us, with a magnificent wave of the hand, that the cloth merchants were low fellows, and that the only shop really worthy of our visit in the bazaar, was the stone-carver's, an honest fellow, who, by the way, happened to be his brother-in-law. So we were led to the stone-carver's shed by the sympathetic crowd of shopkeepers, with a penumbra of chattering children, the little schoolmaster being in command. The shopkeepers and artisans deserted their wares to join our crowd, in complete mutual confidence, and with a grand oriental politeness that seemed to say that all their own business, however important, must be laid aside while they minded ours.

When we arrived, the sole occupant of the stone-carver's shed was a wrinkled, gray-haired woman, with that air of arid antiquity, and shrewish world-weariness that overtakes all low-caste Indian women in early middle age, but withal a cheerful relic, seated on a clean grass mat, and surrounded by tiers of saucers, rice-dishes, and broad platters of grey Patna soap-stone, so soft that, when fresh quarried, you can turn it on a lathe, or carve it with a penknife.

Here a noisy diversion was created by the arrival of another old woman, more arid than the first, screaming out imprecations, gesticulating wildly, and evidently bent on doing a mischief on her of the stone platters. "Come, Sahib! listen, Mem-Sahib!" she vehemently cried. "Don't look at that vile Padma Bibi's stone platters! Padma Bibi is a base fraud, and may all her dirty platters tumble down and smash her head!" (great applause from the infantile penumbra);—"Come, Mem-Sahib! come quick, and see my stone platters! the best in the bazaar! come quick, before it is too late!"—this with a despairing glance over her shoulder.)

We were at a loss for the key to this mystery, but our crowd of sympathetic counsellors seemed fully to understand and enter into the dispute. The little old schoolmaster took up the

cudgels for Padma Bibi, and bore down on the intruder with his umbrella—the Bengali's natural weapon of defence—, exclaiming:

"Get away, you low-caste woman! Don't you be trying to interlope into our bargain with your, dirty dishes, you! Here comes my brother-in-law! He knows more about Patna stone than anyone in this bazaar!"

The "low-caste" woman, in reply, poured out a torrent of oburgations on the heads of Padma Bibi, the schoolmaster, his brother-in-law, their man servant and their maid-servant, and then retreated to her own shop discomfited, and growling at the loss of a bargain. Arrived there, she cooled her rancour, and restored her equanimity by puffing vigorously at a dirty hookah, firing from between her lips wreaths of the vilest smelling tobacco smoke in the world, as if every puff were a shot levelled at the heart of the reprobate schoolmaster, or that infamous rival in platters, his fraudulent brother-in-law.

When the brother-in-law arrived, the oburgatory old lady's eagerness to get possession of us, and her tempestuous uneasiness at his rivalry were justified, for he turned out to be a real connoisseur of stone-carving, and more than deserving of the little schoolmaster's interested encomiums. After introducing himself as the owner of the shop, and the brother-in-law of the little schoolmaster—once a Government clerk and thereby a distant but determined relation of the British Indian Government in general, and of ourselves in particular, the new arrival began to take down from dusty shelves, little stone figures of Hindu gods, saints, and Yogis, curiously carved, elephant-headed Ganeshas, the milkmaid Radha, her beloved Kisto "Krishna," seated in contemplation in the Lotus-posture, Mahadebs, Naradas, and a dozen more.

From a dark nook among the rafters he brought out a smoke-stained group of half-a-dozen Rishis, joined elbow to elbow, curiously cut in grey stone, and strongly reminding us of some carved oak panel of mediæval saints or apostles. From yet another corner he unearthed some beautifully carved and polished elephants, a few of them exquisitely finished; all diminutive. One little elephant in particular, that held a twisting lotus-stem in his trunk, was altogether admirable as a work of art; the big bosses on his forehead, the skin folds on his flank, the stiffly bent knee, the restless flick of the tail, that almost seemed to move, went as far as the sculptor's art can go.

We could well believe the brother-in-law's assurance that the little elephant was a hundred years old, for the once gray stone had turned to glossy black with age. But the sculptor's ideal must have been millenniums old; for never in India now do you see such sleek, well-favoured pachyderms; the goodly

curves of Leviathan have shrunk and shrivelled away with the withering glory of his mother India.

As the stone-carver laid down together on the mat a four-handed, tusked and trunked Ganesha, and this beautifully moulded little elephant, one could not but fall a moralising on the vast gulf that separates the symbolic sculpture of the high-caste Brahmans from the simple, perfect naturalism of some low-caste artist, such as he who carved this little elephant.

What perverse inspiration was it, what malign whisper of the powers that rule unbeauty, that led the metaphysical Brahmans to embody their transcendental imaginings in cosmology in solid marble and lasting stone? These sculptured nine-fold Ravanases, these seven-headed Serpents, and much-armed Kalis, expressed in stone, are as dissonant and discordant as a chapter on quaternions set to the music of Apollo's lute.

But for this metaphysical cloud to misguide the sculptors' chisels, we might have had an Indian school of sculpture, beautiful and natural, as this carved elephant showed, even if rather stiff and solemn than graceful, rather Egyptian than Greek. Even now these sculptured Rishis possess in many things the rudiments, or even considerably developed characteristics, of a true Indian school of sculpture. They embody, with a considerable fidelity, a high type of physical development; the craftsmen have even been able to give them a certain moral dignity and thought; and in their repose and quiescence they strongly remind us of the sculptured dynasties of the Nile.

These Egyptian analogies are frequent enough in Indian sculpture; many of the faces in the bas-reliefs of Elephanta are pure Egyptian in type; and I remember once seeing a native clay-modeller, who had never left his village in a remote corner of Bengal, moulding a perfect Sphinx head, Egyptian head-dress and all, under the impression that he was making an idol of the Indian Durga.

Our reflections on the lost school of Indian sculpture were cut short by our guide, the grey-haired pedagogue, who pressed us to conclude our bargain with the brother-in-law, and, at once relieving us of our purchases, entrusted them to the nearest small boy, with instructions to carry them to our tents. Gopal, or Kartik, or whatever his name may have been, was at first reluctant to leave the fascinating bazaar, but at last consented on the understanding that baksheesh was in the wind.

When he disappeared at a run with our treasures, "Mem Sahib," who had not understood the arrangement, was aghast at what seemed to be the loss of her spoils; but at last the little pedagogue persuaded her that he was a very good little

boy, and would take them quite safe. While "Mem-Sahib" was still unpacified, the small boy appeared breathless and radiant for his baksheesh, averring his intention to spend it on *Sandesh*, to us, unattractive compound of molasses, rice, and ghee. Then Gopal faded into the penumbra, and we saw him no more. In the evening, however, "Mem-Sahib" found her treasures all safe, and duly delivered; Gopal was vindicated. From the stone-carver's shed we turned, still under the guidance of our friendly pedagogue, to a hardware merchant's store, full of cheap lamps and coloured glasses, stoneware cups and bowls, glass beads and steel watch-chains, for the most part made in Germany or Belgium.

I am sorry to say that our gray-haired, spectacled guide, who was old enough to have known better, and the whole bazaar after him, expressed the warmest admiration for these worthless examples of showy vulgarity, devoid of every artistic or imaginative merit, and I believe nothing but their respect for our superior purchasing power prevented them, in the character of future possible sellers, from expressing openly their contempt at our strong preference for native over foreign wares. The harm that these wretched imported vulgarities do to Indian taste and Indian arts is very great, for the very reason that these arts are no longer creative, but traditional and imitative, and have no inherent vital force of their own to counteract foreign influences and the attraction of showy novelty.

But the harm that globe-trotting buyers do is far greater. To mention a few cases out of many, their uncultivated taste, or rather total absence of any taste whatsoever, has altered, debased, and vulgarised the style of Madras gold thread work, Delhi silk embroidery, Benares brasses, and Murshidabad ivory; so that at present there are in the market two widely different styles of each of these arts, the one old, and rapidly going out of fashion, representing the real traditional artistic expression of the old Indian nations; the other new, and rapidly growing in favour, an exotic medley of neo-romantic æstheticism with old Aryan designs, a monstrous mixture of modern Bond Street and ancient Benares. It was a relief to leave these Belgian novelties, all unpurchased, in spite of our guide's insistent protestations, and turn to the shed of a clay modeller, whose tastes and methods were still incorrupt.

The modeller, a grizzled little man, with white turban over his smiling brown face, was a genuine enthusiast for his work, and a true artist in his own way. Not content with splendidly modelling little figures of Brahmans, merchants, sepoys, coolies, cultivators, and a dozen others, he even went the length of colouring each with the exact shade of brown, chocolate, or café-au-lait, that race, caste, or occupation had given to each

of his subjects. More than this, he even adorned with eyebrows, eye-lashes, beards shaven and unshaven, flowing locks, or single fore-lock, the faces of his subjects, according to their caste, age, custom, or personal whim; and he had given so much life and character to his studies that an ethnologist might have learned a great deal from his little figures, about the tribes and races of Lower Bengal.

Here, for instance, was a Brahman, pale, with large forehead, finely formed nose, sunken chest and narrow shoulders; a Mussulman, evidently from the North-west, darker than the Brahman, with the turban and slippers of Delhi, and the disdainful air of a conquering nation.

Beside them, a sweeper, a low-caste Hindu, far darker than the others, shaven, but with grizzled chin, three days unshaved; turbaned, but without the jaunty air of the Delhi Mussulman, and carrying under one arm the bundle of twigs that marked the occupation of his caste; then a Bengali policeman, in the queer blue uniform and red turban that the Bengal Government prescribes, his face so finely finished that anyone familiar with Bengal could recognise him for a convert to Islam, but of Bengali blood, and not a follower of the conquering Mughals; beside the policeman, a dhobi—an Indian washerman—a bundle of clean clothes on his back, with dishevelled turban, light flowered muslin vest, and with that look of pensive, meek humility that Bengali *dhobis* have beyond the rest of the human race. Amusing and interesting to us were a series of Indian servants in the garb and habit that Anglo-Indian custom imposes on its domestics.

The whole series of them were there, the butler, *Khansamah*, with bland, suave visage, every feature breathing consciousness of his importance, and a subdued melancholy in his eyes, telling that he might, an if he would, disclose strange things about his occidental masters; then the *bearer*, so called, perhaps, because he has to bear much besides the clothes and boots that are the rightful objects of his attention; then the *Khidmatgar*, the cook, the deputy cook, the syces, and the whole throng of them that live so well and work so badly.

It seemed to us that the modeller turned from these with regret, and even with some slight disdain, to the other branch of his trade, the making, moulding and modelling of sundry idols, gods, and goddesses, and dolls, the former for the pious at festival times, the latter for the little dusky wights of our penumbra. There were Naradas, Durgas, Kalis, Rishis, Krishnas, Hanumans, and so on, carelessly moulded and bedaubed with red and yellow and blue, their turbans and robes included in the clay, and not delicately fashioned of fine muslin, like the scarfs and head-gear of the modelled natives.

The dolls were strange beyond imagining ; mere red columns of clay, with nobs for arms, ears and noses, and strange conical headdress of clay, painted shiny black. These grotesques at first gave me a poor opinion of native infant intelligence, that would allow itself to be put off with such an apology for a plaything ; but then "Mem-Sahib" pointed out that it was greatly to the honour of their imagination that the little Bengalis could build on such a slender basis an imagined thing of beauty and a likeness of the human race.

We bade farewell reluctantly to the gay little modeller, not unfurnished, however, with specimens of his skill.

Next door to the clay-modeller, if one may say so of open sheds that had no door, a withered little man—for almost all Bengali artisans are small of stature—plied one of the strangest arts that even that wild, out of the way bazaar could boast of. He was a maker of the shell bracelets used in sets of four in the Hindu ceremony of betrothal ; he cut them delicately with a fine steel saw from the great white conch or *shankh* shells of the Indian ocean. Then, carefully polishing them, a line or two of vermillion, with delicate pencilling in yellow, a hole pierced to bind the four together, and the shell bracelets were ready to manacle the dusky little Durgis and Padmas securely for this world and the next. The pencillings on these shell bracelets are very curious ; they seem, with the runic cross marks on the edge, to bear some mystic meaning, the tale of some old talisman, once religiously believed in and dreaded, but now long since forgotten. The tinkle tinkle of the four fold bracelets of shell on the little brown arms is very pretty and musical. After the shell-cutter, our guide took us, still followed by the interested, noisy crowd, with its fringe of merry children, to the workshop of a *Kanchari*, or worker in white brass. With evident pride in his occupation, he told us that his family had for generations belonged to the brass-working guild of Khagra, a suburb of Berhampore, where they make the finest white brass work in Bengal, and, indeed, as our *Kanchari* told us, in the whole universe. The mainstay of his trade was the manufacture of those brass bowls and platters, goblets and cups which, for food and for devotion, have filled an all-important part in Hindu households since the days of the old law-giver Manu. Without them, no Hindu could duly perform his daily ablutions and prayers, or eat the *chaul* and *dal* that his caste rules prescribe. Without them his mate and helpmeet would be deprived of the most important of her daily tasks—the burnishing and polishing of these cups and platters by the riverside in the morning, before the sun has heated to burning the yellow sand that borders on the stream.

A charming picture they make every morning, on some stream

of the holy Ganges, these groups of Hindu women, in their bright muslin *saris*, busily burnishing the shining brass, by the edge of the blue, calm water, mirroring the temples and palms on its bank ; and the high-prowed native craft that float lazily down with the languid stream ; when the clang of the oar in the row-lock, and the blade's dull splash in the water echo gong-like over the quiet stream, and, ever and anon, some snatch of a boatman's song, weird, musical, unearthly, completes the magic of the picture.

How they make this white brass is uncertain, though tradition says it contains some silver, like the Moscow bell-metal of old ; the red ingots of copper are brought in bullock-carts from the boats that lie by the wharves of the river-ports on the Ganges and its streams.

Besides these main subjects of his trade, the *Kanchari* made and painted little brass spice boxes, cups and trays, whose uses were mostly unintelligible to us ; and, yet another branch of his art, little brazen gods and goddesses and heroes repeated again the types we had already seen in stone and clay. While the brass-worker and the little schoolmaster were initiating me into the kindred and relationships of all these Ganeshas, and Durgas, and Mahadebs, I noticed that Mem-Sahib, weary of mythology had disappeared. For a minute or two there was no clue to her whereabouts, but a laughing, noisy crowd round the *dokan* of the Kashmiri cloth-merchant, who had fallen under the little pedagogue's displeasure when we first entered the bazaar.

Leaving the brazier's shop, and joining the crowd at the Kashmiri's door, I saw Mem-Sahib, in the dark recesses of the shop, gravely discussing with the tall merchant the merits of certain Persian printed cloths which, it seems, she had unearthed from under his bales of Indian muslins.

The objects of discussion lay unfolded on a clean grass mat on the floor ; the Kashmiri on one side gravely held up both hands, with fingers spread, to signify the rupees ; Mem-Sahib, on the other, with equal gravity held up three fingers to indicate her valuation of the Persian prints. The Kashmiri shrugged his shoulders, raised his eye-brows, and evinced other oriental signs of surprise at the "ridiculous" offer made to him for his wares. "Don't pay the rupees, Mem-Sahib ! Very much dear !" whispered the little schoolmaster mindful of his former animosity, and struggling with a very evident fear of the tall, broad-shouldered native of Kashmir. "Kashmiri people, very thieving people, Mem-Sahib ! don't buy that dirty old Parsi (Persian) cloth ! Look ! buy one of these nice Bilaté (European) shawls. See, I have got one of them myself—" proudly showing a cheap German textile, then the fashion in the bazaars ; "and all the Bengali gentlemen wear them now."

Beside these German shawls were several rolls of green and scarlet baize, the former evidently destined originally to furnish billiard-tables ; it had, however, caught the popular taste, and almost threatened to oust German shawls in the most fashionable circles of Bengali gentlemen. Since then I believe, green and scarlet baizes have become more and more "distinguished" for ordinary bazaar and collegiate wear.

Mem-Sahib, however, resisted the little pedagogue's blandishments, and hardened her heart to the enticements of Hamburg and Elbe-feld novelties, and at last, after ten minutes hard bargaining, managed to get the pair of Persian cloths for five rupees, evidently to the discomfiture of the Kashmiri, who, however, did not like to hold out, in view of possible further purchases. Evidently the Kashmiri was unpopular in the bazar, for the crowd vented its admiration of Mem-Sahib's victory and his defeat as clamorously as it dared, in view of the strong arm of the, to them, gigantic north-country man.

Little Gopal, who had brought the stone carvings to our tent, was so carried away by the sense of his new importance as our trusted and baksheshed messenger, that, forgetful of fear, he cried out "Well done ! Mem-Sahib ! Very good, Mem-Sahib ! the Kashmiri thief is cheated this time !" After pride comes a fall, however ; for, in spite of a quick and strategic retreat, little Gopal did not escape the slipper that the Kashmiri levelled at his dusky vanishing back.

"Kreep away, you low people !" cried the Kashmiri. "Have you manners ! Mem-Sahib can't see my cloths and all the fine things in my shop if you crowd in front of the door !"

Then the Kashmiri brought out some girl's *saris* of Dacca muslin, dyed in indigo, safflower and cochineal and hand-woven on the native looms ; not the true Dacca muslin, however, a large piece of which you can pass through a finger-ring, it is so fine, but a stronger, more durable material. These girl's *saris* were simply strips of muslin, two or three yards long, and half a yard wide, with bright flowered designs, worked into more complicated patterns at the end. Each piece was a complete gala costume for the little Bengalee girls of eight or nine ; a turn or two round the waist for the skirt, then the end passed under the left arm, and over the right shoulder, and the pretty robe is complete. Nothing can be more graceful than one of these pretty muslin *saris*, its folds falling pendulous, like the drapery of a Grecian statue.

Designs there were many ; white flowering carried diagonally across a pale green ground ; pale blue and rose on a ground of white ; and pale green, red and yellow on a ground of indigo.

Unluckily these hand-woven muslins are becoming rarer

and rarer; the daintiest designs and textures are vanishing into the past; the old "sunshade" and "peacock's neck" patterns are becoming traditions, in order that Hans Schmidt of Hamburg may heap up thalers for his green and scarlet baize.

Certain transactions in *saris* went far to justify the Kashmiri's policy in parting with the Persian cloths for too small a price. The little pedagogue began to grow uneasy lest, in the magnitude of our purchases, the Kashmiri should leave the "brother-in-law" behind.

"Look, Mem-Sahib!" said the Kashmiri, visibly warming to his work. "Here are some fine silk embroideries from my own country, and from Delhi and Benares. The girls of my country sew them on a frame, and their soft hands move as swiftly as the gold fish in Shing-Shu Hai! Here is a very nice silk embroidery! Look at it, Mem-Sahib! buy it, Mem-Sahib! this is from my own country, from Kashmir, all hand-embroidered! Very good! Mem-Sahib! Look at the sepoy and horses in red and white silk, and look at the green palm leaves, and the Hindu women, with the faces and *saris*. Very good embroidery! Like that in Bilait (Europe), Mem-Sahib! Sahib says, 'take it.' Mem-Sahib. Very nice embroidery," and Mem-Sahib gave in.

"And look at this Delhi enamel work! nice gold thread on grey satin, and a pheasant and butterflies in coloured silk! My country is a fine country—far better than Bengal or Delhi!" cried the Kashmiri, with a burst of patriotism, "but for all that," he continued, patriotism giving way before trade—"but for all that, we can't make enamel-embroidery like Delhi! Lovely piece of work, Mem-Sahib! best piece of enamel embroidery in the world! Look at the pheasant's red beak, and yellow neck and green back, and look at the purple butterfly among the golden leaves! Very fine embroidery, Mem-Sahib!"

Again Kashmir prevailed.

Then a new idea seemed to strike the merchant:

"Very nice watch you have, Mem Sahib! I'll give you fifteen rupces for it! Will you, Mem-Sahib?"

The Kashmir received a rebuff, and for several minutes seemed to be puzzling over the failure of his bargain; then, turning away to hide his mortification, he went to the other side of the shop, to bring a box of cut agates and jaspers from Amritsur.

He showed us Himalayan pebbles, brown, chocolate, and grey, cut in oval brooches; studs, earrings, and breastpins, all of fine cut pebbles, but with curious inconsistency mounted in hideous bass settings.

Prettier still, because unmounted, were a set of fruit knife handles of agate, jade, malachite, fine-grained conglomerate,

with veins of dark green and red; all beautifully cut and polished with a fairy spray of moss agate carving round the side.

Kashmir was again victorious. The little Bengali pedagogue, who had served us zealously, if not quite disinterestedly, began to grumble at our inconsistency in buying so much from a low Kashmiri, and finally left us in disgust and went to pour out his wrongs in the sympathetic ear of his brother-in-law and to revive his drooping spirits with a whiff of the pungent hookah. I am afraid he never forgave us for patronising the Kashmiri with more enthusiasm than we had shown his brother-in-law, "who knew more about Patna stone than anyone else in the bazaar."

At last our bargains were ended. The Kashmiri presented Mem-Sahib with a green pebble brooch, "for baksheesh," as he explained, and begged in return a German half-mark, which would, he assured us, bring him luck in his future bargains.

With salaams, we left him, and, tired out by the scorching Bengal sun, were glad enough to find our way to the tents, in the shade of a grove of giant mango trees, where the grey squirrels disport themselves on the branches, and the turtle-doves croon strange tales to each other among the glossy leaves.

CHARLES JOHNSTON,
(*Bengal Civil Service. Retired.*)

ART. II.—THE TURKS IN EGYPT. •

Cairo: Sketches of its History, Monuments and Social Life.
By Stanley Lane Poole. London: J. S. Virtue & Co.,
1892.

Merveilles Biographiques et Historiques ou Chroniques du Shaikh Abdur Rahmán al Jabarti, traduites de l'Arabe par Shafik Mansur Bey, Abdul Aziz Khalil Bey, Gabriel Nicolas Khalil Bey et Iskandar Ammun Effendi. Le Caire. Imprimerie Nationale, 1888.

A View of the Levant, particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Greece and Egypt, in which the Antiquities, Government, Politics, Maxims, Manners, Customs (with many other circumstances and contingencies) are attempted to be described and treated on.
By Charles Perry, M.D. London: 1743.

“THE Historie of the Turkes,” writes the old English historian, Richard Knolles, “is indeede noe other than the woefull Recorde of the Ruines of the greater part of the Christian Commonwealthe:” but it was not the fate of Christian States alone to fall before the conquering march of the Ottoman armies. Misr-al-Káhira, the Victorious City, the throne of the “Grand Soldan,” the guardian of the Holy Shrines of Makka and Medina, the bulwark of Islam against Pagan Tartars and Christian Crusaders, the Metropolis of the Musalman world, shared the fate of the Greek and Slavonic Kingdoms of South-Eastern Europe, and became the prey of the conquering Ottomans. The Imperial City, al-Káhira, became a provincial Osmanli town, and the throne that had held the Khalifs and the Sultans of Islam was turned into the judgment-seat of a Turkish Páshá. The little cloud, no bigger than a man’s hand, which had risen over the Hill of Bithynia two hundred years before, had become a deluge, over-flowing Western Asia, Eastern Europe and Northern Africa; a new Roman Empire under a Mongolian race and a Moslem faith. But now, in our own day, the sudden flow has been succeeded by a gradual but steady ebb, and the nations and kingdoms submerged by the first rush of Ottoman conquest find their lands again left high and dry by its receding wave. Thus, in Europe, the classic soil of Grecian freedom, the ancient Slavonic kingdom of Servia, the once great realm of Bulgaria, have all lately renewed their national and political existence; and in Africa, the most ancient of all monarchies, the immortal land of the Pharaohs again essays to revive a national life under English guidance and guard, after well nigh three

thousand years of political extinction. For five and twenty centuries the Egyptian people have been the bond-slaves of Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Mamelukes and Turks in succession: and the sceptre of Misr-al-Káhira is still in the hand of a Turkish lord, though the Turkish occupation of that famous and favoured land has virtually (and happily) been replaced by an English one.

Egypt is the oldest of kingdoms: in the very dawn of history we see her civilisation declining, and her Empire on the wane. She was great and glorious a thousand years before the creation of the world, according to Jewish and Christian chronology. Her power and culture may have been due to the national character of her people, and to the nature of her social and political institutions; but her development was, no doubt, aided by her great natural and geographical advantages—her situation on the mighty waterway of the Nile, the teeming fertility of her soil, and her unrivalled position as an *entrepôt* of commerce between East and West, between Asia and Africa, uniting the trade routes of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. To her markets came the gold of Ophir and the spices of Sabaea; ivory, apes, and peacocks. The mines of King Solomon were worked then, and the ruined cities of Mashonaland were seats of wealth and power. An immensely ancient civilisation, few traces of which remain, prevailed among a group of settled kingdoms along the eastern coast of Africa and the southern shores of Arabia. Egypt was for many centuries the dominant power, the world empire, in this pre-historic ancient world, and only gradually gave way before the stronger Assyrian power nourished on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. Both the rivals were finally overwhelmed and absorbed in the flood of Persian conquest. Five hundred years, before the Christian Era, the invasion of Cambyses made Egypt a province of the Persian empire, and she has never since regained her national independence.

During the two hundred years of Persian domination, the native Egyptians never resigned the hope of regaining their freedom; and their patriot bands, assisted by Greek filibusters, long maintained a guerilla warfare against the forces of the Persian Satrap in the marshes of the Delta. But to the Persian succeeded the Macedonian, and to the Macedonian the Roman; and in the course of centuries, the national spirit evaporated, the traditions of national power and glory were forgotten, and the Christian Copt of the time of Justinian asserted his independence only in his religious heresy, just as the Fellah of the present day identifies national aspirations with Islamism. Under the rule of the Ptolemies, Egypt was again for a short period an independent State; but it was a Greek,

and not an Egyptian, kingdom. After the disappearance of the Greek dynasty with the death of Cleopatra, Egypt remained a Roman province, and the granary of the Empire, for six hundred years; when the conquest of Amru made it a province of the Arabian Khalifate instead. The camp of the conqueror at the head of the Delta became the capital of Muhammadan Egypt, instead of Alexandria, which was exposed to the attacks of Christian fleets from Greece and Italy.

The new town went by the name of Fustál (the tent), but when the Fatimi Khalifs of Africa conquered Egypt from the Abbasside Khalifs of Baghdád, they made it the chief seat of their empire, and built a citadel and palace near Fustál, to which they gave the name of Misr-al-Káhira, or the "Victorious City." Egypt again became a kingdom, and one of the great kingdoms of the Musalman world. It was an Arab kingdom, this time. The conqueror, Saladin, extinguished the heresy and the dynasty of the Fatimis, re-united Egypt to orthodox Islam, and replaced the line of Khalifs by a line of Sultans. His successors fell victims to a military revolution which made the foreign body of soldiers called Mamelukes ("Mamlúk Bahri," or Maritime Slaves, was their correct designation) masters of the crown and of the country: the military republic or oligarchy which they founded endured for three centuries and a half, until their power was broken by the Ottoman conquest: and even after that event, they retained the chief share of the Government of the country for three hundred years more.

Organised bodies of professional soldiers have often played an important part in the world's history, from the Pretorian guards of Imperial Rome to the Janissaries of the Ottoman Sultans who succeeded to the throne of the Cæsars: and the White Company of the Catalans, the Black Bands of the Constable de Bourbon, and many similar bodies, have left their mark on the pages of European history. But we may safely assert that no military body has ever had a meaner origin, a more glorious career, a longer lease of power, or a more tragical ending than the corps of Egyptian Mamelukes. They owed their origin to the Sultans of Saladin's dynasty, who found their Semitic soldiery unable to cope with the higher organisation and severer training of the "cursed crossed warriors of the Farang," the Knights Templars and Hospitalers and the Crusaders generally, who had settled on the sacred soil of the Holy Land (Beit-al-mukaddas.) They purchased picked Turanian and Caucasian slaves, and trained them to arms and martial exercises. Celibate gladiators, without a country or home, the Mamlúks became the ready instruments

of oppression ; but they proved to be edged tools. The people of Egypt were as helpless before them as the people of England before the army of Cromwell, or the people of Russia before the army of Peter the Great. From being the defenders of Egypt, the Mamlúks became its masters, and the rich valley of the Nile was for centuries only a store-house and treasure-chest for a corps of alien soldiery. The Mamlúks adhered scrupulously to their original constitution ; purchasing youths and boys of the countries bordering on the Caspian and Black Seas, and training them to arms under a strict discipline. A band of purchased slaves ruled a free-born nation. The Mameluke form of government was an absolute monarchy : but, unlike other oriental sovereigns, their Sultan was only *primus inter pares*. His dignity was elective, and he could be, and generally was, deposed by the power that raised him—the suffrages of his fellow-soldiers.

The natural tendency of an oriental dynasty is to become hereditary, and several of the Mameluke Sultans succeeded in transmitting their rank and power to their posterity, to the third and fourth generation ; but as soon as a weak or timid prince had assumed the reins of power, they were snatched from his grasp by some able and daring lieutenant. The oriental doctrine that power is directly delegated by God was invoked, and the success of a usurpation was held to be a decisive proof of the Divine sanction and guidance. This tended to make the tenure of the chief power among the Mamlúks insecure, and the average duration of the reigns of their Sultans hardly extends to the five years limit of our Indian viceroyalty.

Among the Mamlúks, as among the ancient Romans, nothing was so precious as arms and valour. Soldiering was the end and aim of their policy and their state-craft. Love and learning were equally despised by these celibate slaves of Mars, and civilians were classed by them in the same category with women. Under the shadow of their sword, Egypt was the bulwark of the Faith against the assaults of Christian Crusader and Pagan Tartar, the “Hámi us Sughúr ul Islám,” the Defender of the Frontiers of Islam.

In many campaigns they recovered long-lost Antioch and Jerusalem from the Franks, and chased the last remnant of the Crusaders from the Holy Land. The final storming of the last refuge of the cross at Acre by the Mamlúk Sultán, Malík Ašhraf Khalíl, has been commemorated in a spirited Arabic *Kasída* preserved in the pages of the *Tárikh-i-Wassáf*. On that famous day the naked Arab Gházis cast themselves *en masse* into the yawning fosse of the *enceinte* of Acre, to form with their bodies a living bridge for the Mameluke cavalry to pass

over. They again and again withstood the attacks of the hosts of Changhiz Khan and Amir Timur on the confines of Syria, and succeeded in rolling back the wave of Mongol conquest from the frontiers of Egypt and Africa, when every other Musalman State had been submerged beneath the Pagan deluge.

To the Christians of Mediæval Europe the Mamlúk monarch was the "Grand Soldan," the Protector of the Caliphate, the visible head of Islam, the representative of Antichrist on earth : and his capital "Grand Cairo" was the Babylon of the Apocalypse, the city of which the wealth and wickedness strikingly fulfilled the extravagant denunciations and predictions of the inspired seer. Egypt continued to be the chief channel for the India and China trade, and the wealth of the East was passed through Misr-ul-Káhira, to be embarked at Iskandaria (Alexandria, on Venetian argosies.

It is a remarkable fact that the fall of the Mameluke power was synchronous with the stoppage of this lucrative and long-established trade, and that the revival of the national prosperity of Egypt in our own day should coincide with its renewal, owing to the opening of the Suez Canal, after a total cessation during more than three centuries.

The discovery of the long sea-route to India round the Cape of Good Hope, at the end of the fifteenth century, by Vasco de Gama and the Portuguese, struck a fatal blow at the prosperity of Egypt. Their superior naval force gained command of the Indian seas, and put a sudden and violent end to the extensive trade which the Arabs had carried on from time immemorial with India and China. The changed order of things spelled ruin to Venice as well as to Egypt, and the Catholic and civilised aristocracy of Venice secretly, but earnestly, instigated the Paynim Mamlúks to expel the intruders from the Indian Ocean. They supplied timber for the fleet, which was launched at Suez and manned by the bravest of the Mamlúks ; and the Arabian Sea became, like the Mediterranean, the scene of mortal conflict between two rival religions. But the Crescent was already waning before the Cross ; the Egyptian fleet was defeated in numerous encounters, and numbers of the Mamlúks were slain : the banished trade could not be re-called, and, with its profits, one of the principal sources of the Mamlúk revenue vanished. The loss of men and money had seriously weakened their body politic, when their existence was threatened by the growing power of the Ottoman Empire, which had long been looming ominously on their northern borders.

It was impossible that peace should be long maintained between two arrogant military monarchies like those of the Osmánlis and the Mamlúks.

The conquest of Constantinople had invested the Ottoman Sultans, in their own opinion at least, with the prerogative of universal Empire : and they hankered to add to the crown of the Cæsars the office of Khalifa of Islám, and the title of Protector of the twin Holy Cities. The Syrian frontier of the Mamlúks ran with the southern border-line of the Turkish territories : and, in the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Báyázid the Second, disputes on the frontiers brought on a local and partial war, in which the Mamelukes showed a decided superiority in the field. A peace was patched up, but Báyázid's successor, Sultan Selim Yávuz (the Ferocious), was resolved on revenge. While he was prosecuting his campaigns against Shah Ismail Súp of Persia, his troops trespassed on Mamlúk territory, and the trespass was resented.

Sinán Páshá, who was charged with the task of expelling the Persians from Baghdad and Basra, reported to his master that he feared to advance eastwards with his flank exposed to the formidable army of observation which the Mameluke Sultan Khansu Ghauri had established on the frontier. Selim quoted the verse of the Korán : "Wa ma kunna múazabín hatta nabaas rasulan" (and we punish them not until we have sent them a message), and deputed two envoys to convey his remonstrances to the camp of the Mamlúk Sultan Karajá Páshá, and Sarakzáda Mauláná Ruknud Din, the Rúmili Kázi Askar (Military Judge of the European provinces), received the Sultan's instructions, prefaced by this verse of the Glorious Book "Fa kulla lahu kaulan lainan la alahu yatazakar au yakhshi" (Say unto him a fair word that he may ponder it or may fear it). But the Mameluke Sultan did neither, but ill-treated the envoys, threw them into prison and threatened them with death. This was the first of the series of mistakes which marked the conduct of the Mamlúk chiefs in the negotiations and the campaigns which followed. Their Sultan was an old man, and could not control his turbulent Beys ; and there were dissensions in the camp.

As soon as Sultan Selim heard of the treatment of his envoys, he declared war and crossed over, on the 5th day of June 1516, A. D., from Istambúl to Iskúdera (Scutari), where the Imperial horse-tails were planted. He committed the charge of the Empire to three deputies during his absence : Constantinople to the Vazir Piri Páshá ; the European provinces to his own son, Súlímán, who was to hold his court at Adrianople ; and the Asiatic to Hersek Ahmad Páshá, the Herzegovinian, who had his head-quarter at Broussa.

The Sultan set out for the frontiers of Syria at the head of a splendid army of thirty thousand horse, eight thousand Janis-saries, five thousand Arnaut infantry, and fifty field guns.

The Ottoman army was at that time the best equipped and best organised military force in the world, and these men were all veterans of the Persian war.

The Egyptian army was superior in number, but inferior in arms, organisation, experience, and discipline. Only twelve thousand were Mamlúks; the rest were Jalbáns (black slaves from the Soudan, trained to arms by their Mamlúk masters), Korsáns (Syrian and Moorish mercenary soldiers) and a rabble of peasants and Bedouins, hastily levied and badly armed.

They had neither cannon nor small arms, while nearly all Selim's Janissaries carried the arquebus. The story runs that a Moor had brought fire-arms and ammunition to Egypt and offered them to the Mamlúk Beys; but they proudly rejected them, saying that the bow and the sabre, used in the time of the Prophet, were the appropriate weapons of the warriors of Islám: on which the disappointed Moor foretold that they should see their empire perish by these same bullets: which accordingly came to pass. But, from the accounts given by the Portuguese of their sea fights with the Mamlúks in the Indian Ocean, we find that both cannon and arquebuses were used on the Egyptian ships: so that the Mamlúks could not have been altogether unacquainted with their use, nor absolutely prejudiced against their adoption. But they had not begun to use them in their land service: the artillery on their Indian fleet was most likely supplied from Venice, which, in its anxiety for its own commercial monopoly, also furnished the timber for building the Mamlúk fleet that set sail from Suez, from the forests of Dalmatia. The Arab word for musket, "Bandok," is conjectured to owe its origin to the source whence fire-arms were first introduced to the notice of the Mamlúks and Arabs. "Venice" was on Turkish tongues "Venedik," corrupted by the Arabs into Bendik: hence the Venetian weapon was called Bendik, or Bandok. The alteration of vowels is common in such transitions, as the Arabic character is ordinarily written without any vowels. But the word Bandok occurs in Arabic literature long before the invention of gunpowder. The famous Mamlúk Sultán Baibars, the conqueror of Christian Antioch, was surnamed "al Bandokdári," "the Arblasteer," because he had been a slave of a captain of Mameluke cross-bowmen. Probably the cross-bow, like its namesake, the arquebus, was introduced to the notice of the Eastern nations by the Venetians.

The Mamlúk Sultan had released and sent back the Turkish envoys with a conciliatory answer when it was too late: and he was now too precipitate in accepting the battle which the invader eagerly offered. It was fought on the plain of Marj

Dabik, near Halab (Aleppo), and ended in the total rout of the Mamlúk Army. It was decided naturally in favour of the side which had cannon and firearms, against the side that had none. "The cruel, cowardly, and murdering artillery of the Turkes," as Knolles calls it, clumsy and inefficient as we think it to-day, was terrible to the inexperienced Mamlúks : and probably their horses were rendered unmanageable by the unaccustomed and terrifying sights and sounds. The old Sultan, Kansee Ghauri, perished in the panic flight, either of fatigue, or crushed to death in the crowd of fugitives, or, as some say, smothered in a morass. Selim sent a Turkish Cháush, with some Mamlúk prisoners, to identify his body, and the Cháush cut off the dead Sultan's head and brought it back to his master, for which excess of zeal beyond his instructions, he was very near having his own head sent to keep company with his trophy. Immediately after the battle, the Mamlúk Governor of Aleppo, Khair Bey, gave up the city to Sultan Selim, and, with his own Mamlúks, entered the service of the conqueror. Emessa (Hems) and Damascus fell without a blow ; and two thousand horse, sent on by Selim under the command of Muhamínad Bey, son of 'Isa Bey, seized Gaza, to secure the entrance into Egypt. The title of "Defender of the Holy Places" (Makka and Medina) was first added to the name of Sultan Selim in the Khutba read at the Friday prayers in the Grand Mosque at Aleppo, after his entry into the city.

The Mameluke Beys had fled into Egypt, where they were busier in electing a new Sultan than in taking measures to repel the invasion : their choice at last fell on Tomán Bey, who possessed in the highest degree their favourite qualifications of physical strength and courage.

On receiving the news of his election, Sultan Selim sent a fresh envoy, the Za'im (Feudal chief), Murád Charkas, no doubt chosen from his Circassian nationality, being the same as that of the Mamlúks, offering to leave Tomán Bey in possession of Egypt if he would agree to coin money and to have the Khutba read in the mosques in Selim's name. These terms were rejected ; and, as the envoy was leaving the audience hall, a Mameluke, named Alán Bey, fell upon him and slew him. War to the knife was again declared.

The Grand Vazir, Sinán Páshá, had meanwhile arrived at Gaza with five thousand men, the vanguard of Selim's army. Here he was attacked by Jánberdi Ghazáli, with ten thousand Mamlúks. The battle was the best contested and bloodiest of the war : the Mamlúks put the Turkish horse to rout, but the firearms of the Janissaries again decided the fortune of the day. The way lay open into Egypt. Selim had been visiting the shrine at Jerusalem and the tomb of Khalilullah (Abraham) at

Hebron : he now rejoined Sinán Páshá with the main body of the army, and struck across the desert for Misr-al-Káhira, his march continually annoyed by hordes of Bedouins.

Tomán Bey had drawn up his army to cover Cairo, and had planted batteries of artillery to sweep the ground over which the Turks should advance : the cannon were probably brought from ship board, for they appear to have been incapable of movement from one place to another. Selim learnt these dispositions from deserters, and accordingly made a flank march, and so compelled the Mamlúks to change front : they thus lost the aid of their cannon which could not be moved with sufficient rapidity. The battle of Kidania resembled that of Marj Dabik, but it was better contested, the Mamlúks fighting with the courage of despair. The Grand Vazir, Sinán Páshá, was at his post, as usual, in the centre of the Turkish first line, with his standards and Tabl-khána, supported by a Páshá on each side, and guarded by a company of Janissary arquebusers. Tomán Bey, with his two bravest captains, Kurt Bey and Alán Bey, at the head of a body of Mamlúks, clad in complete armour, directed his charge right upon the spot where the Grand Vazir's standards were waving, imagining that he would find the Sultan himself there. They burst through all opposition, and Tomán Bey himself transfixed the Grand Vazir with his lance, while Kurt Bey and Alán Bey each killed one of the Páshás on his right and left hand. The Janissary guards were cut down and trampled under foot, and the standards captured : but the Mamlúks were finally driven off by the Turkish musketry fire : Alán Bey was killed, and Tomán Bey and Kurt Bey took to flight ; and the Mamlúk army was totally routed with heavy loss in killed and prisoners (" Sar o-Zinda").

The battle of Kidania sealed the fate of Egypt and of the Mamlúk monarchy. The victorious army marched straight on Misr-al-Káhira, which the flying Mamlúks had evacuated : and Selim encamped outside the city, fixing his own head quarters in the isle of Raúdhá (Isle of Gardens ; commonly called by Europeans Rhoda) and sent only a small detachment to to garrison Cairo. Tomán Bey, on learning this arrangement, suddenly returned, was admitted into the city by his friends, and put the slender garrison to the sword. Selim had to move his whole army upon the city : the Turks soon forced their way in, but the Mamelukes resorted to street fighting and fortifying the houses, and for three days and nights a terrible battle raged in Cairo : a great part of the city was destroyed, and thousands of the citizens perished, before the Mamlúks were finally slain or expelled. Eight hundred of them, being surrounded by the Turks, asked for quarter, on condition of their lives being spared. Selim granted these terms and then

had them massacred in cold blood. Tomán Bey fled up the Nile. Meanwhile a Turkish fleet had arrived at Alexandria ; a Turkish flotilla was despatched in pursuit of the fugitives, and there was desperate fighting between Turks and Mamlúks in boats and along the banks of the rivers, not always to the advantage of the former. Selim, wishing to finish the business, sent another embassy to Tomán Bey ; but the envoys were murdered by the Mamlúks, and, in reprisal, Selim put all the Mamlúk prisoners in his hands to death, to the number of three or four thousand. Many of the Mamlúk Beys came over to Selim's side, won by bribes and promises ; and, indeed, one of the chief causes of the Mamlúk disasters was the treachery of the Mamlúks themselves. One of these renegades, named Khush Kadam, was sent by Selim again to offer terms to Tomán Bey, but, when he addressed himself to his former comrades, they reproached him with his treachery, and finally drew their weapons on him, so that he with difficulty escaped with his life from their hands. Kurt Bey was found in hiding in Cairo, and was promised his life by Selim, but his free speech so offended the tyrant, that he made his guards cut the bravest captain of the brave Mamlúks to pieces in his presence. The toils gradually closed round Tomán Bey, and he was at last betrayed by an Arab Shaikh, with whom he had taken refuge, and given up to Selim. The Sultan at first treated his fallen enemy kindly, but soon changed his behaviour to him, probably instigated by some of the Mamlúk traitors : and finally he had him hanged upon one of the gates of Cairo.

On the first Friday after his triumphal entry into the city, the Sultan attended divine service in state at the mosque of Sultan Muhammad Ad Dháheri, and fervently offered up thanks for his victories. He had the costly prayer-carpet, which had been spread for the royal orisons removed, and bowed his head upon the marble pavement : and in his emotion he bedewed it with unfeigned tears. He busied himself in re-establishing order and restoring prosperity ; but he did not take the trouble of once visiting the pyramids during the six months he resided in Cairo, sharing the common Musalman contempt for the works of infidels and pagans. He re-established the Mamlúk Beys who had come over to his side in their office, making them Turkish Sanjáks Beys, or Chiefs of Standards : and he appointed other Mamlúks to the vacant places of the Beys who had been killed, or had remained hostile, to make up the old number of twenty-four. He made the traitor, Khair Bey, Páshá of Misr-al-Káhira with three horse-tails and the title of Vazir : but he took the precaution of sending his wives and children to Filiba (Philippolis) in Rúmili, to serve as hostages for his good behaviour.

After the death of Sultan Tomán Bey, all the refugee Mamlúks came in from the deserts where they had taken refuge, and submitted to the Turks. They had striven to force the Bedouin tribes to join them : but the Arab and the Circassian could not agree, and the new allies fell out whenever they attempted to act together, coming to blows on the very field of battle, even under the fire of the Turkish artillery. The Mamlúks abandoned the hopeless contest and left the Bedawí to resume their normal Ishmailite life of suspicion and isolation.

Meanwhile, the Mamlúk fleet, which had been cruising against the Portuguese, returned from Aden to Suéz, and its captains made the best of altered circumstances by giving in their adhesion to the new order of things. The Mamlúk had neither country nor home : he looked on Egypt and the Egyptians as created to support him in comfort and pleasure out of their produce and toil : his own interests were paramount to all other considerations, and, as long as these were safe-guarded, it mattered little to him what master he served.

Sultan Selim provided against the danger of the Mamlúks revolting, by leaving five thousand Sipáhis (paid cavalry) and five thousand Janissaries (paid infantry) in garrison in Cairo, with detachments in the principal towns of Egypt. He sent the spoil he had collected, and the heavy artillery and baggage of his army, by sea to Constantinople, and himself set out on his return with his army by land in September 1517, A. D. As he was riding across the desert, on his way to Gaza with the Grand Vazir Yúnus Páshá, who had succeeded to the Vazir slain at Kidania, he felicitated himself on his glorious conquest, to which Yúnus replied that it was not much matter for felicitation to have left Egypt in the hands of traitors. Selim was so angry at this saying, that he immediately summoned his executioners, and had the unlucky Grand Vazir's head taken off on the spot. In the end the Sultan's policy proved right, and the Vazir's suspicions wrong : the Mamlúks remained loyal to their new master, and, as long as they were allowed to retain their old powers and privileges and to live at free quarters on the revenues of Egypt, they were quite satisfied with their position under the Turkish Government.

One result of the Turkish conquest of Egypt was the assumption of the title of the Khalifa of Islam by the Sultans of Rúm (Turkey). Selim persuaded the poor relation of the Abbassides who dwelt in Misr-al-Káhira under the protection of the Mamlúks, to make over his pretensions to him, along with the more tangible possession of the Khirka-i-Sharíf, or Prophet's Sacred Mantle, and the Sanjá-k-i-Sharíf, or Prophet's Sacred Banner, in return for the continuation of his pension. The office of Khalifa had been nominal enough under the

*Mamlúks : when eclipsed by the Imperial dignity of its new holder, it sunk into oblivion altogether, until the claim to it has been revived for political purposes in our own day.

Sélim the Conqueror left the constitutions and institutions of Egypt much as he had found them, only the Ottoman Viceroy being substituted for the Mamlúk Sultan : but the Turkish army of occupation which he left in the country, constituted a third estate, and often usurped the functions of Government. There were now three different interests in the administration : the Páshá or Viceroy who represented the Sultan ; the twenty-four Mamlúk Beys and their followers, and the seven corps of Turkish soldiery. For three hundred years the internal history of the country is a history of the struggle of these three powers to get the better of each other, and to secure the largest share of the plunder of Egypt.

The Páshá was nominated by the Sultan for an indefinite time, but was generally relieved at the end of three years. He paid a large sum to the Porte on nomination, and remitted an annual present while he was in office. He had the style of "Vazir," and ranked, with the Páshás of Buda in Europe and of Baghdad in Asia, as one of the three highest in the Empire, and he wore a plume (Jigha) at the side of his turban. He had the power of life and death, and of nomination to all public employment : but these matters were generally made the subject of deliberation in the Provincial Divan. The Mamlúk Beys present in Cairo, the Aghás, or Colonels, of the seven corps of Turkish troops, the chief Kázis and Muftis, were members of the Divan which assembled three times a week, on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. The Páshá's Agent, or Kiáyá (Ketkhudá), presided over the deliberations, the Páshá listening to them concealed behind a lattice. The Turks were fond of transacting business by deputy, which saved them trouble and responsibility. The Páshá's Kiáyá had the rank and title of Bey, *ex officio*.

When a new Páshá arrived in Egypt, all the Beys and the troops went out and pitched camp one stage out from the city, and thence marched out to welcome him, on arrival, with great pomp and pageantry, and escorted him to their camp under a salute of twelve guns. The next day they moved on into Cairo, and the Páshá took up his residence in his official palace in the Citadel.

The officials who carried on the civil administration under the Páshá, besides his Kiáyá, were the Khazánadár or treasurer, the Daftardár or record keeper, the Roznámaji or journal keeper, the Mukábilaji or controller, and seven Mukátaji, or clerks and Registrars of leases.

The business done in the divan was usually the promulga-

tion and communication of orders from the Porte ; the appointment of Beys and military officers ; the selling and farming out of lands, and the collection of the revenue, and the preparation and regulation of the public processions and authorised festivals.

The Páshá was also Beglerbey, or head chief of the militia of his Government. The land of Egypt was divided into twenty-four provinces, each of which was governed by a Mamlúk Bey, who had the Turkish rank of Sauják Bey, or Lord of the Standard.

He had in his service two or three hundred Mamlúks, his own property, and absolutely at his disposal. They were nearly all Circassian, Georgian, and Abkhazian boys captured by the Tartars of the Crimea in annual slave raids, and sold in the slave markets of Constantinople, where the Beys purchased them. They were carefully trained to arms and horsemanship, and the handsomest and most expert were made the personal attendants of their master ; Silahdar (armour-bearer), Chibúkji (pipe-bearer), Tutúmji (tobacco-stopper), and so on. When trusted by their master, they were advanced to official posts in the province, and were set free and allowed to grow their beards and marry. They married none but white women, despising the swarthy Egyptians ; and because their offspring by the native women turned out weak and degenerate. Their children born of Circassian mothers also grew up sickly and weakly in the hot climate of Egypt, and this was one reason why they adopted their favourite slaves as their successors, instead of their own children. Their moral atmosphere was unfavourable to family life and to the propagation of their race. The Bey enjoyed the revenues of his province, and nominated one of his Mamlúks as his Káshif, or Steward : the province was sub-divided into districts, each superintended by a Káim-mokám : each district was again sub-divided into groups of villages, each group ruled over by a Mamlúk Multazim. Each village was presided over by a Shaikh chosen from among the villagers. Every official was a little autocrat in his own territory, with no check but the law of the Koran and the fear of the bigger man over him. The whole of the revenue and financial work of the country was performed by a class of Coptic writers, mostly Christians, like the Káyats in India under the Moghul administration, without whose humble and useful labours the whole administration would have lapsed into anarchy. The Mamlúks were brave, ignorant, treacherous, and ostentatious : they spent all their wealth on their dress, arms, and horses, and carried the best part of their estates on their persons. They wore high cylindrical white or yellow turbans ; long robes of scarlet or green or*

other bright colours, tightly girt around their waists, and petticoat trousers. In war, or for parade, many of them wore hauberks of chain mail, with helmets and brassards of steel. They were "much pestered with arms;" carrying, in addition to lance and sabre, a long brass-barrelled carbine, a blunderbuss besides, a steel mace, or a battle axe, hooked to their saddle bow, and two brace of pistols with an arsenal of daggers and knives in their arms-belt, which they wore round their waist (Siláhlík).

Their favourite martial exercises were the game of the Jerid, or javelin throwing; firing at a mark, generally an earthenware jar placed on the ground, when at full gallop; and cutting a twisted piece of felt with the sabre. Every Monday, Wednesday and Saturday the Beys used to repair with their Mamlúks to the Mastaba, or parade ground outside the walls of Cairo, to practise these and similar feats of skill and horsemanship. The greater number of the Beys were always to be found living at Cairo, leaving their provinces to be managed by their Káshifs: only six or eight of them at a time would be residing in the provinces: but they all had their town-houses at the capital. One of the Beys was appointed by the Porte, through the Pasha, to be Shaikh-al-Balád (Chief of the Country), as an intermediary between the Egyptian nation and its Turkish masters, a kind of tribune of the people; but instead of acting as their defender, he was oftener their most grievous oppressor. It was like making a wolf the guardian of the flock. The Shaikh al Balád took precedence of all other Beys, and the office was much sought after. The next Bey in rank was the Amir-al-Ilaj (Lord of the Pilgrimage), who had charge and command of the great pilgrim caravan, which, having gathered up all the pilgrim bands from Northern and Central Africa, started annually from Cairo for the Holy Cities, with the Mahmal, or litter, conveying the costly carpet presented by the Sultan. It was escorted by Mamlúks and Turkish soldiers, and its departure and return were the occasions of the chief festivals of the population of Cairo.

Another Bey was despatched annually with the Egyptian tribute to the Porte. This sum was about £100,000 sterling, and was sent by sea in an argosy well-guarded by war-ships and galleys, to protect it from the Knights of Malta and other Christian pirates. The Bey was generally absent on this duty for nine months.

Four other Beys had charge of the approaches and outskirts of the four quarters of the city; and were relieved monthly by four others. The way in which this duty was performed may be illustrated by the following anecdote.

A Mamluke, Káim-mokám was going the rounds, followed by

his horsemen, when he met a Christian Coptic merchant proceeding into the country on a trading expedition, with his goods laden upon asses. The Copt dismounted at the approach of the Mamluk, who hailed him, crying "Well met, friend! I heard that thou wert starting with a valuable caravan, and, knowing that there is a band of robbers in the vicinity, I have been patrolling to make all safe: but I really must positively refuse to accept the two hundred sequins thou didst determine to pay me for this service; thou art too generous; I will only accept one hundred sequins." "But, my Lord," stammered the Copt—"No words," interrupted the Mamluk, savagely, "but the sequins; the robbers are still near." "So I perceive," observed the merchant, drily, as he handed over the money.

For the first two centuries of the Ottoman rule in Egypt, the garrison of Turkish soldiery was the strongest power in the State. They numbered about twelve thousand men, divided into seven corps (Ojáks), two of infantry, and five of cavalry. The first in precedence and in numerical strength was the corps of Janissaries, six or seven thousand strong.

They were organised in companies of a hundred men. They remained permanently in Egypt, (as did the other six Ojáks) and had ceased to have any other than a titular connection with the Head Quarters of the corps at Constantinople. They were officered by a body of Field Officers, called Kiáyás (Ket-khudá), and Staff Officers called Cháushes. There was a fixed number of these latter, and every year one of them was promoted to Kiáyá, and no vacancies in the latter rank were otherwise filled up, so that the number of Kiáyás at different times varied greatly: at one time there would be twenty, at another time only six or eight. Every year one of the Kiáyás was elected "Kiáyá-in-Charge," and he commanded the whole corps, resigning his post at the end of a year to his successor.

Most of the Janissaries were lodged in barracks, which were ranges of wooden huts, at Cairo; and some of them garrisoned the citadel, guarding one of the gates, which was called "The Gate of the Janissaries." Detachments of the corps were stationed permanently at Alexandria, Suez and Assouan, which last was the frontier station of the Turks in Egypt towards the south.

The second corps was that of the Azabs (celibates), also infantry. Their number was about four thousand. They were altogether on an inferior footing to the Janissaries as regarded pay, equipment, and discipline. They were commanded by a Kiáyá. They were also stationed at Cairo, and the gate which they guarded in the citadel was called the "Gate of the Azabs."

The third corps (the first of the cavalry) was the Mutafarrika (various, so called because they were recruited from the different provinces of the Empire. They were one thousand strong, and were intended to be lifeguards of the Páshá; but that official having no confidence in, or authority over, the Turkish soldiery, always kept a private bodyguard of his own, of Tartar or Bosniak horsemen.

The Mutafarrika were the sons of Páshás, Beys, and Turkish yemen (Záims and Timárlis), and were a superior class of men to the ordinary run of the troops.

The fourth corps was the Cháurishes, a body of horse of equal strength and similar constitution to the Mutafarrika; and their duty was that of guards and orderlies at the Viceregal Court or Diván.

The fifth corps were the Gupalis, five hundred strong, a kind of Turkish hussars.

The sixth corps were the Tufangchis, five hundred strong: they were mounted musketeers.

The seventh corps were the Charákisa (Circassians), five hundred strong, recruited from the Mamlúks in Egypt. Turkish writers seldom use the term Mamlúk, or its plural Mamálik, preferring to call the slave soldiers Ghuz, after a Caspian tribe, or Charákisa (Circassians).

When these seven corps acted as confederates, they were able to control the Government; and their superior officers (Aghás and Kiáyás) formed an oligarchy which then ruled the country: but the Páshá and the Beys were generally able to maintain the balance of power by playing upon the standing rivalries and jealousies of the different Ojáks. There was an eternal feud between the Janissaries and the Azabs, and another between the Mutafarrika and Cháushes, on one side, and the remaining three cavalry corps on the other.

The Shaikh-al-Jabárti, in his history, mentions another corps called the Mustahfiz (Fencibles). It was probably a corps of gendarmerie, and we believe that the Egyptian gendarmerie is still called by the same name.

The whole of these ruling castes of Turks and Mamlúks did not altogether amount to much more than twenty thousand men at any time, and they ruled absolutely over half a million of Egyptian traders, handicraftsmen, and husbandmen.

The Egyptian calls himself an Arab, having adopted the name, as well as the religion, of his new masters at the time of the Saracen conquest. But, in spite of a considerable admixture of Arab blood, the Egyptian (Gupt, or Copt) remains a Caucasian of the dark or Hamitic type, and his national character is quite different from that of the Semitic Arab. It resembles more that of the Greek, or the Italian. During the

three centuries of Ottoman rule, the Egyptians were mere beasts of burden, dumb animals, doomed to toil through life to keep the Mainlúks and Turks in sloth and luxury with the proceeds of their labour.

The sources of revenue to the Turks in Egypt were three-fold : first the land-tax, including the canal and irrigation cess : secondly, the poll-tax on Jews and Christians : thirdly the customs and duties on merchandise. As in all Oriental countries, the whole of the land was regarded as the property of the State : and the farmer or cultivator was only an occupier. Most of the fields of Egypt were thus Mír Mál (State property) : but a considerable part of the land was alienated as Wakf (church land) for the support of mosques and religious foundations. A third description of holding was the Káshif, land farmed by the Beys, and cultivated by slaves, or hired labourers : and a fourth kind was the Ittizám-baladí, land farmed by the inhabitants of the towns. The land revenue was called the Mal-al-hur (free-hold) : the portion of it levied as a tax by the authorities was divided into Miri, due to the State, and Fáiz, the excess over and above this, which was levied by the Multezim as his own profit, and out of which he had to satisfy his over-lords. The cultivator was allowed just as much as would suffice to keep soul and body together as his share. He often contrived, however, to cheat the rapacity of his Governors ; "made it a point of honour never to pay his rent until compelled by main force, and wore the stripes he incurred in his resistance as badges of honour." The revenue system of Egypt under the Ottomans has been pithily described as follows : "The Shaikh cheated the Multazim, the Multazim cheated the Káim-mokám, the Káim-mokám cheated the Káshif, the Káshif cheated the Bey, the Bey cheated the Shaikh-al-Balad, the Shaikh-al-Balad cheated the Páshá, and the Páshá cheated the Porte."

The Káshifs, or stewards, of the Beys, instead of being paid for their services, paid large sums to their masters on appointment, called Kushúfiya : and, to make up this, they themselves levied an arbitrary tax on the Káim-mokáms called Kalba : the Turkish soldiery levied large sums under the name of Talba, from the country, through the Shaikh-al-Balad, as a kind of black mail, in addition to their regular pay.

The poll-tax (Kharáj) on Christians and Jews was levied in the same elastic manner. There were also innumerable vexations and restrictions to which they were liable, which were made the means of extorting money from them. The Copts were not allowed to call their children by the names of Patriarchs, such as Dáúd, Yusuf, &c., they were obliged to wear a particular dress ; no Jew or Christian could mount on horse-

back, and they had to dismount from their asses on meeting a Bey, or a Kiáyá of the soldiery, in the street, and also on passing a Bey's house. Instances were constantly happening of European Consuls and merchants being assaulted and beaten for disregarding these regulations, and when Baron de Tott visited Cairo with the Sultan's commission to inspect the fortifications, his appearance, on horse-back in the street caused a popular tumult.

The customs were not a large source of revenue, the trade of Egypt being at a low ebb under the Turks. The principal traffic was in slaves, which came in caravans from the Soudan to Cairo, the greatest slave market in the whole Ottoman empire. The traveller Bruce, who discovered the sources of the Blue Nile, says, speaking of the wretched condition of trade and commerce in Egypt at the time of his visit: "Nothing which violence and injustice can ruin, can ever subsist under the Turkish Government."

In the year A. D. 1712, the Páshá, finding that the Customs Department was being worked at a loss, considerably farmed it to the Ojáq of the Janissaries. They, however, managed it so well that they converted the deficit into a surplus, and contrived to raise a considerable annual revenue. The Páshá then tried to get the management into his own hands again; but the Janissaries would not resign it, and continued to superintend the Customs until the Mamlúk Ali Bey made himself master of the country, as will be related.

The total annual revenue of Egypt under the Turks amounted to about half a million pounds sterling, more or less, in English money.

The expenditure was classed under four heads: first, the payment of the Turkish soldiery; secondly, the expenses of collection and administration, including the maintenance and repair of irrigation works (which was done, however, by a *corvée* of forced and unpaid labour): thirdly the free supply of provisions for the service of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina: and fourthly, the balance of the revenue which remained over after satisfying these claims, was remitted as tribute to the Porte: it generally amounted to a fourth or fifth of the total amount.

Egypt, which fills so large a space in the annals of the Crusades and the Middle Ages, suddenly disappears from history after the Turkish conquest: and her national record was swallowed up in that of the Empire of her new masters. The old Mamlúk traitor, Khair Bey, ruled as Páshá of Egypt far into the reign of Sultan Sulimán Kanuni, the son of Selim the Conqueror. Egypt was bound, according to the military constitution of the Ottoman Empire, to furnish a contingent of

three thousand men to the foreign wars of the Porte, to be renewed, if required, every three years ; and the first despatch of this contingent was made by Khair Bey Páshá to Rhodes, when Sultan Sulimán was besieging the stronghold of the Knights of St. John. Before the siege was over further reinforcements were despatched from Egypt in a fleet of twenty armed vessels under the command of Kait Bey, the son-in-law of the Pasha, with a sacred standard, called the ' Ukab, (eagle) banner. Khair Bey died in peace, and the Sultan appointed his own brother-in-law, Mustafa Páshá, to succeed him ; but, as the royal lady objected equally to Egyptian exile and to separation from her husband, he was recalled, and an Albanian named Ahmad was appointed Páshá of Egypt in his room. This Ahmad Páshá, surnamed Kháin, or Traitor, by the Turks, attempted a revolt against his master. He gained over some of the Mamlúks to his side, proclaimed himself Sultan of Egypt, coined money in his own name, and besieged the loyal Janissaries in the citadel. After a long siege, it was taken by surprise, some Mamlúks finding their way in through a sewer, and the garrison were put to the sword. The Turkish soldiery and many of the Mamlúks, however, continued to resist Kháin Ahmad, and there was civil war in Egypt, until Ibrahim Páshá led an army of seven thousand Turkish troops into the country, hanged Kháin Ahmad, and re-established tranquillity.

In the war of Cyprus, the Viceroy of Egypt, Muhammad Shaluk Páshá, called by the Christian writers Scirocco, himself led the great naval armament fitted out at Alexandria into the Levant, and the Egyptian squadron of twenty gallies formed the right wing of the Turkish fleet at the battle of Lepanto, opposed to the Venetian squadron of the allied Armada.

The Egyptian ships opened the battle, and the skilful tactics of the Páshá were at first crowned with success ; eight Venetian gallies were sunk, and several captured. But the Italians recovered the day by sheer hard fighting and by their superiority in ordnance : and, in the general rout of the Turkish fleet, all the Egyptian ships were sunk or captured, and Muhammad Shaluk was rescued from the waves only to perish by the sword of his captor Giovanni Contarini.

The internal history of Egypt during the three centuries of Ottoman rule is a monotonous record of massacres, revolutions, and *coups d'état*, perpetrated alternately by Pashas, Mamlúks, and Janissaries. Sometimes the power was in the hands of the Páshá ; sometimes in those of a cabal of Beys and officers of the Ojáks. Every six or seven years, or oftener, there would be an *emeute*, a riot, a *coup d'état*, a massacre, which would transfer the power from the ruling party to their opponents.

Among the Mamlúks there were two parties or factions, the Kásimlis and the Zulfikárlis, which appears to have existed from times long before the Turkish conquest. The origin of the difference between them is lost in legend, and many romantic and fanciful tales are current to account for it ; the most probable accounts derive their names from two famous and rival Mamlúks, Zulfikár Bey, and Kásim Bey. The colours of the Zulfikárlis were white ; those of the Kásimlis red ; the differences of character and of policy which divided them do not appear. The hostility between the Shanavests and the Caravats in Ireland seems to present the nearest historical parallel to their rivalry. They were always ready, on the slightest provocation, to fight about anything or nothing, and their quarrels were utilised by designing politicians for the furtherance of their own individual interests. Their senseless strife divided the whole of Egypt into two hostile camps ; the common people imitated the frenzy of their masters, and the inhabitants of two neighbouring villages fought out with sticks and stones the fight which their superiors were carrying on with sabres and carabines in the streets of Cairo.

It would be tedious to recount in detail the Mamlúk faction fights and the military mutinies which fill the pages of the history of the Turks in Egypt. Not long after the Grand Vazir, Ibráhim Páshá, had settled the Government, there was a military mutiny at Cairo, and the Páshá, also named Ibráhim, was killed by the troops when trying to quell it. He was succeeded by a Georgian eunuch, Gurji Muhammad Páshá, who proved an able and vigorous ruler and kept the troublesome soldiery quiet. He was succeeded by a man of a different stamp, Hasan Páshá, who signalised his government by repairing and re-paving the Mosque of Al Azhár, in which task he spent all his time and fortune ; a rare exception to most of his countrymen, who never touched the magnificent monuments with which the Mamlúk Sultans had filled Misr-al-Káhira, except to deface or spoil them. "The modern Turks" says Mr. Lane-Poole, "can build nothing but tawdry palaces, and gaudy over-ornamented mosques : and the edifices that they do set up are so insecurely built, that they will infallibly come down before long amid the plaudits of a critical posterity. But if they cannot create, they can spoil ; and it is hard to know which deserves the greater damnation : their neglect or their restoration of the monuments of Cairo."

Absorbed in his pious work, Hasan Páshá loosened the reins of government until the whole country was plunged in anarchy, and Mamlúks and Turks did only what was right in their own eyes. The Porte really appears to have acted on "the principle of alternately appointing an able and an in-

competent man to the government of Egypt. The fact is that, as soon as a good Viceroys had brought the country into order, some worthless palace favourite was appointed to reap the fruits of his exertions, and his feeble rule soon plunged the country into a slough of confusion, from which it required the appointment of another able Governor to extricate it. On the present occasion Muhammad Páshá was sent to repair the damage caused by Hasan Páshá's negligence. The new Governor was nicknamed by the Turks "Kul Kirán" (the Slave-Crusher), from the severity with which he repressed the mutinous spirit of the troops, who were officially called Kápi-kuli (Slaves of the Porte), and whose rank and file showed the shaven chins of slaves. He abolished the illegal imposts of the Kushúfiya, the Kalba, and the Talba. Three of the Ojáks of the troops, the Gunalis, Tufangchis and Charkas, revolted against this measure, but the rest of the troops remained loyal, and helped to quell the mutiny. Muhammad Kul Kirán Páshá restored order to the administration and prosperity to the country.

The same succession of events happened again, soon after under the government of Haidar Aghá Záda Mahammad Páshá, when two Mamlúk Beys, Kansee Bey and Memi Bey, openly revolted and occupied Upper Egypt. The country again became a prey to anarchy, and order was restored by the Arnaut, Ahmad Tarkhúnji Páshá. He imposed on the people by a great show of justice and severity. One of his ingenious expedients was to execute poor and friendless criminals in jail, and then to gibbet their bodies arrayed in furred and silken robes, that people might extol the justice of Ahmad Tarkhúnji Páshá, "who has but one law for both rich and poor." The fame of his assumed virtues elevated him to the rank of Vazir-i-'Azam to Sultan Ahmad; but, his conduct proving unequal to his character, he was soon strangled by order of the Sultan.

In A. D. 1664 another Ibrahim Páshá was deposed and imprisoned by the Mamlúk Beys on the ground of tyranny and illegal exactions.

(To be continued).

ART. III.—THE ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW OF ITALY.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE LAW OF ITALY.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE State.—Italian writers on jurisprudence differ little, if at all, from English writers, such as Spencer and Stuart Mill, in defining the duties and powers of the State and the limits of its sphere of action. The State must permit liberty of action to the individual to the utmost extent compatible with the rights of others: it must protect its citizens from external or internal violence; and it must assist in various ways the moral, intellectual, and economical development of society. The functions of the State, then, are not confined to the raising and maintenance of an army, the imposition of taxes, the execution of the laws, and the administration of justice; they include, *inter alia*, the public health, public instruction, public works, the fine arts, agriculture, industry, and commerce.

The ancients considered the State itself as the end; the modern idea is that it is only a means to an end, the end being the rights of the individual and the improvement of society. The State attains this end by means of "Public Powers" (*poteri pubblici*).

Division of Powers.—The Powers of the State are broadly divided into two classes. I. Legislative: II. Executive. These powers sometimes overlap, and are never quite so distinct in fact as they are in theory. The Italian Parliament possesses certain attributes of an executive nature in the choice of ministers, the verification of the powers of its own members, the accusation of ministers and adjudication of charges against them, permission to acquire land for public purposes, and the naturalisation of foreigners. On the other hand, the King, the head of the executive power, not only participates in legislation, but he is also authorized to make rules for the application and carrying out (*l'attuazione*) of laws; and, when Parliament is not sitting, he can, in cases of urgency, take provisional measures for the maintenance of the public security, provided they are not contrary to statute and are presented to Parliament for confirmation at its first subsequent sitting.

Executive Ordinances.—These provisional measures may be called executive ordinances (*decreti legislativi*, or *decreti-leggi*). They have, and keep the force of law unless and until Parlia-

ment refuses to sanction them. The rules made for the application of a law are called regulating decrees (*decreti regolamentari*), or simply regulations; these rules can neither modify the law nor change it. The law, which proceeds from the legislative power, establishes general principles, but does not contain detailed rules for their practical application. The executive power must, then, give the necessary instructions to its subordinate authorities. These rules are absolutely binding on subordinate officials, but not on private persons, unless they are in conformity with the law.

Specific delegation of legislative power to the Executive Authority.—Decrees or laws made under such delegation are called *legislative decrees*. Instances of these are the Regulations for Public Health, and for Urban and Rural Self-Government, framed by the Provincial and Communal authorities, and the provisions for Public Security made by the Prefects and Quæstors.

It is also worthy of notice that in Italy the legislative power entrusts the executive power with the consolidation in one text of several laws on the same subject-matter; but if, in such consolidation, the executive power should insert anything contrary to the law, or add anything not in the law, it has no effect.

The Judicial and Administrative Authorities.—Owing to the immovability and independence of the judiciary, some writers divide the public powers into three classes, legislative, executive, and judicial. But, both scientifically and as a matter of fact, the judicial is only a branch of the executive. In Switzerland, however, and the United States of America, the Federal judicial power can refuse to give effect to a law, which it finds to be contrary to the principles of the Constitution. Still, even in these countries, the judiciary has no power to inquire whether a particular law be suited to the needs and interests of society, and it must apply the law, even though it considers it to be unjust and injurious, so long as it be not contrary to the Constitution. In Italy the judiciary cannot in any case over-ride the legislature. For instance, Article 24 of the Constitution enacts that taxation must be *proportional*. Suppose the legislature imposes a *progressive* tax, the law would without doubt be applied; whereas in Switzerland and the United States of America, it would be annulled as contrary to the Constitution.

The judicial authority is charged with the defence of private rights, and inflexibly and vigorously applies the law to the particular cases coming before it, without thinking of the consequences; whilst the administrative authority watches over the collective and general interests of society, takes

account of its moral and political surroundings, and has a certain discretionary power in appreciating the right moment for the application of the law. The circumstances under which, and the extent to which the executive power can legislate, have been pointed out above. The executive power has also the power of prohibiting lawful acts in particular cases. For instance, there is no law which prohibits the performance of religious services *outside* churches, and they are impliedly allowed by Art. 183 of the Penal Code of 1859. Nevertheless, the Minister of the Interior and the Prefects can, in special cases, on grounds of health or public security, prohibit such services. Similar powers are entrusted in India to the Magisterial Courts, (Sec. 144 Code of Criminal Procedure) that is, to judicial officers; but the High Courts have shown an unreasonable jealousy of their exercise, for no other reason, apparently, than that these judicial officers also exercise certain fiscal and administrative functions.

Administrative Law and its Sources.—Signor Triaca gives the following excellent definition of Administrative Law: "The collection of rules which, in the general and collective interests of political society, define the duties and rights of the public administration in its relations with private persons and bodies."

The principal sources of administrative law are the fundamental laws of the State, and the whole body of laws and regulations which deal with the public administration. As regards the latter, the most important are those dealing with public instruction, Provincial and Communal Government, the Council of State, Public security and health, Public works, the Court of Accounts, the public debt, and the recruitment of the Army and Navy. Auxiliary sources of administrative law are the civil law, political economy, the philosophy of law, and works on public law.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENT OF THE STATE.

Centralisation and Decentralization.—In discussing the respective advantages of the centralized and decentralized systems, continental writers are careful not to confound political with administrative centralization. Political centralization deals with the troops and forces in the State territory, and is an absolute necessity for the preservation of national unity and prevention of anarchy.

As regards administrative centralization and decentralization, the public official is responsible under both systems. But under the former he is answerable only to the central power, and cannot be sued in the judicial Courts, except with the permission of the executive power; whereas under the latter, he is always

answerable before judicial authority, as in England and the United States.

As to what the State should do or not do, opinions differ, But the following principle is sound and unassailable, namely, that the State should not undertake those duties which can be *equally well* performed by private persons or associations. No hard and fast rule can be laid down for all countries; the decision must depend in each case on the bent and genius of a people, their customs, historical traditions, and civil state; in one word, on their political and moral surroundings. The geographical configuration of Italy, its climate, its historical traditions, and the interests created by preceding Governments seem to counsel decentralization. But, on the other hand, the national unity, but recently accomplished, the insufficient diffusion of education, the press, which busies itself too much with political and parochial affairs, and too little with the real good of the country, the cliques of patrons and clients, not to mention the numerous interested and secret societies, all these point to the necessity of a strong Central Government. This is borne out by the maladministration of charitable institutions (*opere pie*), which has resulted from over decentralization.

Division of the Public Administration.—The public administration is divided into two parts: the State administration and the Civil administration. The first aims at the collection and concentration of the social force by which the State lives and is visible; the second diffuses and distributes this social force among the minor political associations (provinces, communes) comprised in the State. The first is also called *general* or *central*; the latter *local* or *territorial*.

The administration of the State consists of—

I.—The Central administrative hierarchy.

II.—The Local administrative hierarchy.

(1) Local official hierarchy.

(2) Local elective hierarchy.

By administrative hierarchy is meant the various departments and grades of agents and officials charged with the execution of administrative laws.

I. THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE HIERARCHY.

The King.—The King is the supreme head and pivot of the administration of the State. He commands the land and sea forces; declares war and concludes peace; provides for the care of the State; convokes the Chambers, prorogues their sittings, and can dissolve the Chamber of the Deputies, convoking another within four months; he can give pardon and commute punishment; and he represents the State in its foreign relations.

The King is represented by Ministers who form his Government or Cabinet. The irresponsibility of the Crown has the double effect of increasing security, by removing from the Sovereign any odium for the unpopular acts of Government, and of augmenting the power of Parliament, by giving it power to correct and check the bad administration of Ministers. Every act of high administration must be confirmed by a Minister, who assumes direct responsibility for it. But generally speaking, and in the absence of any special law, this responsibility is not judicial, as in England, but only political. By Italian law the juridical or judicial responsibility of Ministers exists only in the case of high treason, malversation, and fraud.

The Ministers.—At the summit of the hierarchy stands the King: immediately beneath him come his Ministers. It is for him to decide the number and attributes of his Ministers, and he is not obliged to choose them from the Chambers. At present there are ten Ministers, namely, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the Interior, Finance, the Treasury, War, Marine, Pardon, Justice and Religion, Public Instruction, Public Works, Agriculture Industry and Commerce. There is a proposal to create two new Ministers, the one to be President of the Council, the other for Post Offices and Telegraphs. Each Minister is assisted by a General Secretary and Under-Secretary of State.

The Ministers are charged with collecting information regarding the needs of the people and the State; with reporting to the King and advising him; with proposing to Parliament the laws which affect the public interest, and seeing that existing laws are enforced; with directing those branches of the administration with which they are respectively charged; and, finally, with the supervision of their subordinate officials. In affairs of greater importance, Ministers meet together for common discussion and deliberation, and in these meetings even Ministers without any portfolio of their own have a seat and a vote. These assemblies are called Councils of Ministers, and are sometimes presided over by the King, but ordinarily by the chief Minister, who has the title of President of the Council and directs its discussions.

The Council deliberates on the following subjects: projects of laws to be presented to Parliament, international treaties and their interpretation, conflicts of jurisdiction between different Ministers, nominations for the Senate, the Council of State, the Court of Accounts, Generals in command, and other high cares of State, such as dismissals, sinecures, degradations. The projects of regulations for the execution of laws must be laid before the Council; as also proposals for extradition to foreign

Governments, and other affairs of importance. The President of the Council has a Secretary, who works under his direction, keeps him informed of all that is going on, prepares business for the Council, shares in their deliberations, and keeps an exact register thereof.

Functions of the different Ministers.—The functions of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War, Marine, Pardon and Justice, speak for themselves. The Minister of the Interior supervises political elections, military levies, public security and health, the archives of State, and the administration of Communes, Provinces, and charitable institutions. The Minister of Finance is concerned with taxation, its just and profitable distribution, the private incomes and monopolies of the Crown, and the sale thereof. The Minister of the Treasury is charged with the collection of the public revenues, the general financial position of the State, the service of the public debt, and vigilant enforcement of the regulations regarding expenditure. The Minister of Public Works is in charge of the national roads, the public waters, the reclamation of marshes, and also of Posts and Telegraphs. The Minister of Public Instruction has to exercise vigilance over private as well as public education. Under the care of the Minister of Agriculture Industry and Commerce are industrial privileges, the rights of authors, Loan Institutions, especially land and agricultural Banks, Savings Banks, and projects intended to free agricultural property from the fetters and servitudes which retard the progress of cultivation, to improve cattle, and give an impetus to the diffusion of agricultural knowledge.

Central consultative bodies and superior Councils.—Every Minister is assisted in the exercise of his functions by different bodies, whose office it is to advise and enlighten him in the more important affairs of his portfolio; bodies, which he may always, and in certain cases must, consult. Some of these bodies may be temporarily appointed; others are permanent. Over all is the Council of State, which embraces every branch of the public administration, and, together with the Court of Accounts, occupies the highest position in the central hierarchy.

Functions of the Council of State.—The Council of State, composed of men famous for learning and experience, is at the summit of all branches of the administration and all public services. Without impeding the action, or in any way lessening the responsibility of Ministers, it is summoned, sometimes, to enlighten the Government, sometimes to assist it, sometimes to restrain it, by maintaining firmly between competent authorities, for the safeguarding of public and private rights and interests, the attributes fixed by law, and by preserving through successive Ministries the maintenance of

administrative principles and traditions. Its functions are either *consultative* or *judicial*.

As a *consultative* body, the *Council of State* is summoned to give opinions to the King's Government. The Government is bound to seek its opinion on projects of laws and general regulations of the public administration, on the regularity, convenience, rescission, variation, and transaction of public contracts of greater importance, on the demands for extradition made by foreign Governments, and of those of corporate bodies to acquire land.

As a *judicial* body, the Council of State decides finally on differences between the State and its creditors regarding the interpretation of contracts of public loan, of the law relative to such loans, and of other contracts concerning the public debt; and also on differences regarding the obligations of railways guaranteed by the State. This jurisdiction is not in conformity with the fundamental principle of Italian public jurisprudence, which is that every dispute, having for its object an actual *right*, and not a simple *interest*, belongs to the competence of the ordinary Courts. But it is believed that the ordinary tribunals cannot adequately appreciate the reasons of public interest inherent in these laws, and that they would be prejudiced in favour of private persons as against the Government. Hence it was considered essential to the security of the State that such differences should be decided by an administrative body. Other judicial functions are conferred by special laws on the Council of State.

Composition of the Council of State.—The Council of State is composed of a first President, of three Presidents of Session, and of twenty-four Councillors, besides a number of Referees and Secretaries. The Councillors are appointed by the King, on the nomination of the Minister of the Interior, after consultation with the Council of Ministers. They cannot be suspended or removed from office except by a Royal decree passed after hearing the advice of the said Council. The Council of State is divided into three bodies: one for the Interior, one for Pardon, Justice and Religion, and the third for Finance. Each body has a President, eight Councillors and a Secretary. Both for the sittings of the Council and its branches, a *quorum* of half the members is necessary. The voice of the majority prevails; but when the numbers are equal, the President has a casting vote.

Functions of the Court of Accounts.—The law assigns to the Court of Accounts two kinds of functions, administrative and judicial.

As an administrative body, the Court of Accounts has the special duty of guaranteeing the regularity of the financial

administration of the State ; and it is therefore charged, not only with watching over the collection of all the public revenues, but also with scrutinizing all expenditure, and seeing that the action of the agents of the State is safeguarded by sufficient security and examination by special auditors. The Minister of the Treasury, before presenting to Parliament the Army Accounts, must first produce them before the Court of Accounts duly supported by documents and vouchers. The Court examines the account, and verifies not only if the expenditure is properly balanced, but also whether it has been placed under the proper headings, and whether it is justified ; for which purpose it has the right of calling for such explanations and documents as may be necessary. After examination, the Court makes a report to Parliament and sends it to the Minister of the Treasury, who presents it to the Chamber, together with the draught of a law passing the account.

Officers of the administration, who are charged with collections and payments, or who have in any way the handling of public monies, must annually render to the Court the judicial account of their administration. From this obligation are exempted only those functionaries who render accounts to the central bureaux under which they serve.

The Court must refuse to register decrees and orders of payment which it considers contrary to law and regulations. The refusal to register is in some cases absolute and annuls the order. In other cases the Minister can withdraw the decree, or submit it to the Council of Ministers. If the Council decides that the act is proper and assumes collective responsibility for it, it is returned to the Court for reconsideration. The Court may then pass it, or adhere to its refusal, in which case it registers with reservation (*con riserva*). A list of all registrations made with reservation is submitted to Parliament, which can call Ministers to account.

Judicial Jurisdiction of the Court.—The Court of Accounts, as a judicial body, adjudicates both as a Court of first instance, and on appeal on the accounts of Treasurers, Receivers, Cashiers, Accountants and others who have charge of the money of the State ; as also on the responsibility of their sureties.

The jurisdiction of the Court is initiated either by the presentation of the account by the person responsible, or by an injunction of the Procurator-General of the Court in case of delay in presentation. The Court hears what the public officer has to say, and if his accounts are square and correct, it pronounces in his favour ; otherwise it condemns him to payment.

As an appellate body, the Court decides appeals from

the decisions of the Councils of the Prefects concerning the accounts of Communes and Provincial Treasurers, and other accounts within the competency of such Councils. Finally, it adjudicates as an original Court with separate benches on the payment of pensions due from the State ; and as a Court of second instance, sitting in full Session, on the claims of the State.

Remedies against the decisions of the Court.—There are two extraordinary remedies against the judicial decisions of the Court, by way of *annulment* and by way of *review*. The first remedy is allowed only for incompetence, or excess of powers, and the application is presented to the Court of Cassation at Rome. The second is admitted in case of mistake of fact, or error of calculation, committed by the Court, or in case of discovery of new documents, or when the decision has been based on false documents ; and the application for review is made to the Court of Accounts itself.

Composition of the Court—The Court of Accounts is divided into three Sessions or Benches ; and is composed of a President, two Presidents of Session, twelve Councillors, a Procurator-General and various Accountants and Secretaries. The President and Councillors are appointed by the King, on the nomination of the Minister of Finance, after consultation with the Council of Ministers. Although they do not, like Judges, enjoy the privilege of *inmoveability*, still it is enacted, with a view to guard their independence, that they cannot be removed, or made to retire, except by a royal decree passed in conformity with the opinion of a Committee composed of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE HIERARCHY.

I. LOCAL OFFICIAL HIERARCHY.

Division of the Kingdom.—The kingdom is divided into Provinces, Districts,* Mandaments and Communes. Only the Provinces and Communes have a personality and an administration of their own, with deliberative bodies, and their own incomes and disbursements. The Districts and Mandaments are simply territorial and judicial circles, or areas.

The Commune is a fact anterior to the law, which has its *raison d'être* in human society ; the legislator has not created it, he has merely found it, and recognized its existence.

The Province is the gradual product of Italian history. In Italy it has an ancient origin and a personality which happens to be more distinct than in any other part of Europe. It arose

* *Circondari*, called in the Province of Venice *Commissariate distrettuali*.

generally at the period when the struggle between the democratic element of the city and the feudal element of the country was at its height. The city triumphed, the castles of the barons were dismantled, they had to come and live within the walls, the minor suburbs sought its protection,—in this way the city became a county and a territory, with which it had intimate interests. This was the origin of the Province, which is not a fictitious unit, but a natural association, founded on collective interests. In every respect it is a true organism, like the commune, though it has not the vitality of the commune, or the stability of the State. On the other hand the districts and mandaments are fictitious administrative areas, which might be eliminated without detriment to the public life.

Number, Extent and Population of Communes and Provinces.—The number of communes in Italy on the 1st January, 1882, was 8,259, but differing much in extent and population. The largest communes are found in the Central and Southern Provinces; the smallest in Upper Italy. The average population of the Roman communes is about 8,500, that of the Lombard communes about 1,500.

There are 59 Provinces, which also differ very much in extent and population. The Province of Livorno (Leghorn) contains 343 square kilometres*, while that of Cagliari contains 13,682 square kilometres. The Provinces of Sondrio, Livorno and Grosseto have a population of a little over 100,000 inhabitants each, while those of Milan, Turin, and Naples each exceed a million. That city is called the capital of a Province which, by its traditions, its central position, its economic and industrial importance, and its larger population is most fitted to collect and centralize the interests of all the communes which compose it.

Prefects.—The Prefect is the principal government official charged with the execution of the laws within the Province, and all other authorities are subordinate to him. He represents the central government, and holds in his hands all the threads of the local administration; but he is especially charged with the maintenance of public order and public security, and with the supervision of corporations. The Prefect has two distinct attributes; firstly, he is the direct representative of the executive power; secondly, he is the supervising authority of the administration of communes, of Provinces, of charitable institutions, and of every other corporate body within his territorial jurisdiction.

As the representative of government, the Prefect provides for the publication and execution of the laws, superintends

* 1 Kilometre = 1,093½ yards.

the public security and health, the prison administration and service, appoints the lower grades of the guards of public security exercises censorship over theatres, can permit, in certain cases, the acquisition of land for public purposes, and has a number of other powers which will be noticed later.

In his second capacity, the Prefect, in addition to his duties connected with the communal and provincial administration, countersigns, after examination, certificates of fitness for the office of Communal Secretary ; appoints or approves the appointment, of the directors of Charitable Institutions reserved to the King, or the Minister of the Interior, and can proceed to the verification of the solvency of their Treasurers and Accountants.

The Prefect is under the Minister of the Interior, to whom he must refer regarding the principal events which happen in the Province, and must submit annually, in the month of November, a general report on the moral, economic, and political condition, and on the administration, of the Province ; and also a Statistical Report on the sanitary state thereof.

The Prefect is assisted by a Council of Prefecture, from which he can always seek advice, and in certain cases must do so, as for instance when it is a question of annulling the resolutions of Communal and Provincial Councils, of passing the accounts of Communal and Provincial Treasurers, of deciding on differences between the Municipal Authorities and private persons who wish to cultivate rice. The Council is presided over by the Prefect. One of the members of the Council has the title of Councillor Delegate, and is charged permanently by the Government with acting for the Prefect, when the latter consents and is himself prevented from acting.

The Sub-Prefect.—In every District there is a Sub-Prefect who performs, under the direction of the Prefect, the duties imposed on him by law, and carries out the orders of the Prefect. The Sub-Prefects are the heads of the Public Security and Presidents of the Councils of Conscription and Public Health for their own departments. They are especially charged with the surveillance of idlers, mendicants and vagabonds, the supervision of the Accountants of Local Charitable Institutions, and of weights and measures ; and they can submit proposals to the Prefect for such corrections in the Electoral lists as they deem necessary.

Other territorial Government Offices.—There are other officials charged with financial, judicial, scholastic, military functions, &c. In every department there is a Prætor who takes cognizance in the first instance of Contraventions and Civil Disputes of minor importance, the value of which does not exceed 1,500 lira. At the capital of every department is a Tribunal which is

empowered to deal in the first instance with Delicts and Civil Causes, the value of which exceeds 1,500 lira ; and, as a Court of Appeal, with cases decided by the *Pretor*.

In every capital of a Province there are a Forest Committee, a Director of Instruction, a Board of Health, a Direction of Posts ; a Quæstorship or Inspectorate of Public Security and a Superintendent of Finance, who is at the head of all the Financial officers in the Province.*

For groups of two or more Provinces there is constituted a Court of Appeal for hearing on appeal the civil and Criminal cases decided by the District Tribunals, and Courts of Assize for the trial of crimes or more heinous delicts. At Turin, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Palermo there are Courts of Cassation* for the correction of irregularities of procedure committed by inferior judicial authorities, and the annulment of their decisions.

II. LOCAL ELECTIVE HIERARCHY.

The Commune.—The Commune is, according to some, a political society, and, according to others, an administrative society, formed by the inhabitants of a small circle of the territory of the State, who, having an identity of interests, and being bound together by their daily and necessary relations and wants, feel the need of a local power fit to protect such interests and to regulate such relations.

With a view to suppress the small Communes, in which there can be little or no moral or economic vigour, and in which the expenditure is relatively heavy, the Legislature delegated to the Government the power to direct the voluntary, and in certain cases even the compulsory, union of several Communes. This power was originally given for a period of five years only ; it was extended from time to time up to 1884, but has not been further renewed. On the other hand, a part of a Commune may be formed into a distinct Commune, if, by reason of its topographical position, local circumstances and distance from the centre of the Commune, it represents special and distinct interests ; provided that it contains not less than 4,000 inhabitants, and has sufficient means to meet the Communal expenditure.

Administration of the Commune.—The affairs of the Commune are managed by a Communal Council and a Municipal

* These are Courts of Civil Cassation. There is only one Court of Criminal Cassation for the whole Kingdom. It sits at Rome. It was found that the conflicting decisions of several Courts of Cassation was more detrimental in criminal than in civil justice. The Governor-General in Legislative Council was intended to perform the functions of a Supreme Court for the whole Indian Empire. See Minute of Sir James Stephen on the Administration of Justice in British India. But conflicting decisions of the High Courts are often allowed to stand side by side for grave.

Committee assisted by a Secretary. The Communal Council is composed of 80 councillors in communes which have a population exceeding 250,000 inhabitants, of 60 councillors when the population exceeds 60,000, of 40, when it exceeds 30,000, 30, when it exceeds 10,000, and 20 or 15 in smaller communes. The Municipal Committee is composed of the *Sindac* and 12 assessors, with 4 supplementary assessors in communes with a population of over 250,000, and of a smaller number according to the population of the commune.

The Administrative Electorate.—The councillors of the commune are elected by male citizens over 21, who know how to read and write, are in full enjoyment of civil rights, have not been convicted of theft, fraud, or any crime, are not under detention for any correctional offence, are not bankrupts, and who, from a period of at least six months, are paying annually, in the shape of direct taxes, from 5 to 25 lira, according to the larger or smaller population of the commune. But payment of taxes is not necessary in the case of those who are presumed to have sufficient capacity to know the importance of the right of suffrage, as public teachers, advocates, engineers, doctors, public officials and the like. Interest and capacity are essential conditions: interest is presumed in the case of those who are domiciled and have property in the commune; capacity is presumed in the case of those who occupy public posts, exercise liberal professions, or enjoy a certain income.

The Electoral List and Elections.—A list of electors is prepared and published and revised by the Communal Council. Citizens are at liberty to present claims to the Prefect, which are decided by the Provincial deputation, with the right, however, to appeal to the Court of Appeal.

All those whose names are inscribed on the list of electors, are eligible for the post of communal councillor, except clergymen and ministers of religion having office or the care of souls (at least in the commune in which they exercise such functions), and members of chapters and colleges; those who receive a salary from the commune, or from institutions administered by it, functionaries of Government, whose duty it is to supervise the communal administration (the Minister of the Interior and his General Secretary, the Prefect, Sub-Prefect, Councillors and Secretaries of the Prefecture); those who have the management of the communal fund, and have not rendered the account of a preceding administration, or have litigation with the commune. Finally, persons related in a direct line, as well as a father-in-law and son-in-law, cannot be members of the same commune at the same time.

The only voting by proxy allowed is when a son votes for his father, or widow mother. Voting is by ballot. The election rules call for no particular notice.

Meetings of the Communal Council.—The Communal Council meets in ordinary session twice a year, the first time in March, April, or May, the second in September or October. The Prefect, either of his own instance, or on the demand of the Municipal Committee, or of a third of the Councillors, can order an extraordinary meeting to discuss certain specified matters. Every other meeting is illegal. The Prefect, or Sub-Prefect, can be present in person, or by a representative, at any meeting, but he has no vote.

Functions of the Communal Council.—The Communal Council looks after the finances and examines the accounts of the commune; fixes the number and pay of the communal officers, appoints and dismisses them, decides regarding acquisitions and alienations of communal property, suits to be instituted or defended, establishment of fairs and markets; makes rules concerning health, the office of ædile and local police; and generally decides all the most important matters of Municipal administration. At the first session half the councillors must attend; at the second any number forms a quorum. All the discussions of the Council are published in the Prætor's Book.

Functions of the Municipal Committee.—The Communal Council deliberates and decides; the Municipal Committee administers and executes. The assessors are elected by the Communal Council from among their own members by a majority of votes; they remain in office two years, one half being renewed each year, and are always eligible for re-election.

The Committee represents the Council in the intervals between its meetings; it executes the resolutions of the Council; prepares the registers of taxes; appoints and dismisses the servants of the commune; fixes the fares of public conveyances and the hire of Piazza commissionaires; prepares projects for expenditure and regulations for submission to the Council; compiles the administrative and political electoral lists, and lists of jurors; enters into contracts; and, in cases of urgency, (for instance, where immediate measures are called for in the interests of public health or security), and under their own moral and pecuniary responsibility, takes action which would otherwise lie within the province of the Council. The Committee decides by pure majority, but half the members composing it must be present. It renders an annual account of its administration to the Council. In fine, the Committee is the executive of the Council.

*The Sindaco.**—The Sindaco is at once the head of the communal administration and an official of Government. In his first capacity he is the legal representative of the commune;

* The Italian *Sindaco* is the equivalent of the French *Maire* of a *Commune*.

in the second he is an actual delegate of the executive power, charged with seeing to the application and observance of the laws and regulations. He is selected by the King from among the communal councillors, and remains in office for three years, but may be made permanent so long as he retains the capacity of councillor. No one can be Sindac, at the same time, of more than one commune. Before entering on his functions, he takes the oath of fealty to the King, to the statutes and the laws, before the Prefect, or his delegate.

The Sindac as Head of the Communal Administration.—Following the principle that executive power is best confided to one person, the Italian law leaves to the Sindac large powers in the administration of the commune. The Sindac calls and presides at meetings of the Council, and also of the Municipal Committee; he distributes business among the Assessors and supervises its performance; he represents the commune in Courts of justice, he countersigns orders for payment from communal funds; he executes the contracts decided on by the Council and concluded by the Committee, and executes their resolutions; he superintends all communal offices and institutions, and can suspend communal employees.

The Sindac as an Official of the Government.—The Sindac, as an official of the Government, has numerous functions, of which only the principal need be enumerated. He publishes the laws; keeps the registers of civil *status* and vital statistics; and takes measures, in conformity with the law, to provide for the health, security, and public order of the commune. He is also an official of the judicial Police, where there is no other special officer for this duty.* The function of the Sindac is to direct and bind the Municipal society to the larger society of the province and the State.

In communes made up of several quarters (*borgate*), the Sindac can delegate his functions to one of the Councillors, or resident electors, of such quarter, when this is rendered advisable by its distance from the capital and the difficulty of communication. This is intended to prevent the breaking up of communes, which is always economically and politically injurious to good administration. Communes which have a population exceeding 60,000, can demand to be split up into quarters, and in such cases the Sindac can delegate his functions, with the previous approval of the Prefect.

Sindacs can be removed only by the King; but the Prefects may suspend them.

The Sindac and his delegates cannot be called to render an account of the exercise of their duties, except to superior administrative authority; nor can they be sued, or subjected to

* Art. 57, Code Criminal Procedure.

any judicial process, in respect of any official act, without the permission of the King, given after consulting the Council of State.

The Secretary.—The law prescribes that there should also be a Secretary in the commune, but permits several communes to have one Secretary. He is responsible for the despatch of the communal business; he submits an annual report of operations to the Prefect, or sub-Prefect; in particular, he must attend at the meetings of the Council and Committee, promulgate the minutes, and keep them duly bound together, paged, and recorded in chronological order. Similarly, he must keep the electoral lists, the laws, and decrees of the Kingdom, the budget estimates and accounts of expenditure, and also the price-currents of grains in communes in which a market is held.

The Provincial Administration.—The Elective Provincial Administration is composed of a Council and of a Provincial Deputation. The latter is the executive of the former, just as, *quoad* the commune, the Municipal Committee is the executive of the Communal Council.

The Provincial Council.—The Provincial Council is composed of 60, 50, 40 or 20 councillors, according to the greater or smaller population of the province. The councillors are selected by the communal electors of each mandamentum, from among those who have property and are domiciled in the province, and are over 25 years of age.

The Council sits every year, as of right, on the second Monday in August, in the capital of the Province, and can also be convened by the Prefect, either of his own instance, or on the requisition of the Provincial Deputation. The Prefect has the right to be present at the meetings and even to suspend them, but has no vote. The ordinary duration of the meetings is 15 days; but it may be extended for 8 days longer, or even more, with the permission of the Prefect.

Functions of the Provincial Council.—The principal duties of the Provincial Council are to provide for the creation of public provincial institutions, to look after business connected with the property of the province and its districts, to maintain the provincial roads, to liquidate loans, to preserve the provincial monuments, buildings and archives, to maintain pauper lunatics, to subsidise companies and communes for public works or public instruction, and to supervise all public institutions established for the benefit of the province or any part of it. The Provincial Council also gives its opinion on matters on which it is required to do so by law, or asked to do so by the Prefect.

Functions of the Provincial Deputation.—The Provincial Deputation is composed of the Prefect, who convokes and presides over it, and of 10, 8, or 6 members, according to the impor-

tance of the province, elected by the Provincial Council from amongst its own members. They remain in office for two years, one-half going out every year, and are always eligible for re-election.

The Provincial Deputation bears much the same relation to the Provincial Council as the Municipal Committee does to the Communal Council. It executes the Council's resolutions; prepares the budget and other business for submission to the Council; suspends the officers of the Province, and appoints, suspends, and dismisses the salaried employees; executes the contracts entered into by the Council, and annually renders an account of its administration; acts in cases of urgency, at the same time reporting to the Council at its first meeting; and finally gives its opinion to the Prefect, whenever required to do so by him.

The Provincial Deputation also frames the rules for the application of the communal, family, or hearth taxes, and the general tax on cattle, subject to the approval of the King. A majority of the members composing it must be present at its discussions. If a deputy fails to attend for an entire month, he is declared by the Prefect to have ceased to hold office.

Provisions common to the Communal and Provincial Administration.—The services of communal and provincial councillors are gratuitous, but they give a right to re-imbursement for any unusual expenses sustained in the execution of public duties. The communal councils are also empowered to allot in the budget an annual sum in favour of the Sindac, as an indemnity for expenses (*spese di rappresentanza*), and the Provincial Councils can grant in favour of members of the deputation, not residing in the capital of the Province, medals of attendance corresponding to the expenses of travelling and halting.

In the Communal Councils, when the majority require it, and in the Provincial Councils always, the sittings and the votes are public, except when there is any discussion concerning persons. Votes are taken by name, or by rising and sitting. The President of the Council is invested with the power to maintain order, to regulate the discussions, and can also suspend and dissolve the sitting, reporting to the Prefect, or sub-Prefect, in the case of the Communal Council or Municipal Committee, and to the Minister of the Interior in other cases.

The King can, for grave reasons of public order, dissolve the Provincial and Communal Councils; but a new election must be held within a period not exceeding three months. In the interval the administration of the Commune is confided to a royal commissary.

COMMUNAL AND PROVINCIAL EXPENDITURE AND INCOME.

Communal Expenditure.—Communal expenditure is of two kinds.

1. Obligatory.
2. Optional.

The following kinds of expenditure are obligatory ; for the communal office and record-room, for the salaries of the Secretary and other officers, for the collection and payment departments, for vaccination, for the sanitary services of doctors, surgeons and midwives for the poor, if not otherwise provided for ; for the construction and maintenance of communal roads ; for the repair and maintenance of communal buildings, public piazzas and cemeteries, for the elementary instruction of the two sexes, for the Prætorial lock-ups, for lighting (where it has been started), for the registers of civil status, for the official collection of laws, for the local police, and generally all expenditure which is imposed on the commune by special laws. All other kinds of expenditure are optional. But, with a view to prevent ambitious resolutions, especially the mania for monuments, it is enacted that money can be spent only on objects of public utility within the administrative limits of the commune.

Communal Income.—If communes have not a sufficient income to meet the expenditure, they can impose duties on food and drink, materials for building, except those for railways, on fodder and other articles destined for local consumption, subject to a maximum of 20 per cent. *ad valorem*. They can also impose a family tax or a tax for the occupation of public lands, for the sale of merchandise and exercise of professions, on carriages, servants, on the letting value of houses, on cattle, on photographs, and on coats of arms.

Tax on Professions and Trades.—This tax is imposed also on those who exercise the arts and liberal professions, as advocates, procurators, engineers, doctors, auditors and others. In the larger communes this tax, after the duties on articles of consumption, is the most productive. For the application of the tax, communes are divided, according to their population, into six classes, and for each is assigned the maximum limit of the contribution. The division of contributors into classes and the corresponding tax assigned to them by the Municipal Committee, or by a special commission in communes having a population of more than 5000 inhabitants, are published with the right of appeal to the Provincial Deputation within 15 days.

Tax on Carriages and Servants.—This tax is imposed not only on public and private carriages, but also on gondolas and pleasure boats ; and the tax is payable to that commune in which

they are habitually used. As regards the application of the tax, carriages can be divided into classes according to their capacity and the number of horses; communes are divided into five classes according to their population; and for this tax the maximum limit is fixed for each class. The impost can be increased if the carriages are adorned with coats of arms or marks of rank.

The tax on servants is annual and fixed, subject to a maximum of 10 lira for a man and 5 lira for a woman, without distinction whether the servants receive food and lodging from their masters, or not.

Tax on the letting value of houses.—The tax is imposed not only on private citizens and strangers, but also on societies which keep at their disposal in the commune a house or furnished apartments; but houses or rooms which serve for public offices or industrial workshops, and not for regular habitation, are exempt. The tax cannot exceed two per cent.

Family or Hearth Tax.—The rules for the application of this tax are framed by the Provincial Deputation, and approved by Royal decree, after hearing the Council of State. It is divided into a number of classes, the duty of placing each family in a particular class according to its means being left to the Municipal Committee, or a special commission. All families which reside within the commune are subject to this tax, even though foreigners, or not domiciled in the commune.

Tax on Dogs.—Those dogs are exempt which are exclusively kept for guarding rural buildings and flocks, dogs which suckle, those which serve as guides to the blind, and those which belong to persons not permanently residing in the commune. The tax on dogs must be considered not only in its economic aspect, but also as a measure tending to preserve the health and safety of the citizens. The amount of the tax can be varied according to the breed of the dogs.

Tax on Cattle.—The tax on animals is general, or special; that is, it may be imposed on all beasts which serve for agriculture, industry or convenience, or only on carriage and saddle animals and beasts of burden. In the latter case dogs specially taxed are exempt, as well as animals of passage and those which have not yet been tamed or yoked as colts and calves.

Tax on Photographs and Crests.—Communes have the right to tax photographs exposed for sale by affixing stamps of from 5 to 50 centimes, according to their size. To sell or expose for sale photographs, in respect of which the tax has not been paid, is punishable with fine up to 50 lira.

Communes are empowered also to impose a tax on crests and every form of advertisement or address exposed to the

public, and having reference to the exercise of professions, industries and commerce. The tax can be fixed at from 5 to 50 centimes for every letter written in the crest, and double if written in a foreign language; and from 10 centimes to 1 lira for every other sign, ornament, coat of arms or device. The persons using such signs, &c., can be divided into classes, according to the importance of their professions, or occupations, or according to the importance of the roads in which the signs are exposed.

Tax for the occupation of Public Lands.—The tax is imposed on the occupation, even temporary, of any communal area in the inhabited portion assigned for public use, especially when the occupation is for the exercise of industry and commerce. The tax should be moderate, so as not to place any obstacles in the way of public markets, and should be regulated, according to the square metres occupied and the importance of the situation. To this class of taxes belong those which are paid for the occupation of ground in public cemeteries, or public slaughter-yards.

Communal Dues.—Communal dues are levied by establishing Municipal offices for the public measurement and weightment of wine and cereals, or the provision, on payment of rent, of public stalls on the occasion of fairs and markets; but these duties cannot assume a compulsory character. The declaration by a Municipality of an intention to levy such duties carries with it a prohibition to private persons to keep open offices of a similar character, that is, to draw a gain therefrom. The public measurement and weightment, however, must be restricted to cereals and wine, and cannot be extended to acids and all sorts of liquid. The quality of goods cannot be taken into account, but only the quantity.

The tax must not be excessive, and must be uniform for every sort of weightment, measurement, or stall; but it should be proportioned to the quantity of goods or to the size of the stall.

Additional Imposts.—The above-mentioned taxes are not nearly sufficient for the ever-growing needs of the communes;* and they are permitted to enhance for their own benefit the Government duty on provisions, and especially the tax on landed property. But the additional tax on provisions cannot

* Regarded from the point of view of the Italian tax-payer, the taxes in Italy seem to be numerous and heavy. The list is at any rate a suggestive one, when Local Boards and Municipalities are constantly and bitterly complaining of their poverty and consequent inability to undertake sanitation on an effective scale. Sumptuary taxes on luxuries and marks of rank, *et. gr.*, retainers, arms, badge, crests, would be unobjectionable. I believe Municipal taxation in English towns is 25 per cent. or a little over; in some Italian towns it is 40 per cent. and over.

exceed 50 per cent. of the Government tax ; and, without a special law, the additional Communal and Provincial taxes cannot exceed, in the aggregate, 100 centimes for every lira of the principal land tax.

Moreover, the law of the 24th August, 1877, has given to communes a tenth of the impost on moveables which the State receives in any year from the inhabitants of the commune. To carry out this, a subsequent law, of the 2nd July, 1885, obliges those who have places of business and subsidiary branches in several communes to declare, not only their aggregate income, but also the income derived in each commune, together with the stipends and payments made to their employees.

Expenditure and Income of the Province.—The following expenditure is obligatory on the Province: the salaries of the officers of the Provincial administration ; the upkeep of Provincial roads, harbours and light-houses, the maintenance of poor lunatics, the preservation of vaccine, the erection of offices of the Prefecture and sub-Prefecture, with suitable furniture, &c., and the pay of all other posts which the law places at the charge of the Province. In default of sufficient funds for these expenses, the province can levy an additional one per cent. on the land tax.

CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT OVER THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

Government Supervision over the Communal Administration.—In order to enable the Government to exercise vigilance over the administration of communes, it is enacted that the minutes of resolutions of the Councils and Municipal Committees, and the registers of communal taxes be transmitted by the *Sindacs* in duplicate to the Prefect, or sub-Prefect, who examines whether the resolutions are regular in form and not contrary to law. If regular, they affix their countersignature (*visto*) ; if not, the sub-Prefect can suspend their execution, and the Prefect, after informing the Communal councils of the reasons for withholding approval and considering their replies, can even annul them, after hearing the Council of Prefecture.

The following resolutions of Communes are subject to the approval of the Provincial Deputation ; resolutions regarding the alienation of immoveables, industrial shares, letters of credit, or the acquisition of such letters, leases and conveyances for more than 12 years ; expenditure which will absorb the balances for more than five years ; the establishment of fairs and markets, in case of opposition from bordering communes ;*

* In Italy only a public body can establish a fair or market. In India, subject only to the provisions of Sec. 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, any private person can establish a *hâf* (fair) on his own land.

regulations concerning taxes and communal imposts, health, buildings and the local police; the introduction of tolls; and resolutions which increase taxation, when a request is made by rate-payers who pay altogether one-twentieth of the total direct taxation of the Commune. Such a request is sent directly to the Minister of the Interior, to be dealt with by him.

If the Provincial Deputation refuses sanction, it must record its reasons, and the Councils and Municipal committees, as well as the Prefects, can appeal to the King, after consulting the Council of State.

Government Control over the Provincial Administration.—The resolutions of the Provincial Council have to be transmitted within eight days to the Prefect, who, if he finds them to be irregular, or *ultra vires*, can annul them, after hearing the Council of Prefecture, provided he does so within 20 days, or within two months if they refer to the balances; otherwise they become final. An appeal from the decisions of the Prefect lies to the Minister of the Interior, who decides after hearing the Council of State. The sanction of the Prefect is necessary in all matters of great importance. Communes which pay one-twentieth of the total direct taxation of the province, can appeal to the Prefect against resolutions of the Provincial Councils which increase taxation.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF PUBLIC OFFICERS.

Rights of Public Officers.—A public officer has duties towards the administration and towards the people. His duties towards the administration are the personal and assiduous discharge of the functions of his office, the preservation of official secrets, and subordination to superiors. The subordination of the lower grades of officials consists in merely carrying out orders; but the higher officials must exercise their own discretion as to the best means of carrying out orders. They thus exercise

In towns, however, it is necessary to get a license from the Municipal Commissioners, who can, in the interests of sanitation, impose conditions. The Legislature seems to have regarded the interests of the public in urban areas as paramount to those of private persons; but the Calcutta High Court seems to regard the restriction with some jealousy. The principle laid down in the law seems to be unexceptionable, but its application has been left to Municipal bodies without control or appeal. This mistake of giving absolute power to the local body is a curious characteristic of the legislation of 1884. It will be seen that in Italy—and it is the same in almost all countries—all important action of Municipal bodies is subject to the control of the Prefects and sub-Prefects. The new Bengal Municipal Bill proposes to give larger powers of control and revision to the District Magistrate and Commissioner. It is certainly a most remarkable anomaly that the orders of Municipalities should enjoy a greater finality even than the judgments of the highest courts, not excepting the High Court.

will and intelligence, and are clothed with a personal responsibility.

The duties of public officers towards citizens who have relations with the public administration are solicitude for the despatch of business, courtesy combined with firmness, and a spirit of conciliation in cases in which such spirit is not antagonistic to the interests of the public administration, (*ove non osti l'interesse della Repubblica*).

Rights of Public Officers.—Public officers have several rights, of which the most important is the right to protection in the exercise of their duties.

1. PROTECTION IN THE EXERCISE OF PUBLIC DUTIES.

In order that public officers may not shirk the duties assigned to them, but may perform them adequately and thoroughly, the Government is bound to lend them a strong hand, (*prestargli mano forte*) to protect them against the malice, resentment, or violence, of private persons who consider themselves injured or offended, to shield them with its own responsibility, to uphold their authority, and sustain their firmness and courage. Should the Government not approve of the action of its agent, or, worse, should it disavow, or condemn it, the agent will lose all confidence; and on a future occasion, instead of enforcing the exact observance of the law, he will merely seek to slink out of the business with a whole skin, (*cercherebbe di uscirne pel rotto della cuffia*).

2. PERMANENCE OF OFFICE.

The public interests absolutely demand that all subordinate officials should, as a general rule, be permanent, since permanence is a guarantee of good administration. In fact, he who has entered into the service of the State, and knows that he must remain, concentrates all his activity on the office which he has assumed; while the uncertainty and temporary nature of the post makes him contemplate dismissal or removal, and therefore turn his personal activity to some other profession, so as to have an opening in case he may lose his official post. Stability is necessary also to preserve administrative traditions, and to acquire greater experience of business.

3. PAY.

In modern times the payment of public functionaries is a necessity, as the official is taken away from the number of

* It is a matter for regret that public officers in India do not receive that support and protection which is accorded to them in England, Germany, and Italy and especially in Spain, France and America. It is especially necessary that their firmness should be sustained in India, as they can be sued, without the consent of their superiors, by any malicious private person.

producers, and must find a compensation in the office which he exercises. Salaries must be commensurate with the importance of an officer's duties, and such as always to assure him an honest livelihood, and render him zealous and incorruptible.

4. PENSION.

Pension is generally considered as a complement of pay, as deferred pay; and civil officers are entitled to it, if they have completed 40 years' service, or are 65 years of age with 25 years' service, or have become incapacitated by wounds or infirmities contracted in the exercise of their functions. As an exception, retirement and pension are allowed after 25 years of service to the officer who has become unfit for further service owing to causes independent of his office, or owing to the abolition of his office. If such inability, or abolition, occurs before the officer has completed 25, but after 10 years' service, he has the right to a compensation of one-twelfth of his pay for each year of service on the first 2000 lira, and to one-eighteenth of the remainder.

Pension is calculated on the mean of the pay drawn by an officer during the last three years of his active service. Pensions cannot be less than 150 lira, nor can they exceed four-fifths of the mean of the stipend; and in no case can they exceed 8000 lira (£320.)

The pension is generally extended, but on a limited scale, to the widow and children of the officer; that is, their share is limited to one-third of the pension enjoyed by the husband or father. For the officer himself, the pension is for life; but the widow loses it if she marries again, the children when they attain majority, and the daughters even before if they marry. Pensions cannot be assigned, or attached, except for debt to the State, or maintenance due according to law. In the first case a fifth, and in the latter a third of the pension may be attached.

JUDICIAL JURISDICTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS, AND CONFLICTS OF JURISDICTION.

Administrative Jurisdiction.—By administrative jurisdiction is meant a special power given to the administrative authority in controversies arising out of the acts of administrative officers of the State, or Provinces, or Communes. The reasons for giving this power are that it is considered prejudicial to, and incompatible with, the independence and responsibility of the administrative power to have its acts judged by the judicial power; that to judge properly an administrative act, there is need of common sense, breadth of judgment, and in fine, special faculties which can only be derived from administrative experience; and that,

a speedy decision being essential, the matter must be withdrawn from the delays of the ordinary civil courts.

Italian jurists and legislators have adopted a middle course, and maintain the competence of the administrative authority as regards those acts which injure a *simple interest*, leaving to the civil courts jurisdiction in respect of those acts which infringe an *actual right* (*un vero diritto*) of the citizen.

Acts which damage an interest.—Illustrations of acts which damage interests are the refusal to permit a dangerous or offensive trade or occupation in a given place; the dismissal of a public officer who is liable to dismissal; or the non-observance of the rule of seniority in giving promotion. In these and analogous cases it is clear that the persons harmed by such acts can have only such an interest as to permit remonstrance, but no right which can be established. They can make a complaint to the superior administrative authority, if they think that the procedure has been irregular, or the facts misrepresented or misappreciated; or they can present a simple remonstrance to the author of the act, who can consider, on grounds of equity and humanity, whether, or how far, he can reconcile private with public interests; but the administration remains the sovereign and exclusive judge of its own acts.*

Acts which infringe actual rights.—A right is injured if the public administration directs the cutting of an embankment, or the occupation of private property, without any legal formality; when it rejects the prayer of a public officer who is entitled to pension, or refuses to give him the pay agreed upon. By these and similar acts citizens are injured in their rights, and not merely in their interests. In these cases there is no question of a discretionary power, but of a violation of justice; hence the citizen has the right to invoke the protection of the judicial authority.

General Rule for deciding competency.—From the above a general rule may be deduced regarding the competency of the administrative or judicial authority respectively, as regards acts of the public administration. When the interest harmed by the administrative act has no special guarantee in a legislative act, or in a contract, the cognizance and decision are exclusively within the competence of the administrative authority immediately superior to that which was the author of the act complained of; but if it has a special guarantee in an act or a contract, reparation must be sought before the judicial authority; which, however, is bound to limit its inquiry to ascertaining the effects of the act in relation to the particular subject matter of the case, and must apply the general or local administrative

* Rulings of the Court of Cassation in Rome, dated 8th July and 20th August 1884.

rules, so far as they are in conformity with law. The revocation, or modification, of the act complained of still belongs to the competent administrative authority, which must comply with the decision of the judicial authority only as regards the particular case decided, and must order restoration or reparation for loss.*

Conflicts of Jurisdiction.—It is not always an easy matter to distinguish between a right and an interest. If, for instance, the administrative authority, in improving a public road, lowers or raises its level, so that the owners of the houses on either side are obliged to alter their gates and courtyards so as to suit the new level, it is doubtful whether a mere interest has been harmed, or an actual right. Hence arises a conflict of competence between judicial and administrative authorities, and this conflict may arise in two ways. Either both authorities may claim the right to adjudicate (*conflitto positivo*), or both may declare themselves incompetent (*conflitto negativo*). It is, therefore, necessary that a third superior and independent authority should decide before which tribunal the matter should go. Up to 1877, the authority charged with deciding such conflicts was the Council of State; but, as this was considered not to be in harmony with the principle of the independence of the judicial power, the law of the 31st March 1877 substituted the Court of Cassation in Rome. The demand for the direct decision of the Court is made by the Prefect, in an order giving his grounds, which is notified to the parties and sent to the Procurator of the King in the circle where the suit is pending before the Proetor or the tribunal. The Courts, administrative or judicial, are bound to suspend action, pending the orders of the Court of Cassation.

Responsibility of the State for administrative acts.—Two classes of cases have to be distinguished: the one, in which the administrative agents and officers have acted in pursuance of a power given by law, or, so to speak, by right of sovereignty (*jure imperii*) in the public interest; and the other, in which they have acted in the special interest of State property (*jure gestionis*).

If, for instance, to prevent greater harm, the Prefect or the Sindaco have caused harm to private persons, by taking measures to prevent the spread of an epidemic, or by ordering the destruction of an embankment, neither the State nor its officers would be responsible.†

On the other hand, the State would be responsible, along with its agents and officers, for an act causing harm to private per-

*Rulings of the 2nd June and 25th April, 1887, of the Court of Cassation in Rome.

† Rulings of the Court of Cassation in Rome 19th July 1886.

sons, provided (1, that the act be really illegal and unjustifiable ; (2) that such illegal act be done by the functionary in his capacity as a representative of the State ; (3) that it be the result of the exercise of functions exercised or done under cover of such functions. * But if the official acts arbitrarily and quite outside and beyond his well-known powers, or manifestly exceeds such powers, he alone will be responsible for the loss caused.†

As regards the administration of the State property, contractual obligations are incurred. As regards these, the State is responsible for the acts of its agents, subject to the right of proceeding against them for compensation. The State incurs such responsibility when it assumes industrial undertakings, as the management of a railway, the manufacture of tobacco, the extraction of salt, minerals, &c. In all such cases the State cannot withdraw itself from the operation of laws applicable to private persons engaging in such industries. The Postal and Telegraph Services are an exception, being regulated by special laws.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE. FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

Central Financial Administration.—The centre of the financial administration is the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of the Treasury. Under the former are the General Secretary, or Under-Secretary, of State, three Inspectors of the Department of Finance, and three General Directorates, namely, that of direct taxes and the real property census, that of the tax on occupations, and that of the customs, which includes also the tobacco monopoly and the Lottery Service.

The Ministry of the Treasury comprises the Accounts Department of the State, the General Control of the Treasury, the General Control of the Public Domain, the General Finances, the General Control of the Public Debt and the Treasury Law Office.

Local Financial Administration.—By a decree of the 26th September, 1869, Offices of Finance were established in the capital of every Province. These offices are under the Treasury in all matters connected with Accounts, the Treasury, the Public Domain, and the Bank of Deposits and Loans ; and as regards all other matters, are under the Ministry of Finance. The control of the business in these offices is under a Superintendent (*Intendente*), who is responsible that all rules are observed.

The Superintendent has at his disposal one or more Inspectors, by means of whom he carries out verifications,

* Arts 1153, 1156 Cod. Civ.

† Art. 1752 Cod. Civ.

inquiries and inspections. The duties of these Inspectors are defined by law.

DIRECT IMPOSTS AND LAND TAX.

Direct taxes are imposed on rural and urban immoveable property, and also on moveable property. In the former case the tax is levied by determination of a certain lump sum (*per contingente*), which is spread over provinces, mandaments and communes. The tax on moveables is levied on the rateable or *ad valorem* system (*per quotita*.)

The Landtax.—The land tax is calculated on the net income derived from land. This income is ascertained by means of the *catasto*.^{*} By this denomination is sometimes understood the series of operations the scope of which is to describe the lands of every commune, and to fix the net income for each unit of measurement, with a view to imposing a commensurate tax; while sometimes it is used for the book or register, in which is recorded the result of the aforesaid operations, together with the changes in proprietorship. The *catasto* is, in fact, the general inventory of the landed property of a State.

Economic and Juridical Survey.—The survey (*catasto*) may have two objects: the one *economic* and the other *juridical*. It is economic, if the description and value of the landed property is computed in order to assess the tax on the income, and to procure its just distribution; it is juridical, if the description is set out with a view to determine or ascertain the property.

The net income on which the tax is imposed can be ascertained in different ways, by declarations, by examination of selling or letting prices, or by direct skilled valuation. An Italian writer remarks that the first method is unsuitable, as the mass of the people do not consider it dishonourable to defraud the public treasury. Where this method has been followed, the results have not been encouraging. The second method is also open to objection, as, owing to the heavy tax on transfers, there is an incentive to insert a smaller price in the deed than has been really given. Moreover, small pieces of land always sell at higher rates than large estates. The Neapolitan and Sicilian assessments are based on this uncertain method. The best system is certainly that of direct valuation by skilled valuers. This system, which was in force in the Provinces of Lombardy, Venice, Tuscany, and Parma, has been

^{*} The word *catasto* has several meanings. It means 1. Cadastral Survey; 2 The Cadastral Register; and 3. The tax imposed on the valuation of lands as shown in the Register. The operation by which all the immoveable property of the citizens of a commune is entered in a Register for the purpose of determining the tax is called by the Florentines *accatastare*.

extended to the whole kingdom by a law passed on the 1st March 1886.

Juridical Survey.—Two systems prevail in Europe:—that in which the public official examines the validity of the deed (*intavolazione*); and that of merely copying out the deed (*trascrizione*).* The first is followed in the countries of German law, and has been in vogue in England since the Land Transfer Act of 1875; the second is in vogue in the countries of Roman law. Both systems are founded on the publicity of the rights and burdens of property by means of registration in special registers. By the examination system (*sistema tavolare*) registration is an essential formality for the acquisition of property, and generally also for the legality of the burdens on it. Before making entries of taxes, rates, servitudes and burdens, the public official concerned examines their validity. Hence no other proof is admitted than that contained in the public registers, at least in contracts of transfer, and the imprescriptibility of recorded rights is generally allowed. In the other system, (*trascrizione*) the only right, the efficacy of which is connected with its registration, is that of mortgage; and registration of any other rights does not prove their existence, as the officials who keep the registers are not bound to examine the validity of titles presented to them; so that only the *sistema tavolare* constitutes a true juridical register of the civil status of landed property.

The tabular system is divided into three parts; the first containing the description of the property, the second the names of owners and transfers, the third showing the burdens with which the property is saddled.

Classification and Valuation of Lands.—The operations of classification and valuation are intended to ascertain the assessable income. The assessable income is that part of the total produce of the soil, which remains to the proprietor, after deduction of all his expenses and losses. The outturn is fixed on the basis of the mean of the twelve years preceding 1886; while the money value of each sort of produce is fixed on the mean of the three years of lowest prices during the period 1874-1885, taking into account the loss during the period of forced paper currency.†

Survey Offices.—The direction and supervision of all the survey operations is confided to a superior committee established

* In India the Collector inquires into the question of possession and registers accordingly. Such registration does not confer any title which does not otherwise exist.

† This seems very favourable to the owners of land. But it must be remembered that the land tax slightly exceeds one-fourteenth of the value of the gross produce.

at the Ministry of Finance, and composed of nine members, appointed by royal decree. The work is carried out by eight different parties or branches, that is, for Rome, Turin, Milan, Florence, Naples, Bari, Palermo, and Cagliari, with a Director at the head. For ascertaining the quality of soils and cultivation, for division into classes and determination of the income to be taxed, there are special technical committees, composed of experts, of whom one-half are appointed by the Ministry of Finance, and the other half by the Councils of the Provinces interested. There are also rating commissions for communes and provinces, and a central commission. It is the duty of the communal commissions to assist the technical committees. The Provincial commission decides on the claims of the communal commissions or of the owners. The duty of serving as a communal or Provincial commissioner is obligatory, and lasts throughout the survey operations. The central commission, which is the authority of last resort from all subordinate commissions, or committees, and persons interested, is composed of 15 members appointed by the Minister of Finance, and chosen from among the Councillors of State, of the Court of Accounts, the Magistracy, the superior councils of public works and agriculture, and other persons skilled in the subject.

Effect of Survey.—No general revision of the operations can take place until the expiry of 30 years. In case of losses, not considered in framing the estimates, which amount to at least two-thirds of the produce, the financial administration can partially remit the tax; and cases of extraordinary loss in certain areas, or affecting certain crops, are provided for by special legislation. The expenses of the survey are generally at the charge of the State,* except the payments made to the technical committees, the expenses in connection with provincial, communal and local Commissions, which are borne by the provinces or communes, and the expenses of demarcating the boundaries of private estates, which are paid by the respective owners. The land tax is levied at the rate of seven per cent.; but if the total exceeds 100,000,000 lira, it is proportionately diminished. The amount actually collected is about 100,000,000 lira. To the principal tax is added, without distinction, three-tenths on account of war, which has since been reduced to one-tenth.

Tax on Buildings.—At first the tax on buildings was confounded with the tax on lands, as every building was considered as accessory to the soil. Then the tax was imposed on

* The cost of the Behar Cadastral Survey is to be mainly borne by the Zemindars and tenantry. But, of course, the survey is only judicial and not economic.

buildings as such, and was made proportionate to the number of hearths, doors and windows. Lastly it was calculated on the income derived from the building by the owner. All buildings or urban properties, are liable to the tax on the net income derived. The tax was fixed at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on such income, with an additional three-tenths for war, or $16\frac{1}{4}$ in all. The owners of new buildings are legally bound to give information about them, though they need not pay the tax until the lapse of two years from the date when the buildings become serviceable or habitable. If the gross income from a building increases, or decreases, by not less than a third, the owner must, in the first case, and may in the second case, make a declaration with a view to the enhancement or reduction of the tax.

Tax on Profits from moveable Property.—The first general tax on moveable property was imposed in the year 1864, and was made uniform in 1877 by a decree of the 24th August. A tax of 12 per cent., with an additional tenth for war, was imposed on moveable property, including salaries, pensions, interest, dividends, profits from business, official posts and professions exercised within the kingdom even by foreigners, and generally every sort of profit not derived from land. Income from immoveable property, which pays the land tax is exempted; also profits from mutual Help Societies. Persons and corporate bodies are legally bound to make true declarations of their incomes; but philanthropic, scientific, literary societies, &c., are exempt.

Administrative Commissions—There are administrative Commissions for deciding differences between the Tax Agent and the contributors. There are Commissions of first instance for each Mandament, and of second instance for each Province. The latter are composed of five members and four supplementary members; of the five working members, one is appointed by the Provincial Council, another by the Chamber of Commerce, two by the General Directorate of direct taxes; the fifth is chosen by the Prefect, and presides over the Commission. For the tax on buildings two Engineers are added, one appointed by the Government and the other by the Provincial Council. As regards appeals, the assessor, as well as the person assessed, is allowed to appeal. In the capital of the Kingdom is a central Commission, appointed by the Minister of Finance, and composed of a President, two Vice-Presidents and nine other Commissioners. The central Commission has no power to alter an estimate of assessable income made by a Provincial Commission. It decides on conflicts of jurisdiction and erroneous application of the law or rules.

INDIRECT TAXES.

Stamps and Taxes on Deeds.—Every written contractual act must be stamped, and failure to stamp it sometimes makes the document null and void. Many documents, as transfers of property, are also subject to registration, and to the consequent payment of a tax. The object of the registration is to secure the existence and date of the act, and also to procure an income for the Treasury.* Documents must be presented at the Registration Office within 20 days from their execution, if the transaction be *inter vivos*; or within four months, if it relates to successions.

Customs Duties.—Customs duties can be considered under a double aspect; financially, as a means of taxation, and from a politico-economic point of view, as a means of protecting national industry. It is the present policy not to tax, or to tax very lightly, the export and transit of goods. Import duties form the most important part of the customs system. Customs duties are either *specific*, that is, apportioned to the weight, number, or measure of the things taxed, or *ad valorem*, that is, apportioned to the value. The latter is the juster and more scientific system; but it opens a door to errors and to collusion on the part of the Customs Officers. When the *ad valorem* system is adopted, the administration reserves to itself the right of pre-emption, in order to have a guarantee of the sincerity of the declared value, that is, it reserves the right to appropriate or acquire the goods on payment of the declared value, together with an additional 10 per cent. on such value.

Monopolies : Salt.—Under the name of *privative* are included those monopolies which the State reserves to itself as regards the manufacture and sale of certain products, the undertaking of certain services, or the exercise of certain amusements, with the object of deriving a revenue therefrom. Such are the monopolies of salt, tobacco, lotteries, and the transport of letters. The salt tax is objectionable, as it falls on an article indispensable to all, and especially to the poorest classes, constituting, as it sometimes does, the sole condiment of their meagre diet. It is an impost which is progressive in the wrong direction; that is, it increases in proportion to the poverty of the contributor. Its only justification lies in the needs of the public treasury. It must be noted, however, that for industrial and agricultural purposes, the public administration offers a special salt for sale at a reduced price ;

* That registration ought to bring an income to the Treasury was urged by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the occasion of the discussion of the Budget for 1893-94.

and duty is remitted in the case of salt required for salted meat, salted butter, and cheese, which are exported to other countries. There is no salt duty in Sicily or Sardinia.

Tobacco.—The tobacco monopoly, on the other hand, is just and legitimate, as it affects an article the consumption of which is voluntary and not necessary for human life. There are four systems for the collection of this tax, which, since the 16th century, is generally in force in all countries :—

1. The German system of imposing a tax on lands cultivated with tobacco, and a duty on tobacco imported from abroad, leaving full liberty to cultivate, manufacture, and sell ;
2. A tax on the sale of tobacco, as in Belgium and Russia ;
3. The prohibition of cultivation, and duty on importation, as in England ;
4. A complete monopoly of manufacture and sale, as in Italy, France, and Austria

Lotteries.—Public lotteries are a monopoly of which the abolition is desirable in the interests of economy and morality. But the vice is so ingrained in some Provinces, that the abolition of public lotteries would only lead to clandestine lotteries. Their abolition is probably only a question of time, as in the decree of the 10th April, 1881, it is stated that the lotteries are temporarily maintained.

Octroi Duties.—Octroi duties may be levied at the time of the manufacture of a product, or at the time of sale, or at the time of their introduction into a commune. They may be levied for the Government or the communes. The articles on which State Octroi are levied are wine, vinegar, liquors, spirits, beer, and wheat ; and in closed communes flour also, macaroni, bread, tea, oils, lard, tallow and sugar. The communes can add additional taxes to the government Octroi

Taxes are also levied on the manufacture of spirits, native beer, beer, gaseous waters, chicory, oil from cotton seed, starch, vinegar, and gunpowder.

Calculation and Collection of Octroi Duties.—As regards the application of the tariff, communes are divided into four classes ; and as regards collection, into *closed* communes and *open* communes. The division into classes is according to population, over 50000, from 20000 to 50000, from 8000 to 20000, and under 8000. The communes of the first three classes are called closed, while those of the fourth class cannot be called closed, unless they are the capital of a district, or claim to be regarded as such, or intend to establish for their own revenues a system of Octroi.

The rate of the duties is higher in the larger communes,

As regards collection, the duties are generally levied in closed communes at the time of introduction within the Octroi limits; in open communes at the time of their sale. Railway lines and stations are considered to be outside the Octroi limits of closed communes. Communes can undertake to collect the State Octroi for a certain allowance, guaranteeing to the government a fixed annual amount. If the communes do not make any agreement with the government, the collection of the State Octroi is generally farmed.

Treasury and Accounts.—The collection of taxes is regulated by a number of laws; but it is not clear that India has much to learn from Italy in this respect. Every commune, or Union of several communes, has a tax-collector of its own, furnished with a special patent from the Prefect for the collection of all direct imperial imposts as well as communal and provincial taxes and additional imposts. He is appointed for five years, and, as a rule, by public auction; and is paid by a percentage on the sum collected. In the capital of every Province there is a Provincial Receiver. The departmental or administrative decision of all differences which may arise in the relations between tax-collectors, receivers, communes, provinces and the public administration, which are not especially provided for by law, devolves in the first instance on the Prefect, and in the second instance on the Minister of Finance.

There are Treasuries in every Province and a central Treasury in the capital of the kingdom. There are six Inspectors for the purpose of inspecting Treasuries.

The Public Domain.—State property is of two kinds:—

1. The property of the Public Domain.
2. The State Patrimony, or Fiscal Domain.

The first class is by its nature inalienable; the second class cannot be alienated except in conformity with special laws.* In the Public Domain are comprised the national roads, sea-coasts, harbours, bays, rivers, streams and fortresses. The use of these (except fortresses) is left to all. On the other hand, the State reserves to itself the exclusive enjoyment of the Fiscal Domain, or draws therefrom an income from which to provide for the public expenditure. The Treasury has the administration only of the immoveable property from which the State derives an income: the property, moveable or immoveable, which is assigned for a special government service, being administered by the Ministry, to which such service is subordinate.

Contracts.—The needs and requirements of the different public administrations are provided for by means of contracts, which

* Arts. 426, 430 Cod. Civ. See also Art. 427 Cod. Civ.

last, as a rule, not more than nine years. Except in special cases, the contracts must be preceded by public auctions. In such cases, if the value of the contract exceeds 40,000 lira, it must be communicated to the Council of State ; where the contract is privately made, it must to be so communicated if its value exceeds 8,000 lira.

Expenditure and Accounts.—It is not necessary to notice the elaborate laws and regulations under these heads. The number and nature of safeguards against embezzlement are noticeable. Under this head come the management of the public debt, the rules regulating the Bank of Deposits and Loans, civil and military pensions, the financial year, the budget, classification of income and expenditure, the rendering of accounts to the Court of Accounts, and similar matters.

THE PUBLIC FORCES.

The Army.—The army is divided into (1) the permanent army, (2) the light militia, and (3) the territorial militia. The two first are intended for the operations of real war ; the territorial militia is for the internal garrison and local defence of the country.

Recruitment.—The different laws on the subject of recruitment were consolidated in a single enactment, published with the decree of the 17th August, 1882. All citizens fit to bear arms, (except those condemned for serious crimes, and those engaged in the administration of justice), and their sons, are personally liable to military service from 20 to 39 years of age. Lists of those liable to serve are compiled and published by the *Sindac*, and, after revision by the Municipal Committee, are sent to the Prefect or sub-Prefect. The number of men to be furnished to the State by each conscription is fixed by law each year, and is distributed among provinces, districts and mandaments.

Disability and Exemption.—The law imposes disability on the ground of physical defects or infirmities, and grants exemption for certain family conditions, as, for instance, when the conscript is the only son of a living father ; when he is the eldest son of a father who has no other son over 12 years of age, or has entered on his seventieth year ; when he is the only son, or the eldest son, of a widow mother, &c. Students going through a University course, those studying in higher technical or commercial schools, or who are learning a trade, art, or profession, can claim that their call to arms be postponed to the 26th year.

Enlistment.—Enlistment in the army of the first and second lines is of two kinds : one permanent, the other temporary. The latter is for eight years, and is all passed under arms ; the

former is for nine or twelve years, and is passed during the first year under arms and afterwards on unlimited leave. Both classes may be summoned for some weeks in each year for military instruction. When the period of enlistment has expired, a man may re-enlist for one or three years; otherwise he passes into the territorial militia.

Territorial Militia.—The territorial militia is the third branch of the army, and is intended to help the active army in time of war, and particularly to co-operate with it in the internal defence of the State. It is composed of soldiers of the first branch who have finished their term of nine or twelve years; of soldiers of the second class, after their eight years of obligatory service; of those exempt from the first two classes and assigned to the third; all up to 39 years of age. In time of peace they can be kept under arms for military instruction for thirty days every fourth year. All members of the territorial militia, and those in the other classes on indefinite leave, can, at any time and under any circumstances, be called out by the Sindaco for the maintenance of order and the public security.

The Carbineers and Guards of Public Security.—Besides the army, which is principally intended for the defence of the national unity against external and internal attacks, there is another militia which is kept for the preservation of public order, the defence of property, the repression of offences and prosecution of offenders. This militia is divided into Carbineers and guards of public order, or peace officers.

Even the guards of finance form an integral part of the public forces; and though their principal duties are to prevent and repress smuggling, to protect the finance offices and supervise the collection of octroi, still they are bound also to co-operate in the preservation of order and the public safety.

The Fleet and Maritime Forces.—The following persons are liable to serve in the Naval Forces: sailors who, for twelve years after completing their 15th year, have exercised navigation, or fishing in the sea, as well as workmen who, after completing their 15th year, have for the same time been engaged in naval construction, or in looking after steam machinery on vessels. Those entered in the lists of the maritime levies are called to serve in the military marine in the year in which they complete their 21st year. Enlistment is permanent or temporary, as for the land forces.

National rifle practice.—In order to prepare young men for military service, and to accustom those who have to serve in the army to the practice of arms, a national rifle practice was set on foot by the law of the 2nd July 1882; and for this purpose there are shooting associations in the capital of every province or mandament. All citizens over 16 years of age can be

inscribed on the rolls of such associations, provided they can produce a certificate of good conduct from their Sindaco, and, if they are minors, the written consent of their parents, or guardians, and also pay, if not very poor, an annual tax of three lira. Those who attend rifle practice for two years, and attain a certain degree of skill, enjoy certain exemptions from attendance for military instruction. Every year there are prize competitions for the respective Provincial or Communal associations; and every two years there is a general national competition.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

(To be continued.)

ART. IV.—HOUGHLY PAST AND PRESENT.

VII

THE *pseudo* RAJA PROTAP CHAND.

HE present Raj family* of Burdwan was founded by Babu I Rai who, with his brother Abu Rai, came down from the Punjab and settled in Bengal about the middle of the seventeenth century. The sixth in lineal descent from Babu Rai was Chitra Sen Rai, who first got the title of Raja. He died in 1744, and, as he left no male issue, he was succeeded by his cousin, Troyluckya Chandra *alias* Tiluck Chand. The latter cut a very remarkable figure, and was created "Maharaja Dhiraj Bahadur" by the British Government. He died in 1771, leaving a minor son, named Tej Chandra, to succeed to his vast estates. Tej Chandra had a wife, Nunku Bibi, who bore him Protap Chand. But, though he had a son living, and was himself turned forty, he married a young girl of the name of Kamal Kumari, daughter of one Kashinath. This fortunate man had also a son, who was afterwards known as Poran Baboo. Kashinath settled in Burdwan, and, like Nur Jehan's father, soon rose in power and riches. After his death, Tej Chandra, who had already enjoyed half a dozen wives in succession, married, in his old age, Basanta Kumari, Poran Baboo's daughter. Thus Poran, like a skilful actor, dextrously passed from the gay to the grave side of relationship.

Protap's mother having died when he was a mere infant, he was brought up by his grandmother, the Dowager Maharani Bishen Kumari. As usual, with sons of rich men bred up by their grandmothers, Protap's education was neglected, and, in point of fact, he learned very little; but nature had given him a very vigorous intellect. After he had attained years of discretion, he was styled the "Chota Raja." With all his shortcomings, Protap was sociable, and often mixed with gentlemen of this part of Bengal. His most intimate friends were Nabab Baboo,† of Singhoor, and Ramdhone Baboo, of Telinipara. During his stay at the Chinsura Rajbati, he spent many pleasant hours with Mr. D. A. Overbeck, the last Dutch Governor of that Settlement.

* For an account of the late Raj family to which Bir Singh of Vidya Sundar fame belonged, see Khitish Vangsavali Charitam. *

† His real name was Jodu Nath. He was the handsomest, as well as the richest man of his time in the Hooghly District.

Protap hated his wily uncle Poran Baboo. Indeed, there was no love lost between them. Finding Poran's influence continually on the increase, he got his old father to execute a deed of gift of all his property in his favour. After that, he took upon himself the whole management, and, be it said to his credit, effected many reforms and improvements. It was at his suggestion that Government framed and passed Regulation VIII of 1819.* But sociable and business-like as he was, he was unfortunately addicted to drinking. This bad habit did him infinite harm, and at length estranged his doting father from him.

Thus passed twenty-six years of his life, after which there took place a sudden change in his mind and mood. He lost his usual hilarity and became pensive and morose. He seldom talked with any body. Except Sham Chand Baboo and the well-known painter, Chinnery, whom he had engaged in painting his portrait, he allowed no one to have the pleasure of his company. This melancholia was followed by illness which soon took a very serious turn. At his own request he was taken over to Kulna that he might die on the banks of the holy Ganges. No relative or friend accompanied him, nay, not even one of his wives was allowed to go with him. Tej Chandra was then at the Kulna Rajbati, but he returned to Burdwan on the very night Protap died. Three or four days after, however, a rumour got abroad that the "Chota Raja" had not died, but had fled from the burning ground. Tej Chandra also heard the rumour, but he did not say yea or nay to it. As Protap had acquired the whole of the Raj estate by virtue of a deed of gift from his father, his two widows brought a civil suit for recovery of the same. But ultimately the gift was pronounced void, and thus the property remained, as before, with Maharaja Tej Chandra.

Some time after, a proposal was made to the old Maharaja to take a son in adoption, as he had no natural-born son living. He was at first averse to the proposal, but at last gave in, and the youngest son of Poran Baboo, who, like our Krishna, was his eighth child, was duly adopted. This lucky boy was afterwards known as Maharaja Mahatab Chand Bahadur. Tej Chandra died in 1832, and was succeeded by his adopted son. As the latter was then a minor, the estate came under the management of the Court of Wards, but the party really in power was Poran Baboo, the father of the young Maharaja.

Fifteen years after Protap's death, or disappearance, that is, in 1845, a Sannyasi presented himself in Burdwan. He looked with earnest, inquiring eyes into every creek and corner, as if they had been the scenes of his early days. At last, he appeared

* See S. B. Ghaudhuri's article on *Pattani or Putni Tenures*, in the *Calcutta Review*, 1876.

at the gate of the celebrated Golap Bagh. One Gopinath Moira, who had kept a confectioner's shop there for a long time, recognised him as the "Chota Raja." In this he was confirmed by several others. This unpleasant news coming to the ears of Poran Baboo, he sent a parcel of sturdy clubmen who drove the suspicious Sannyasi across the Damodar. A few months after, the same Sannyasi made his appearance at the Bishenpur Rajbati. The then Raja, Khetter Mohan Singh, soon recognised him as Raja Protap Chand, and treated him in a manner quite becoming his high rank and position. By his advice the so-called Sannyasi proceeded towards Bankura with a view to having an interview with the Magistrate. He reached his destination, but reached it only to be arrested as a rebel by the Magistrate, Mr. Elliott, * along with some others who had come to see him. He was at once sent to jail, where he was incarcerated for nearly eight months, when he was *challaned* to Hooghly for trial, although, as a matter of law, he should have been tried at Burdwan. Here his trial commenced in due course. Mr. Turton, the well-known barrister of Calcutta, came to defend him, but he was not allowed to utter a single word in his client's favour. The learned counsel then moved the Nizamat Adalat at the metropolis, but his motion was rejected, that Court taking the same view as the Hooghly Court. The charge against the accused was that, though his real name was Aluk Shah, he had collected followers calling himself Rajah Protap Chand, and had thereby given occasion for a breach of the public peace. The charge was found to be true, and the accused was sentenced to imprisonment for six months, and was also ordered to enter into a recognizance for Rs. 40,000 to keep the peace for one year after the expiration of the term of imprisonment. The sentence was duly worked out; and the convict was allowed to go at large, but not before he had executed the said recognizance. This was in February 1837.

The so-called Aluk Shah, after his release, went down to Calcutta where he was recognised by most of his former friends and acquaintances as the real Protap Chand. They naturally expressed great sympathy with him and advised him to go to law for the recovery of the Raj estate. By their advice, backed as it was by counsel's opinion, he brought a suit in the Supreme Court for the Calcutta property, the well-known Dewan of the Treasury, Baboo Radha Krishna Bysack, supplying the ^{sine}ews of war. The suit was contested by the Court of Wards on behalf of the minor Maharaja Mahatab Chand. The hearing

* In 1858, when Commissioner of Burdwan, Mr. Elliott pointed out to the late Baboo Sanjeeb Chandra Chatterjee, Deputy Magistrate, the very spot where he had arrested the *pseudo* Raja.

began in due course. Some respectable persons of Calcutta were examined, and they one and all declared that the plaintiff was really Raja Protap. But this evidence was not thought sufficient, and it therefore became necessary to examine some inhabitants of Burdwan as to his identity. Protap Chand offered to go himself to Burdwan; but this was no easy matter, as there was every probability of his being roughly handled, if not killed outright, by Poran Baboo's myrmidons. So, on the 15th February 1838, he petitioned the Deputy Governor, Mr. Alexander Ross, praying that "His Honour would be graciously pleased to grant to him (through the proper channel) such means of safeguard to protect his person and life from any eventual insult or danger during the time he might be obliged to stay at Burdwan." On the 5th March following, the Government Secretary, Mr. F. J. Halliday, informed him, in reply, that his prayer could not be complied with. But, nothing daunted, Protap made up his mind to go, and, after making necessary preparations, he started * for Kulna, on his way to the seat of the Raj. He went by water, a fleet of thirty or forty boats accompanying him, and, after a slow journey, reached Kulna on the 13th April, 1838. On reaching Kulna, he sent up two Muktears to Burdwan with a petition to the Magistrate, asking to be allowed to go to that place. But, before they had an opportunity of presenting the petition, they were arrested by the Magistrate, Mr. Ogilvie, and at once lodged in jail. He also sent orders to the Daroga of Kulna, Mahaboollah, † directing him to call upon the *pseudo* Raja to disperse his followers; and, in case of refusal or non-compliance, to arrest him.

On the 20th April, Protap Chand landed at the Pathuria Mahal ghat, and paraded the place in a *tonjon*, with due pomp and circumstance. Mr. A. Alexander, the local Missionary, who had been asked by Mr. Ogilvie to watch the movements of the *pseudo* Raja, and inform him thereof, gave an account of the matter to the Magistrate; but, his letter, which was probably based upon the report of one of his trusty underlings, was a little too highly coloured. ‡ On

* This was in March 1838.

† A worthy Daroga indeed, "who could neither read nor write," and was also such a huge heap of flesh that he could neither "walk nor run!"

‡ The Padri's letter runs as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—Protap Chand has just gone on board his boat, after parading the whole length of Kulna in a *Tonjohn* with a drawn sword in his own hand, attended by upwards of a hundred swordsmen and double that number of stickmen. The concourse was altogether 6 or 8,000. He appeared to be intent on the Rajarry. But your active Darogah prevented him. The aspect of things, I think, threatens an affray, if he is not checked soon."

receipt of this letter, Mr. Ogilvie sent down his Nazir, Assaḍ Ali, with orders to arrest Protap Chand, Poran Baboo at the same time sending a batch of stout clubmen under Radha Mohan Sircar. Not satisfied with sending his Nazir with such strict orders, the Magistrate himself, accompanied by his worthy adjutant, Dr. Cheek, the Civil Surgeon, started for Kulna, and, taking with him on the way a detachment of native infantry, which was then halting at Boinchee, under the command of Captain Little, reached his destination in the dead of night. At that "still and solemn hour," the Raja and his people were sunk in sleep in the boats, but the Magistrate could not brook delay in the execution of what he, in his zeal, considered to be his duty. Firing commenced, and some innocents were wounded while lying in an unconscious state. The Raja awoke, and, plunging into the river, swam to the other side. His friend, Raja Nara Hari Chandra of Nadiya, did the same, and the two passed the rest of the night at a place to the north of Santipur.

The firing ceased, when plunder commenced, and after the plunder was over, there were arrests. But a sufficient number not being found on the Raja's boats, it was made up by arrests on some pilgrim-boats which were lying at anchor at a little distance. In this way two hundred and ninety-four persons, amongst whom were several of the tender sex, were arrested. The Raja and his friend Nara Hari Chandra, were also sought out and added to the number. Protap Chand, instead of being sent up to Burdwan, as the others were, was *challaned* to Hooghly for trial. His Attorney, Mr. W. D. Shaw, also did not escape arrest, although he was not present at the engagement at Kulna. This arrest was made by Mr. Ogilvie himself, and he had to suffer a good deal for his high-handed and arbitrary proceedings.

On the 5th May, Protap Chand arrived at Hooghly under Police guard, and was immediately placed in the local jail where he was made to await his trial. Mr. E. A. Samuells was then the Magistrate of this District. Before that he had been for some time in charge of the Magistracy of Burdwan, where he had heard all about the *pseudo* Raja from Poran Baboo. He had already formed his opinion that the claimant could not be the real Raja, but was a pretender. He had heard from somebody that one Krishna Lal Brahmachari, son of Sham Lal Brahmachari of Nadiya, had not been heard of for four or five years, and he at once jumped to the conclusion that the *pseudo* Raja was no other than that notorious cheat. He tried all manner of means to prove their identity, and, as a matter of fact, nearly four months were occupied in the procuring of

proofs.* At last, on the 1st of September, the trial commenced, and, strange to say, the trying officer was Mr. Samuells himself. The charge was that the accused had suppressed his real name and assumed the new name of Raja Protap Chand. Some evidence was gone into, and the Magistrate, being of opinion that the prosecution had made out a sufficient *prima facie* case, committed the prisoner to the Sessions.

Mr. Curtis was then the Sessions Judge. The trial had been fixed for the 20th of November, but it actually began on the day previous. The Legai Remembrancer, Mr. Bignell, conducted the prosecution, while Mr. Morton, of the Calcutta bar, defended the prisoner. Monsaram Sircar, whose name is still held in abhorrence for ministerial misconduct, was Dewant to the Judge. His influence was very great indeed, even greater than that of the Judge himself. After the preliminaries had been gone through, the charges were read out to the prisoner. They were as follows:—1. That Aluk Shah, *alias* Krishna Lal Brahmachari, had assumed the name of the late Raja Protap Chand. 2. That, by using that name, he had cheated Radha Krishna Bysack out of his money. 3. That he had formed an unlawful assembly at Kulna.

The prisoner pleaded *not guilty*.

Evidence was given under *four* heads: 1. As to the identity of the accused with the Raja Protap Chand. 2. As to Protap's death. 3. As to the accused being Krishna Lal Brah-

* The following letter, which he wrote to Baboo Dwarka Nath Tagore of Calcutta plainly shows that the spirit in which he acted in the matter was not that of an impartial Judge, trying a case on the evidence adduced before him, but that of an interested party, bent upon securing a conviction.

“Hooghly, September 4, 1838.

My dear Dwarknath,—I was disappointed at your non-arrival, as I think you could speak more decidedly than any of the other witnesses to the man's non-identity, but it is not of much consequence. I have no objection to make a bargain with you. I will let you off altogether if you will procure me the names of half a dozen good respectable witnesses from Baranagore, who know him as Kristotal. I dare say you could do this through Kalinath Ray Chowdhery, Mothooranath Mookerji or any of your own servants. Let me know what you say to this. What a scoundrel that Buddinath Roy is! If I had known his character, I would rather have gone without evidence altogether than have had his.

Remember I must have the evidence from Baranagore within a week or so. Persuade Mothuranath also to come. His *hornut* and *izzut* shall be *kureck soorut se bahal*.

Yours truly

“E. A. SAMUELLS.”

“Buddinath Roy,” spoken of above, is no less a personage than Raja Baidyanath of Calcutta, and he is abused so very grossly because he stated what he knew to be true, and not what the biased Magistrate had expected from him.

† Now called Sheristadar.

maehari, of Goari. 4. About the alleged unlawful assemblé at Kulna.

On the side of the prosecution were examined, amongst others, Mr. H. T. Prinsep, the Government Secretary, Mr. James Pattle, a Member of the Board of Revenue, Mr. Hutchinson, a Judge of the Sudder Dewanni Adalat, and Mr. D. A. Overbeck,* the late Dutch Governor of Chinsura; and, on the side of the defence, Dr. Robert Scott, 37th Madras Native Infantry, Mr. David Hare, † the veteran educationist, Mr. F. Thiers, Magistrate of Chandernagore, and Raja Khetter Mohan Singh, of Bishenpur.

On the first head many respectable persons, both natives and Europeans, were examined. Their rank and position strongly testified to their integrity and impartiality. There was also a peculiar kind of evidence, which, though mute, spoke with a hundred tongues, and was of very great importance to the Judge in arriving at the real truth:—It was the life-like portrait of Protap, as painted by the well-known painter, Chinney, a friend of the Raja. This portrait was brought down from the Burdwan palace, and was kept in a room adjoining the Hall in which the trial took place. It was, as the *Hurkara* of the 5th September stated, "a rather hostile witness." Besides the witnesses already examined as to the identity, Protap Chand had a mind to examine his maternal uncle, who, all of a sudden, presented himself in Court, but, his legal advisers being of a different opinion, his evidence was not taken. They said the evidence already adduced was quite sufficient for the purposes of the present trial, and that, as it was not a civil case, stronger evidence as to the identity was not at all necessary. But herein they greatly erred, and this huge mistake had the effect of barring the door of the Civil Court against Protap Chand.

On the second head, the officials of the Rajbâti, who were quite under the control of Poran Baboo, were examined. Of course, they gave a story in support of the prosecution, but their evidence was not worth much, if anything. Though they were fifteen in number, the weight of their testimony was very small. But the credulous Judge believed them, and held upon their evidence that Protap Chand's death had been established beyond doubt. There was a very strong circumstance which went dead against such a finding, and yet,

* Mr. Overbeck survived until the 24th September 1840.

† David Hare came to Bengal in 1800 and died of cholera on 1st June, 1842. He was the father of "native education," whose life was devoted to one generous end, which, as the poet truly says, was

"To bless the Hindoo mind with British lore,
And Truth's and Nature's faded lights restore!"

strange to say, it was not even taken notice of. Protap Chand had two wives living, and there was also his father present at Kulna at the time. None of them did him the last funeral service; but one Ghasiram, according to the witnesses, gave "the lighted torch to his face." This is a circumstance which gives rise to a host of doubts and suspicions. In fact, the alleged death of Protap at Kulna is a mystery which has never been cleared up. The probability is that, by some unusual method, of which he was master, he feigned death, and thus effected his escape, as he said, from the funeral pile at Kulna. Such feigning of death is not improbable in itself, and is quite possible, as is proved by the well-known case of Colonel Townsend, related by Dr. George Cheyne.*

As to the cause of his having adopted such means of escape, and abandoned such large property, Protap stated that, in an unguarded moment he had committed a great sin, and that, being advised by Pundits and astrologers that it could only be expiated by death, or by remaining *incognito* for fourteen years, he struck in with the latter condition, and effected his flight from Kulna. In this way he had travelled over many countries, from Chittagong on the one side to the Punjab on the other. He stayed in Cashmere for six years, where he became acquainted with General Allardo.† At Delhi he was recognised by Mr. Ramsay. After the stated term of fourteen years had thus expired, he returned to Bengal, and was arrested at Bankura by Mr. Elliott. It was at that time that the invaluable diary which he had regularly kept during his travels, was lost. He stated all these facts in court; and then concluded by saying that, if he had really died, he would certainly have made some arrangements for his vast estate, either by a will or by a deed of gift, which there was ample time for making, as he had lain sick for several days.

On the third head, several witnesses were examined. As most of them had been bought over by Poran Baboo, who, to use a native phrase, spent money like water, they supported the prosecution. But there were a few others against whose testimony nothing could be said. Of these witnesses the most respectable and important was the Rev. W. J. Deere. He had known Krishna Lal Brahmachari for a pretty long time, and he stated, in so many words, that the accused was not Krishna Lal. After a careful consideration of the whole evidence, the Mohammedan Kazi gave his opinion that the identity was not estab-

* See T. H. Tanner's Practice of Medicine. Vol 1.

† Allard was one of the foreign generals in the service of Maharaja Runjit Singh. He was in high favour with his royal master, who was himself a first-rate general. Ranjit's other foreign generals were Ventura, Avitabile and Court.

lished. The Judge seems to have agreed with him in the main, but he observed, "circumstances considered, I look upon the proofs as being on the whole satisfactory." However, he went on to say that the matter of the identity was of no importance, seeing that the death and cremation of Raja Protap Chand had been "firmly established."

As regards the fourth and last count, no evidence had been taken by the Magistrate, and the Judge, too, expressed an opinion that the matter of the unlawful assembly was not material. And yet, as if to make the record complete in every respect, some evidence was taken. Nazir, Assad Ali, and Daroga, Mohaboollah, were the principal witnesses. They stated many things, thereby rendering their testimony open to the charge of *proving too much*. As for the Chowkidars of Kulna, they flatly denied that there was any unlawful assembly. The Judge, however, held that the charge was substantially established, though he admitted that there was "no proof of an affray, or actual breach of the peace." After the arguments had been *read out*, for the counsel on both sides did not argue the case *orally*, but submitted *written* arguments, the Judge and the Kazi differed in opinion, the latter holding that it was not proved who the prisoner really was, and so he could not be punished for having assumed the name of Protap Chand, and the former holding the other way. According to the law then in force, in case of difference the Judge was not competent to pass sentence, so he referred the matter to the Nizam-at Adalat, stating, at the same time, that all the charges except one had been brought home to the prisoner, and recommending that he might be sentenced to imprisonment at least for three years, if not five.

On the reference of the Sessions Judge being placed before the Nizam-at Judges, they found themselves in a difficulty from which they saw no means of escape. They could not convict the prisoner on the ground of his having caused an unlawful assembly, inasmuch as the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Ryan, in the case brought by Mr. Shaw against the Magistrate, Mr. Ogilvie, had given it as his opinion that "there was no disturbance whatever when the affray took place, nor had there been any for a considerable time before the events took place." While the Judges were in this pitiable plight, the Kazi attached to the Court came to their rescue. He said that the accused might be punished for having, for his own benefit, assumed and used the name of another. Thus fortified with the *Fatwa* of this oracle of Mahommedan law, they ordered the defendant Aluk Shah, *alias* Protap Chand, *alias* Krishna Lal Brahmachari, to be fined Rs. 1,000 for having assumed the name of the late Raja Protap Chand, and in default, to undergo imprisonment for

six months. As regards the other charges they entirely acquitted him thereof.

After the order had been passed, the *pseudo* Raja presented a petition of review to the Nizamat Adalat, praying that further evidence as to his identity with Protap Chand, which circumstances beyond his control had prevented him from adducing at the time of trial, might be taken and final order made. But this petition was rejected, the Judges being of opinion that the said evidence, not having been produced before, could not be taken now, more especially as the fact of Raja Protap Chand's death had been satisfactorily proved. After this, another petition was made; but, couched as it was in improper language, it also shared the same fate. The Judges (W. Braddon and C. Tucker), in rejecting this petition on the 19th July 1839, remarked "that as they had judicially pronounced the petitioner not to be the Maharajah Protap Chand, they could not in future receive any petition or application from him under that name and title." This order gave a death-blow to the cause of Protap Chand, inasmuch as it closed the doors of the Civil Courts against him at once and for ever. But, though he was thus cut off from what may have been really his own, the general public sympathised with him, and condemned, in very strong terms, the decisions of the Company's Judges.

Thus defeated, Protap gave up all hopes of recovering his property. He continued to reside in Calcutta until the breaking out of the First Sikh War, when, the vigilant eye of Government being again fixed upon him, he fled to the French Settlement of Chandernagore. After remaining there for some years, he passed over to Serampore, which had not then come under British rule. Here he staid for nearly six years, and such was the force of his mental and moral powers, that he was regarded as one far above ordinary humanity. In fact, the women in the neighbourhood looked upon him as a divinity, and identified him with Gauranga Deva.* In this way he set himself up for a religious reformer, and many eagerly took *mantras* from him, acknowledging him as their *Guru*, or spiritual guide. It is said that now-a-days his followers number more than the Puritan sect of Brahmos. It is not clear what the precise nature of his faith was, but it appears that, from having been a Hindoo, he afterwards adopted Buddhism, with some modifications.

Eight or ten months before his death, he had returned to Calcutta and stationed himself at Baránagore.†

* The well-known founder of Vaisnavism in Bengal. He flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century.

† Baránagore (more correctly Baráhanagore) had its name from the fact of the Company's servants having been in the habit of slaying *boars*

"The world forgetting, by the world forgot."

He was sociable in his manners and found much pleasure in talking and conversing with the gentlemen of the village. *He died unknown and unwept in 1852 or 1853. His identity with Protap Chand may not have been satisfactorily established, but none can deny that he was an extraordinary man.

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and hogs there. The famous Tyrolese Jesuit, Tieffenthaler, says that this place was famous for its *bástáh* cloth; and Price, in his *Observations*, observes that the cloth manufactories there determined Charnock to choose Calcutta as the site for his new settlement. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol I, p 379, note. From its having been the resort of bad women, Baránagore was called by the early English travellers the "Paphos of Calcutta."

ART. V.—THE BROADLEY SCULPTURES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM.

RECENT historical researches have conclusively proved that the province now known as Behar is almost co-extensive with the boundaries of the ancient kingdom of Magadha, as it existed before the commencement of the Christian era. At about the beginning of the 6th century B. C., when the prosperity of the monarchs of Magadha was at its climax, Buddhism had its origin, and its first principles were promulgated by Gautama Buddha. During the early part of his career as a religious reformer, Buddha was attracted to this part of the country by its romantic scenery and the rugged grandeur of its rocky fastnesses, and, above all, by the peaceful solitude of its rocky valleys, which afforded him a fit place for the exercise of religious contemplation. At the time when Gautama Buddha was inculcating the doctrines of his new faith, and when King Bimbisāra was swaying the destinies of the kingdom of Magadha, the latter, who extended his patronage to the new religious reformer, held his royal court at Rājagriha, which is situated at a distance of 16 miles to the south of the modern town of Behar. This latter town, which is the head-quarters of the sub-division of that name, and situated on the Panchāna river, in N. latitude $25^{\circ} 11' 58''$ and E. longitude $85^{\circ} 34' 10''$, is often traditionally supposed to have been the capital of Magadha, and thus confounded with Rājagriha.

Soon after Buddha's Great Renunciation, which is described at great length in the "*Mahābhinishkramana Sutra*,"* when Prince Siddhārtha, at midnight, having taken a last loving look of his wife, Yasodharā, and his son, Rāhula, and, accompanied by his chariotcer, Channa, bade farewell to the "pride and pomp of circumstance" which awaited him as heir-apparent to the throne of Kapilavastu, and left his father's home, he bent his steps towards the wild mountain solitudes of Rājagriha, where he intended to commence that life of severe asceticism and ennobling piety which forms the theme of admiration of 300 millions of men. Here, in several caves, hewn out of the sides of the hills, a number of hermits had taken up their abode "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," and were enjoying that still repose which only mountain solitudes can give. After his arrival, Gautama enlisted himself as a disciple of one of these Brāhman teachers, named Alāra, and, not being

* "*The Sūtra of the Great Renunciation.*"

satisfied with his teachings, he took himself to another named Udraka, and mastered, under their guidance, the doctrines of the Hindu philosophers regarding this world and the next.

After leaving Benares and Gayâ, where he gained new disciples, Gautama shaped his course towards Rājagriha, where King Bimbisārā was then reigning. As both Gautama and Kāsyapa were well-known in that part of the country, the King came out in royal state to receive them. In order to teach the people, Gautama asked Kāsyapa why he had left off offering sacrifices to Agni, the God of Fire. Kāsyapa replied that he had given them up after having seen that they were perfectly worthless, and went on to say that, so long as men were controlled by their passions, they could not attain Nirvāna, or that rest which knows not transmigration, birth, decay, and death—a state of happiness which can be obtained only by inward growth. Gautama then narrated to the people a Jātaka, or birth-story, of Kāsyapa's virtue in a former state of existence, and, seeing that it had made a great impression on them, preached to them the four Noble Truths or the Suffering, the Cause of Suffering, the Cessation of Suffering, and the Path which leads to the Cessation of Suffering. When this sermon was concluded, King Bimbisārā professed himself a convert to the new faith. The next day all the people of the place, hearing of the conversion of Kāsyapa and Bimbisārā, came to the Yashtivana grove, outside the city, to see him and hear him preach. Seeing that Yashtivana was at a distance from the city, the king gave Gautama a bamboo grove named Veluvana as a place of residence, and it was at the latter place that Gautama spent many rainy seasons, and preached many of his well-known sermons. There he staid for two months, and converted two ascetics named Sāriputra and Moggallāna, who afterwards became two of the most famous of Buddha's disciples.

In the *Bk'ih-Hgyur* and *Bstan Hgyur*, two of the most famous Tibetan classics, the following versions of the accounts, as current in Tibet, of Buddha's first visit to Rājagriha after the Great Renunciation, and the second when he converted Kāsyapa and Bimbisārā to the new faith, are given : *

"Before Tchandaka left him, the prince took his sword and cut off his hair, which he threw into the air, and Cataketu took it and carried it off to the Trayastrimcat heaven. Thus attired, the prince went to the hermitage of the rishi, the son of Brigu, of whom he inquired how far he was from Kapilavastu. 'Twelve yojanas,' he replied. 'Tis

too near, Kapilavastu ; I may be disturbed by the Cakyas. I will cross the Ganges and go to Rājagriha.'

The Bodhisattva was expert in all handicrafts and occupations of men, so, after having crossed the Ganges, he made an alms-bowl of karavira leaves and went into Rājagriha. The King of Magadha, Crenika Bimbisāra, noticed him from the terrace of his palace, and was struck with his noble bearing, so he sent some one to fill his bowl, and another person to see where he went. The King then learned that he was stopping on the Pandava (mountain), and he went to visit him with his suite, and offered him everything that makes life agreeable, women, riches, and pleasures. After this interview the Bodhisattva went to the Vulture's Peak (Gridrakuta parvata) near Rājagriha, and lived with the ascetics who dwelt there, surpassing them all in his mortifications, so that he became known as 'the great ascetic or Mahāçramana.' But he finally learned from them that the object they had in view was to become Cakra, or Brahmā, or even Māra, and then he knew that they were not in the right way ; so he left them and went to Arāta Kālāma (*Rgyu-stsal shes-kyi-bu ring-du lphur*) ; but he taught that all depended on controlling the senses, and with this he could not agree ; so he left him and went to Rudraka Ramaputra (*Rangs-byed-kyi-bu lllag spyod*), who taught that there is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness ; but this also could not satisfy him, so he departed thence. " *

The Tibetan account of Buddha's life gives the following version of his second visit to Rājagriha : " At this time the emissaries of Crenika Bimbisara, king of Magadha, reported to him that there was a Buddha at Gâyā çirsha, with his disciples. Now the king had made five wishes—1. That a Buddha might appear in his reign ; 2. That he might see him ; 3. That he might learn the truth from him ; 4. That he might understand it ; 5. That he might follow his commandments. So, on hearing the happy tidings, he sent a messenger to the Blessed One to salute him, and to offer to him and his disciples his royal hospitality at the capital, Rājagriha.

The Blessed One accepted the invitation and went to Rājagriha, and took up his abode with his thousand disciples in the grove of the consecrated (or the mighty) tchaitya of the people of Magadha, and there the king sought him. When the king and all the vast multitude, which had come with him, saw Kāçyapa the elder with the Buddha, they knew not what to think. Was he the Buddha's disciple, or was the Buddha his ? The Lord knew their thoughts, so he made Kāçyapa perform all kinds of miracles in their presence, and declare that the Buddha was his master.

After that the Blessed One preached to the king and the people on form and its transitory nature, on upadana, sandjna, sanskara, &c., on the nidanas &c, so that the king and a great multitude of Brahmans and householders were converted.

The King then invited the Blessed One to the city, and when he came there, he and his disciples stopped in the Yashtivana. The king came to see him, and, after having heard the Buddha preach, he invited him to a feast on the morrow. When the feast was over, the king poured water over the Blessed One's hands, and said, 'I give the Kalantakanivasa Bamboo grove to the Blessed One to dispose of as may please him.' The Buddha accepted it, and this was the first vihara, or permanent residence, that the Buddhist order possessed.*

The Burmese Buddhist scriptures, divided as they are into three great parts, the Thoots, or instructions, the Wini, or discipline, and the Abidama, or metaphysics, describe the aforesaid incidents in Buddha's life thus : †

"Phralaong then started for the country of Radzagio, travelling on foot a distance of thirty youdzanas. Arrived near the gate of the royal city, Phralaong stopped for a while, saying within himself, 'Peimpathara, the king of this country, will no doubt hear of my arrival in this place. Knowing that the son of King Thoodaudana is actually in his own royal city, he will insist upon my accepting all sorts of presents. But now, in my capacity of Rahan, I must decline accepting them, and by the rules of my profession I am bound to go and beg along the streets, from house to house, the food necessary for my support.' He instantly resumed his journey, entered the city through the eastern gate, the patta hanging on his side, and followed the first row of houses, receiving the alms which pious hands offered him. At the moment of his arrival the whole city was shaken by a mighty commotion, like that which is felt in the seat of Thoora when the Nat Athoorein makes his apparition in it. The inhabitants, terrified at such an ominous sign, ran in all haste to the palace. Admitted into the presence of the monarch, they told him that they knew not what sort of being had just arrived in the city, walking through the streets and begging alms. They could not ascertain whether he was a Nat, a man, or a Galong. The king, looking from his apartments over the city, saw Phralaong, whose meek deportment removed all anxiety from his mind. He, however, directed a few of his noblemen to go and watch attentively all the movements of the stranger

* *Op. cit.* pp. 41-43.

† The Burmese Legend of Gaudama. By the Rt. Rev. P. Bigandet. Two volumes. Third Edition, London : 1880. (Trubner's Oriental Series).

'If he be,' said he, 'a Bilon, he will soon leave the city and vanish away; if a Nat, he will raise himself in the air; if a Naga, he will plunge to the bottom of the earth.' Phralaong, having obtained the quantity of rice, vegetable, &c., he thought sufficient for his meal, left the city through the same gate by which he had entered it, sat down at the foot of a small hill, his face turned towards the east, and tried to make his meal with the thing he had received. He could not swallow the first mouthful, which he threw out of his mouth in utter disgust. He soon, however, recovered from that shock; and gathered fresh strength to subdue the opposition of nature, overcome its repugnance, and conquer its resistance. Whereupon he took up his patta, ate cheerfully his meal, and never afterwards did he ever feel any repugnance at what things soever he had to eat.

The king's messengers, having closely watched and attentively observed all that had happened, returned to their master, to whom they related all the particulars that they had witnessed. The king went in a carriage and soon perceived Phralaong at a distance, sitting quietly after his refection. Peimpathara alighted from his conveyance, respectfully drew near to Phralaong, and addressed him in the following manner:—'Venerable Rahan, you seem to be young still, and in the prime of your life; in your person you are gifted with the most attractive and noble qualities, indicating surely your illustrious and royal extraction. I have in my possession a countless crowd of officers, elephants, horses and chariots, affording every convenience for pleasure and amusement of every description. Please to accept of a numerous retinue of attendants, with whom you may enjoy yourself whilst remaining within my dominions. May I be allowed to ask what country you belong to, who you are, and from what illustrious lineage and descent you are come?' Pointing out with his hand in the direction of the place he had come from, he said:—'I arrive from the country which has been governed by a long succession of the descendants of Prince Kothala. I have, indeed, been born from royal progenitors, but have abandoned all the prerogatives attached to my position, and embraced the profession of Rahan. From my heart I have rooted up concupiscence, covetousness, and all affections to the 'things of this world.' To this the king replied:—'I beg you will show your benevolence to me and my people. I hope my kingdom will be the first country you will direct your steps to, after having acquired the supreme science.' To this Phralaong graciously assented.

Phralaong, having left the king, resumed his journey, and fell in with a Rathee, or hermit, named Alara, and inquired

about the several Dzans. Alara satisfied him on four kinds of Dzans, but as regards the fifth, he was obliged to refer him to another Rathee, named Oudaka, who gave him the necessary explanations. Having nothing more to learn from these masters, Phralaong resolved to devote himself to the Kamātan or meditation on the instability and nothingness of all that exists. To effectuate thoroughly his purpose, he repaired to the solitude of Oorouwela, where he devoted all his time to the deepest meditation.*

The conversion of King Bimbisara and his people by Gautama Buddha is thus described in the Burmese Scriptures:—“Whilst the most excellent Phra was enjoying himself in the place of Gayathitha, he recollected that, at the time when he was but a Phralaong, being near the mountain Pantawa, he had received from King Pimpathara an invitation to come to his own country and preach the law. Accompanied by his thousand Rahandas, he set out for the country of Radzagio. Having arrived at a small distance from the royal city, he went to the Latti grove, about three gawots from Radzagio, a place planted with palm trees. The king heard of his arrival and the happy news was soon re-echoed throughout the country. Pimpathara, placing himself at the head of 120,000 warriors, surrounded by crowds of nobles and Pounhas, went to the garden of Tandiwana, where Phra was seated in the midst of his disciples. All the people, perceiving the three Kathabas close to the person of Phra, doubted whether Gaudama was their disciple, or they his disciples. Buddha, seeing at once what thought occupied the mind of the warriors, noblemen, and Pounhas, addressed the elder Kathaba, and said to him: ‘Kathaba, answer the question I am now putting to you. What has induced you to give up the sacrifices you were wont to make?’ ‘Blessed Buddha,’ answered Kathaba, ‘I have observed that exterior objects, the sounds, the taste, the gratification of the senses, are but miserable filth; and, therefore, I take no more delight in the offering of small and great sacrifices.’ Buddha replied, ‘Kathaba, if you be no longer pleased with what is beautiful to the eyes, pleasant to the ear, palatable to the taste, and agreeable to the gratification of the senses, in what do you presently find pleasure and delight?’ Kathaba answered, ‘Blessed Buddha, the state of Neibban is a state of rest, but that rest cannot be found as long as we live under the empire of senses and passions. That rest excludes existence, birth, old age, and death; great mental attainments alone lead thereto. I know and see that happy state. I long for it. I am, therefore, displeased with the making of great and small sacrifices,

* *Op. cit.* 67-72.

Having thus spoken, Kathaba rose up, worshipped Buddha by prostrating himself before him, and, touching with his forehead the extremities of his feet, said, 'O most excellent Buddha, you are my teacher, and I am your disciple.' All the people, seeing what Kathaba had done, knew that he was practising virtue under the direction of Gaudama. Phra, who was acquainted with their innermost thoughts, knew that they were longing to hear the preaching of the law. As he had always done, he began to preach to them the virtue of liberality in almsgiving, and then unfolded before them, with matchless eloquence, the advantages of leaving the world. The hearers felt an inward delight in all that was said to them. Observing the favourable impression made upon them, Gaudama continued to instruct them in the four laws, regarding the miseries of this world, the passions, the practice of excellent works, and the ways to perfection. At the conclusion of these instructions, the king and 100,000 of the assembly, like a piece of white cloth which, when plunged into dye, retains the colour it receives, obtained instantly the state of Thantapan. As to the 10,000 remaining hearers, they believed in the three precious things in the capacity of Upathakas.*

Buddha's first visit to Rajgir is also described at great length in the Siamese biography of the "Adorable Lord," which has been rendered into English by Mr. Alabaster, and shows that the Tibetan, the Burmese, and the Siamese accounts of the aforesaid incidents in Buddha's life agree with each other in all important details.

Bihar also derives additional importance, as having been the place where, after Buddha's death, his relics were interred; for it was at Radzagio that they were deposited by King Adzatathat, son of King Pimpathara, and a dzedi was erected over them.†

That the new creed was promulgated by Gaudama Buddha in King Bimbisara's dominions, is abundantly manifest from the sanctity which is attached to this province by all nations professing the tenets of Buddhism. The chief places considered sacred by them in this province are, Buddha Gaya, Kukkutapâda, Rajagriha, Kusâgârapura, Nâlandâ, Indrasilaguha, and the Kapotaka monastery, of which no less than five are situated within the Bihar sub-division of the Patna district.

But a more tangible proof of the fact that this province was the cradle of Buddhism, and the scene of Buddha's labours in the cause of the propagation of his new creed

* *Op. cit.* p. 150-53.

† For a fuller account, *vide* Bigandet's work, Vol. II, p. 94-98.

in this tract, is forthcoming in the shape of the numerous ruins of buildings, sculptures and other remains of great archaeological and historical interest which abound in the neighbourhood. There are the magnificent ruins of New Rājagriha, said to have been built by King *Srenika*, otherwise called Bimbisāra, the father of *Ajātasattu*, the contemporary of Buddha. Due north of Rājagriha, at a distance of 7 miles, is the village of Baragaon surrounded by ancient tanks, remains of mounds of great antiquity, and exquisitely carved sculptures—a fact from which General Cunningham infers that the village of Baragaon must be identical with the site of the Nālandā Monastery—"the Gorgeous Queen of Buddhistic convents."* Near the same locality lie the remains of the less important monasteries of Tillārah, Titrāwan, Ghosrāwan, and Hurugāwan. Half a mile to the south of the solitary hill of Giryek lie the ruins of the large *Vihāra* of *Avalokiteswara*, which General Cunningham has identified with modern *Bihār*. Exactly seven miles to the south east of Bihār is the ruined mound of Titrāwan, containing a fine large tank and extensive remains of brick buildings.

These valuable antiquities, which are of so great an interest to the student of religion, history and art, had been much mutilated by the Brahmans after Buddhism had declined and ceased to be the State religion of India. In some cases, the images were appropriated by the Hindus and installed as regular members of the Hindu Pantheon, as will be evident from the streaks of vermillion still perceptible on the foreheads of the Buddhistic images, which now adorn the Gupta Gallery of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. But more destructive than all of them were, and still are, the Mahomedans. It was towards the beginning of the 13th century A. D., that Bihar was conquered by the Mahomedans, and from that time, this province formed one of the three *subahs* under the Nawāb of Bengal. It was under the Mahomedan régime that these interesting relics suffered the most. The iconoclastic proclivities of the Mahomedans are responsible in a great measure for the chipped noses and the broken limbs of many of the images which now constitute the "Broadley Sculptures" of the Indian Museum; while many of the remains unearthed from the numerous mounds and *tumuli* abounding in Bihar and its neighbourhood, have been utilised by the peasantry of those parts for building houses and tombs, and for other purposes. Thus, if they had not been cared for as is now being done, they would have, in a few years, left not a rack behind to tell the tale of olden times, which they are now telling through the researches of antiquarians and historians.

* Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 469.

In order to protect them from the ravages of time, and more ruthless man, Mr. A. M. Broadley, C. S., then in charge of the sub-division of Bihar, brought together such of the important Buddhistic and Brahminical images and other sculptures as he could discover, and removed them to the headquarters of the sub-division. There they were placed in the courtyard of the Bailey Serai. Towards the end of 1879 the collection was made over to a board of trustees, having for its chairman the Commissioner of the Patna Division and its vice-chairman the Collector of the same place. But most of the members of that body resigned in the course of a few years, and the so-called "Broadley Museum" was left to take care of itself. In the meantime a suggestion was made that the whole collection should be removed to Buddha Gya, where there was the nucleus of a small museum consisting of such fragments of sculptures as were obtained from the Great Temple there, and had not been removed to Calcutta by the late lamented Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra, under the orders of the Government of Bengal. Thereupon the Bengal Government made a reference to the trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as to the advisability or otherwise of the proposal. They appointed a committee to consider the question, and deputed a Bengali gentleman connected with the Archaeological Survey of India to visit Bihar and its neighbourhood, to examine the "Broadley Sculptures" and other remains that had been left *in situ* in that vicinity, and to draw up a catalogue of them. From the report submitted, the Board of Trust was convinced of the importance of the collection and the desirability of removing it to the Indian Museum. Therefore in 1885, the Trustees reported in reference to it : "It is certainly against the spirit of standing orders that such objects should be in the gift of any individual. It is no less certainly against the general advantage that more or less unique objects of national, and historical interest should be hidden away in an obscure and unapproachable country-town."* And they strongly recommended that the whole collection should be removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, so that the sculptures might thus be preserved from further injury. On a representation made by them, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, most liberally consented to grant Rs. 5,000 during 1891-92 for the purpose of defraying the expenses of transferring the sculptures to Calcutta and housing them in the Archaeological Galleries of the Indian Museum, and also for the purpose of providing funds for the prosecution of further archaeological researches at Rājgir and Baragaon, the Rājagriha and Nālandā of Buddhist traditions.

* *Vide the Indian Museum Annual Report. April 1890 to March, 1891, page 11, para 8.*

Towards the end of June 1891, the whole of this magnificent collection, numbering 735 sculptures, was, thanks to the liberality of the Bengal Government, transferred to Calcutta. Out of these 735 sculptures, 686 formed the famous "Broadley Collection" of Bihar, and the remaining 49 were collected, during his tour, by Babu P. C. Mukherji, who had been deputed by the Trustees of the Indian Museum to investigate the archæological remains of Rājgir and Baragaon.

The "Broadley Sculptures," which vary in age from five to twelve hundred years, and possibly, in a few cases, even more, are arranged on the western and the eastern platforms, which run down the middle of the Gupta Gallery, and which are separated from each other by the large square glass case containing the gems, terra-cotta medallions, clay seals and inscription-stones, discovered by the Archæological Survey of India at Buddha Gayā. Some of them, being mostly fragments, mutilated torsos of statues, pillars, chaityas, lintels of door-ways and other architectural remains, are arranged, firstly, in the eastern corridor, running parallel to the Invertebrate Gallery, the southern corridor running parallel to the Gupta Gallery, and the western corridor which runs parallel to the Asoka Gallery of the Archæological Department, and the Vertebrate Gallery of the Geological Survey of India. Those images only, which are in a perfect state of preservation, are arranged on the platforms of the Gupta Gallery.

These sculptures, which may be divided into three series, namely, Buddhist, Tāntric and Brahmanical, are of great interest, as throwing much light on the history and the social economy of the people at the different periods. The Tāntric form of Buddhism arose in India, just after the purer form of Buddhism had declined. It is a mixture of magic, sorcery and Siva-worship. This system was founded by one Asanga, an influential ascetic of Peshawar in the Punjab, who flourished about the sixth century A. D. He effected a sort of compromise between Brahmanism and Buddhism by installing a number of Saivite gods and goddesses in the inferior heavens of Northern Buddhism, which was then the prevalent creed, and by representing them as worshippers and supporters of the Buddha, and of Avalokitesvara, the Buddhist personification of Power. He was thus enabled to retain within the pale of Buddhism those aboriginal and savage tribes who were but Buddhists in name, but were, in practice, steeped in their ancestral creeds and other forms of devil-worship. Thus, under the Tāntric form of worship, they were permitted to practice magic rites by means of magic phrases (*Dhāraṇī*) and magic circles (*Mandala*), while professing only in theory to act up to the Truths, or follow the Noble Eightfold Path, which constitutes the principal tenets of the Buddhistic creed.

A careful examination of these "Broadley Sculptures" will amply repay the investigator in the following six ways :

First.—The sculptures contain figures elaborately dressed and elaborately ornamented. To the curious enquirer, the various forms of dress, ornaments, utensils and weapons, depicted on them, will throw much light on the domestic life and manners of the people of that period. A knowledge can be obtained of the various forms of earrings, armlets, wristlets, clothing, boots, bows, arrows, *trisul*, mace, club, &c., &c., which were used in those early times.

Second.—Almost the best specimens comprised in this collection are exquisitely carved. They show the great skill which the artists, at that early period, had attained in the principles of design and sculpture. Some of the specimens in black basalt are as delicately chiselled as if they had been carved but yesterday. The proportions of the limbs in a figure, and the relative sizes of the figures in a group, show the great knowledge of the structure of the human frame and of the art of perspective which the ancient Indian sculptors had attained.

Third.—Some of the specimens contain representations of religious processions and ceremonies. A careful examination of them will throw a flood of light on the details of the observance of these rituals.

Fourth.—The different pillars and carved lintels of doorways exhibited in the eastern, southern and western corridors of the Indian Museum, attest the architectural skill of the builders of that period.

Fifth.—Some of the figures have their plinths inscribed in Pali characters. A decipherment of these inscriptions is likely to result in additional accessions to our knowledge of the history of the period. According to Drs. R. L. Mitra and R. G. Bhandarkar, who have deciphered some of them, they belong to the period when the Pala Dynasty, who were Buddhists, held sway over Behar, between the 8th and the 11th centuries.

Sixth.—The votive inscriptions mention the castes to which their dedicators belonged, thus indirectly throwing light on the position of the respective social classes in that early period.

I will now proceed to describe the more remarkable specimens comprised in the collection. I will commence with the series placed in the Gupta Gallery, commencing from the western end.

No. 3824. Alto-relievo figure, in black basalt, of a goddess (most probably Durga), with two attendants on each side; the one on the right hand side holding a lotus. Plinth inscribed.

Nos. 3823 and 3822. Figures of goddesses sitting. The one numbered 3822, holding a rosary in one hand and a lotus in the other.

No. 3812. A god (most probably Siva) clasping a Kinnarâ by the left arm, and fondling with his right hand, the chin of another Kinnarâ, standing on the right hand side.

No. 3725. Alto-relievo figure of a twelve-armed goddess—an incarnation of the goddess Durga.

No. 3952. Alto-relievo figure of Durga holding infant Kârtikeya on the right lap. Plinth inscribed.

No. 3804. Alto-relievo figure, in black basalt, of a god sitting in an easy posture. Five gandharvas sitting above, and two on each side. Exquisitely carved lotus in each hand.

No. 3791. Mutilated torso of Buddha, in black basalt. Exquisitely carved scroll-work at the base. Plinth inscribed.

No. 3777. Buddha riding on a horse. An attendant behind the horse's tail, holding umbrella. Five armed attendants on the right side and four on the left. This group probably refers to the Great Renunciation of Buddha, when he bade adieu to his home and his family, in order to go to the solitudes of Râjagriha. The charioteer Chhanna returned with the horse to the city.

No. 3930. Alto-relievo figure of Vishnu sitting under the hood of a seven-hooded serpent.

No. 3767. Buddha with a chatiya, or votive *stupa*, at the top. Right hand and left hand sides inscribed.

No. 3764. Alto-relievo figure of Buddha. Elephant at the foot of one column and an attendant holding staff by the side of the left hand side column. Plinth inscribed. This probably refers to the temptation of Buddha by Marh. But, Marh having failed in his attempt, Marh's famous elephant bent his knees and paid homage to Buddha.*

No. 3737. Figure of Buddha in an attitude of meditation. Two Bodhisattvas sitting on the top, and two standing on the left and the right hand sides. One standing at the base and another seated on the left. Plinth inscribed. This figure bears marks of vermillion, showing that it was worshipped by the Hindus.

No. 3755. Exquisitely carved alto-relievo figure, in black basalt, of Buddha in an attitude of meditation. Two attendants standing on each side at the top. Buddha's mother, Mâyâ standing on the right hand side under a tree, and another female holding a round object on the lap on the left-hand side. The right-hand figure refers to the birth of Buddha in the Lumbini Garden, when his mother Mâyâ, holding the branch of a Sâla tree, gave birth to Buddha.

No. 3753. Buddha in an attitude of meditation. Two Buddhas seated at the top on the left-hand side. Vermillion streaks on the forehead and on the lips of Buddha, showing that it was worshipped by the Hindus.

* Vide Bigandet's work, Vol. I, p. 90.

Nos. 3752 to 3745. Alto-relievo figures of Buddha in different attitudes of meditation.

No. 3746. Alto-relievo figure, in slate-colored sandstone, of Buddha, seated under the sacred Bo tree.

No. 3711. Alto-relievo figure, in blue sandstone, of Buddha in an attitude of meditation.

No. 3946. Goddess Durga riding on a lion, with shield in the left hand and dagger in the right one.

No. 3945. Figure of goddess Durga.

No. 3944. Goddess Durga riding on a couchant bull.

Nos. 3943 to 3941. Alto-relievo figures of the goddess Durga standing on a man lying down in the dust, probably representing the demon Mahisâsura, who was slain by her.

Nos 3940 to 3939. Figures of the goddess Durga having a man in a kneeling posture underneath the legs.

No. 3927. Alto-relievo figure, in gray sandstone, of a man standing with a lotus each in the right and the left hands. Two attendants standing on the right and the left hand sides. A man sitting at the feet of the aforesaid man, holding in his left hand the reins of seven galloping horses and plying a thick sized whip with the right hand. This is, perhaps, the figure alluded to by Mr. Broadley at page 252 of his paper: * "Some of the finest figures and carvings in my collection come from the Tillârah Monastery. I extract a description of them from my catalogue (No. LXII). Unmutilated alto-relievo figure in fine black basalt, 2 feet 7 inches high, holding a lotus in either hand. On the head is a jewelled crown, conical in shape, with curious ornaments behind the ears. The hair is dressed in profuse ringlets. A garland passes over the left shoulder across the body. The earrings consist of two parts—a jewelled ring, passed through an oval hoop. There is a jewelled girdle around the waist. The body is covered with a light jacket, having an ornamental facing. The legs are covered with pantaloons, and the feet with boots. A sword is girded below the left thigh. Between the feet is a small grotesque booted figure, gathering up a set of reins in his hands and waving a whip over his shoulders. Below this is a row of seven horses galloping from left to right, and drawing a chariot. On the other side of the main figure are attendants, standing booted, and wearing curious caps and circular earrings. Above these, diminutive female figures are seen, discharging arrows right and left. The figure may be either Hindu or Buddhist."

* "The Buddhistic Remains of Bihâr." By A. M. Broadley, Esq., C.S. With nine plates. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLI, Part I, 1872, page 209.

No. 3925. Alto-relievo sculpture, in black sandstone, representing the same subject as 3927. But the driver, in this piece of sculpture, is represented as sitting with an expression of great composure, and having his hands free. The horses are represented here as not running. The driver of the seven horses may represent the Sun-God, who is described by mythologists as driving a chariot with seven horses.

No. 3924. Alto-relievo sculpture representing the same subject as 3927. The attendant to the right hand side is represented here as having a beard.

No. 3922. Alto-relievo figure of the fat-paunched Ganesa.

No. 3912. Alto-relievo figure of a man holding a pouch in the left hand. The hair is dressed up into matted locks like that of the jogis. This is identical with the figure described by Mr. Broadley at page 297 of his paper: "Figure of Kabîr, seated on a chair, with one foot resting on a stool. The figure is 3 feet high. The hair is dressed in a profusion of ringlets, and the body is very corpulent. One hand rests on the knee, grasping a well-filled money bag, and the other holds apparently a pouch, or gourd.

No. 3878 Exquisitely carved alto-relievo figure of a god standing, and having on the head a three-sided peaked ornament. A female standing on the right hand and a male on the left hand side.

No. 3889. Alto-relievo figure of a man standing. A female attendant standing on the right hand side holds a *chamar*, and the one on the left holds a staff. There is, on each side, a man riding on an elephant and having a shield in the left hand. On the shield rest the paws of a lion, which is ridden by a man with folded hands. The lion's hind paws rest on the elephant's posterior parts. This group is exquisitely carved in black basalt, but the subject depicted is unknown to me.

No. 3846 Alto-relievo figure of Pârvati on a lion, sitting on the lap of Siva, who is riding on a bull. Siva's right hand rests on the chin of Parvati, while his left hand is represented as supporting the left breast of Parvati. This is, perhaps, the sculpture alluded to by Mr. Broadley at page 252 of his paper: "The next figure (LXIV) is purely Hindu, for at Tillârah as in the Nâlandâ ruins, Hindu and Buddhist idols are mixed together. It is unbroken. It is an alto-relievo in black basalt, 2 feet 4 inches high, containing figures of Durga and Siva. Siva is four-handed, and is elaborately dressed and ornamented. He is seated on a bull. The upper hand to the right grasps a lotus, while the other rests playfully on the chin of the goddess. His lower hand on the opposite side passes round her body and supports her left breast. The one above it grasps a trident. His right leg is turned outwards to the right, but

the left one is twisted over the bull's head, so that the right leg of the goddess rests upon it. Her right hand passes round his neck, while the left grasps a mirror. She is seated on a lion. In his right ear is a circular ring, and in his left an oblong drop. In her case the arrangement is reversed. His hair is rolled up into a ball, while hers is dressed almost precisely after the fashion of George II's time."

The sculptures numbered 3834 to 3845, and 3847 to 3849 depict the same subject as 3846.

No. 3829. Capital of a pillar containing three exquisitely carved heads with the hair tied up into a top-knot, or chignon, of curls and ringlets.

No. 3852. Alto-relievo figure of Siva and Parvati.

Having described the most remarkable specimens arranged on the platforms in the Gupta Gallery, I shall describe those arranged in the different corridors. Among those exhibited in the southern verandah of the ground floor, the most noteworthy are the following :

Nos. 4254 to 4256. Figures of Buddha sitting in an attitude of meditation under a covered archway. There is an attendant on either side.

Nos. 4271 and 4272. Alto-relievo figures of Buddha in an attitude of meditation under an archway. The top of the archway is surmounted by five meditative Buddhas, respectively seated under five niches.

Nos. 4283 to 4285. Alto-relievo figures of Buddha, attended by two attendants, under an archway, which is surmounted by three meditative Buddhas, respectively, seated under three niches.

Nos. 4301 to 4303. Figures of Buddha in a state of meditation and seated under an archway. Similar to 4283-85.

Nos. 4316-17. Figures of Buddha seated under an archway.

In the east verandah are :

No. 4132. Mutilated torso of a standing statue, in blue sandstone, of Buddha. Nose and arms broken.

No. 4083. A delicately-chiselled pillar, surmounted by festoon-like ornaments.

No. 4181. A slab containing the figures of the Ten Incarnations of Vishnu, the series commencing from the Matsya-avatâra and ending with the Kurma-avatâra, or the Tortoise Incarnation. The last is, however, broken.

*Nos. 4167-69. Three slabs containing the figures of the Nava-Grahas, or the Nine Planets.

Nos. 4181 and 4167 to 4169 are perhaps identical with the sculptures alluded to by Mr. Broadley at page 245 of his paper : "The next pagoda is faced by an open court, to the right and left of which are two slabs, the one covered with the

representation of the Ten Incarnations of Vishnu, and the other with those of the Nine Planets."

No. 4039. Standing statue, in black basalt, of Buddha, having, under his right hand, the figure of a female.

No. 4194. Alto-relievo figure of an elephant ridden by a man bearing a shield, whereon rest the fore paws of a lion ridden by a man, the lion's hind paws resting on the posterior parts of the elephant.

This is, perhaps, identical with the sculpture described by Mr. Broadley at page 290 of his above-quoted paper: "A pilaster and part of an arch covered with the most minute and exquisite ornamentalia. Inside it a dragon and rider are seen in the act of destroying an elephant. Another specimen of the same sort of carving, differing in detail and design from the last."

No. 4133. Fragment of sculpture representing a man riding on a large-sized horse. The torso of the man is mutilated. The head of the horse is broken.

No. 4216. Fragment of sculpture representing Vishnu and Lakshmi under a seven-hooded snake. Another piece representing the same figures is placed on the side opposite to it.

In the western verandah are:

The standing figure of Vishnu with an attendant on either side.

No. 4012. Bas-relief, representing a figure seated on a dragon having claws and wings, and attended by an attendant on either side.

No. 4006. Standing statue, in black basalt, of Buddha, surmounted by two chaityas at the top.

No. 3996. Full-sized statue of Buddha in an attitude of meditation.

No. 3988. Statue of Buddha, attended by two attendants.

No. 3973. Bas-relief representing the goddess Durga having four arms, in a sitting posture. At the top there are figures of flying Gandharvas.

No. 3969. Standing statue of a god attended by an attendant on either side.

No. 3963. Fragment of a pillar, in quartzose sandstone, having the lotus pattern carved on it. The whole is represented as resting on the head of a bearded Gargoyle. This is the identical pillar described by Mr. Broadley at page 223 of his paper: "The next pillar of the series (or rather what remained of it intact) was 8 feet in height, 12 inches broad, and of enormous thickness. The first slab was of light brown colour, and of a soft and pliable nature. The base of it is plain, and above it, is a grotesque kneeling figure with a long beard and hands uplifted, supporting a canopy, above which rises a long line of geometrical pattern."

Just opposite to the grand entrance has been set up a doorway, consisting of an elaborately carved lintel and two jambs.

In a niche to the left, at the foot of the grand staircase, is the magnificently carved full-sized statue, No. 3961, in black basalt, of the Varahâ-Avatâra, or Boar-Incarnation of Vishnu. Vishnu is represented as having four arms, the face of a boar, the tip of the trunk being mutilated and turned towards the figure of a female sitting on the left upper arm. In this sculpture Vishnu is depicted as rescuing by his tusks, under the form of a boar, the goddess Prithvi, or the Earth, from the bottom of the ocean, whither she had been dragged by the Demon Hiranyâksha. The female on the left upper arm represents the Earth. The whole of the *padmasanâ* or the lotus-petal throne and the ornamental scroll-work at the top are delicately chiselled.

In the niche to the right is No. 3962, a life-sized alto-relievo figure, in black basalt, of Manjusri, the Bodhisattva of Learning, standing in an attitude of repose. The ornaments of this sculpture also are carved with exquisite delicacy and finish. Manjusri is the personification of Wisdom, and especially of the mystic religious insight, which produced the Mahâyâna, (the Great Vehicle) or the Northern and Later School of Buddhism. This Bodhisattva was created by the Northern Buddhists, whose minds were steeped in Brahminical philosophy and theology, and whose hearts always longed for fresh additions to the Buddhist Pantheon.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

ART. VI.—SOME SKETCHES OF IRISH LIFE IN
1816-17.

THERE are few of us, who at one time or other of our novel-reading days, have not delighted ourselves with Chas. Lever's stories. I am not aware whether they are much read now, but I fear not. Modern young men do not care for such frivolities, and even *Pickwick* is regarded as silly and inane by the growing generation.

Even those of us who read Lever and Dickens, and revelled in the fun with which their pages abound, are apt to consider the former a gross caricature of the manners and customs of the people of the period which he portrays, and regard many of his most amusing creations as far fetched and impossible. I must confess that I shared this opinion until chance placed in my way a number of old moth-eaten newspapers which turned out to be files of a Dublin weekly newspaper, published in the years 1816 and 1817. Reading these old papers brought back very vividly the manners and customs of our grandfathers; and, as one went on with the study, it seemed as though we were back in the days of Harry Lorrequer, and the Ireland of the times of the Knight of Gwynne had not been unduly exaggerated in the pictures drawn in that charming novel. I have given, therefore, some leisure moments to attempting a sketch of the manners and customs of my countrymen at a time when the thunders of the guns of Waterloo had hardly died away, and when the country was just settling down after the Union which Mr. Gladstone is now attempting to destroy. I shall try to show, from contemporary records, that Lever, after all, took little more than the ordinary license of the novelist, and that people in the early part of the century led lives, and lived under conditions which are scarcely credible now.

Although, in common with all my countrymen, I cannot help feeling very keenly the importance of the crisis through which Ireland is now passing, I do not intend in this paper to touch on political issues—that is to say, on the question of Home Rule or Unionism.

My object is to show how people lived at the time when these old newspapers reflected their daily life; and to contrast the manners and customs of those times with the conditions under which Irishmen live now. The pages of a periodical like the *Calcutta Review* are not, I take it, the fitting arena on which to fight out controverted political questions.

At the same time I shall not be sorry if an account of Ireland in 1816-17, and a disclosure of the terrible straits to which the

people were then put in order to earn their daily bread, may cause some of my readers to "look upon this picture and on this;" and to discriminate between real tangible evils, and so-called evils, based more or less on sentiment; to contrast an Ireland groaning under real hardship, with a country wherein all men enjoy equal privileges, and, to some of us, at any rate, appear to be on the same footing, as far as rights and freedom, with their fellow subjects in England and Scotland.

As Dickens has done for England, so has Lever done for Ireland, in depicting, in many instances, the seamy side of life—the shabby genteel stratum of society which would scorn to be looked upon as the lower order. The members of this class inhabited a sort of neutral ground between the purlieus of the Four Courts and the Castle and the more respectable quarters of the north side of the City of Dublin, which had not then ceased to be the abode of fashion. In the days of which I am writing, they must have been put to sore straits to make two ends meet. The quartern loaf was priced at 1-9½d., much more than the value of a debased rupee, and the price of bread was fixed by what was called the Assize of Bread, a method absolutely incredible in these days of free trade and competition. That the Assize was not always a just tribunal, we have evidence in an account of a meeting of citizens called together to protest against the rate fixed.

I can find nothing in these papers as to the constitution of this extraordinary Court. It is merely alluded to as an existing institution, which was not altogether popular with the citizens. With the price of bread so fixed and so high, the people had also to contend against a tax on light* and ventilation. We have a notice, couched in terms of anything but a feeling of trust in the honour of the tax payers, giving notice of the approaching visit of the Inspector of Windows, and calling upon every householder, under the threat of most dire pains and penalties, to admit him to all his private apartments, or else to accept the return of the Inspector as to the number of windows, hearths, or stoves in the dwelling. Lest any one should lay the flattering unction to his soul that he could evade the impos. and increase the means of getting light and air into his dwelling by opening windows, hearths or chimnies after the Inspector had made his return, a warning is given that this gentleman's visits will be frequent and uncertain in their incidence. One sees poverty and cold enough in some of the back slums of Dublin during a winter at the end of the century. What must it have been when every fireplace was taxed, and what must the health of small towns have been when ventilation was prohibited? We see, in these papers, something of the

* This tax was common to both England and Ireland.—ED. C. R.

latter in the gruesome accounts of towns being nearly decimated by fever. Then there were what were called the Paving Commissioners, probably the predecessors of the present Dublin Corporation. These gentlemen seemingly interfered a good deal with the daily lives of the people. From everything that we can gather, the people were ground down by taxation, and that of the most irritating order.

The popularity of the guager was never at a very high standard, but he must have been regarded as a saint in comparison with the man who, at uncertain times and seasons, could demand access to a house, and visit every room from garret to cellar. Of course, the tax was evaded, and the tax Inspector waxed rich.

Now, to make both ends meet, people resorted to very curious combinations of professions or trades. It would be tedious to quote many of the advertisements, but one is extremely comical. A gentleman professes to clean clothes by a new process, much superior to "the old and filthy device of scowering," but this is not all. The clothesman combines the fine arts with the more prosaic occupation of cleaning old clothes, and announces that he teaches music—also by a new method—whereby the learner can acquire a knowledge of the pianoforte without ever seeing an instrument. The terms are seemingly within the reach of those who would be likely to resort to the gentleman's skill in the matter of their wardrobes. They are but tenpence a lesson, and the musical cleanser of garments still further undertakes that no money shall be demanded until the pupil is satisfied that "he can play a tune."

Now, nothing that Lever has portrayed in the line of shabby genteel life can come up to this, a picture of real life. Any one who knows Dublin can picture the locality, 21 Little Strand St.; and it requires but little imagination to people it with those who, seventy-five years ago, brought their rusty black coats to be cleaned for some State occasion, or sent their daughters with the garment, and at the same time to take tenpence worth of instruction on the piano. Denizens no doubt of Mrs. Clanfrizzle's select boarding house, or clerks from some such offices as that of Mr. Tony Bassett, attorney-at-law.

The adventures of Major Bob Mahon in search of an elderly but solvent widow, who turned out to be a Sheriff's officer in disguise, would, perhaps, be looked upon as grotesquely exaggerated by those who take their fiction from novels of the present day.

There is an account of a trial for breach of promise of marriage in this paper, before which Bob Mahon's mercenary wooing is something quite tame and commonplace. There may be descendants of the parties to the suit still alive; and, as I am

not without hope, should the rupee recover, of again visiting the Isle of Saints, I shall suppress the real names. The story, however, is too good to be withheld. It is this: A certain army surgeon, after serving his king and country with great distinction, retired from the army and died at the ripe age of one hundred years. He left behind him a widow of sixty-five, who had for half a century been the companion of his life. After his death, this lady struck up an acquaintance with a family in the neighbourhood, and, it would have been better for her to have taken as a companion one of the daughters of the horse-leech, for these worthy people borrowed her money right and left and thrived on her generosity. The widow, even at the mature age of 65, was of a romantic turn of mind, and a scion of the house (we will call it Jones) was serving his country as an officer in the navy, at that time engaged in the American war. The widow had never seen this naval hero; but his relations fired her imagination with accounts of his manly beauty and prowess in war. They also dwelt upon the love he had conceived for this elderly female whom he had never seen. Incredible as it may seem, an engagement was formed between this old woman and the wily naval officer, while as yet he was fighting his country's battles, and, what was more to the point, the lady engaged, should the marriage take place, to settle her property on her unseen bridegroom. The Lieutenant quitted the quarter-deck for good, and hastened home to his elderly innamorata. When he came home, however, the affections of the expectant bride seem to have waned. The Lieutenant, moreover, was of a bibulous turn of habit, and the lady refused to receive him when he flew on the wings of love to greet her. The next act in this extraordinary comedy was that the Jones family moved bodily in upon the widow, banished all her relations and servants, and virtually imprisoned her in her own house. On some pretext or other, the old lady escaped to Dublin and there made a stand against her would-be husband. He then wrote her a lawyer's letter, in which he hinted that his life was not so blighted, that cash could not revive its drooping bloom. He still expressed his readiness to marry her and to allow her £50 a year out of her own £850, and also alluded to the prospect before her of enjoying an officer's widow's pension of £50 a year, should death call him away from her arms. The lady refused this generous settlement, and the Lieutenant took an action against her for breach of promise of marriage. The report of this trial is given *in extenso*, and the speech of the counsel for the elderly defendant is unique as a piece of advocacy. We have often heard of abusing the adversary's attorney when you have a bad case, but, in this instance, the entire speech is devoted by the counsel to holding up his

client to ridicule, to dwelling upon her decrepitude of mind, and her want of personal attractions. Such polite allusions as to her fitness for the grave, rather than the altar, bristle through the speech, and, if the old lady was present in court, she must have bitterly repented her rashness in wishing to re-enter the bonds of matrimony with an unseen bridegroom. * The plaintiff was scouted out of court as might be expected. For an incident in real life, it would be difficult to match this story in any of the drollest accounts of mercenary wooing told by Lever, or any novelist. That, even so far back as 1816, it was possible for these people to invade the poor old lady's house and force her to have recourse to flight to save herself from matrimony, discloses a state of society hardly conceivable. It is a pity that this story never came under Lever's notice. We can imagine what he would have made of the wooing of the tipsy Lieutenant, and of the escape of the widow, possibly on a low-backed car, accompanied by some faithful servitor, such as Nicholas in Harry Lorrequet, who interrupted his mistress at Lord Callonby's whist party, by announcing, "*The thing ye know is at the dure,*" alluding to the conveyance in which the lady had arrived.

The attorney, too, who drafted the generous proposals of the Lieutenant and subsequently advised the action, would not have suffered by a delineation at the hands of the master who depicted Tony Bassett and other shady specimens of his branch of the legal profession.

Pictures illustrating the wild justice of revenge have been drawn with a vigorous touch by Lever; but some of the accounts of the trials for agrarian murder in these old newspapers fall very little short of the novelist's creations in dramatic force and in tragic incident. The country was truly in a terrible condition during the two years the history of which is here recorded. Almost every crime in the decalogue, and out of it too, carried with it the one penalty, *death*. One can realise the meaning of "A bloody Assize" in reading some commonplace reports of the assizes held in the various counties in Ireland in the year of grace 1817. To take the Clonmel Assizes for the April of that year, we find no less than twelve men sentenced to death for offences ranging from the theft of oatmeal to highway robbery. The pleasing punishment of hanging in chains was adopted in the latter cases. That this brutal Penal Code was not a deterrent, is shown by an account of no less than five outrages, including the robbery of a mail coach, in the very same issue of the paper which records the merciless punishment meted out to the prisoners at Clonmel.

There was a ruthless savagery about the justice administered in those times which one can hardly realise now-a-days. The

pendulum has swung back with a vengeance, for we now exhibit a reluctance to inflict punishment almost amounting to timidity.

It would be difficult to conceive what the feelings of one of his Majesty's justices would be, could he revisit Ireland now, and see men who had only just escaped the gallows for the murder of a police officer in the discharge of his duty, released from jail, after a short term of imprisonment, and being fêted and made heroes of, by those who sympathised with the criminals, if not with the crime.

In one of Lever's books he tells a story of how the late Sir Robert Peel asked a gentleman in what the greatest feature of Burke's eloquence lay. The answer was, "The juries." "And what is his especial art in his dealing with the juries?" asked the statesman. "Why, you see, Sir, *first he butchers them up and then he slithers them down.*" This, Lever says, would be understood by an Irish reader if not by an English one. I think even a Scotch reader will understand what was meant, when he reads the following extract from a speech of a counsel learned in the law.

The case was one in which a slater in Dublin took an action against an English officer for the loss of the services of his daughter. The case was a commonplace one, and, judging from the recorded evidence, was extremely weak. The opportunity, however, was evidently one not to be lost by the eloquent barrister; and his opening speech brings in almost every form of political venom and oratorical clap-trap that can be conceived. I extract a few gems out of the many with which this forensic display of eloquence abounds.

It will be remembered that these are no make-believe speeches of a fictitious counsellor Daly, "buttherin up and slitherin' down" an imaginary Galway jury. They are the words of a speech actually delivered in the Four Courts and recorded in a newspaper. They were addressed to a jury of presumably sensible men (though the verdict would throw a doubt on this point). The speech was commented on as a masterpiece of eloquence. I leave the reader to judge from the extracts I quote, whether it comes far behind the most grotesque account of a trial at law given by either Lever or Dickens.

It appears that the learned Counsel went in person to the house of his client on the eve of the case, solely for the purpose, one would think, of making a point in his opening speech. After the usual opening he goes on thus:—

"I feel I cannot do my duty, I am not fit to address you, I have incapacitated myself. I know not whether any of the calumnies which have so industriously anticipated this trial, have reached your ears, but I do confess they did so wound and poison mine, that, to

satisfy my doubts I visited the house of misery and mourning, and the scene which set scepticism at rest, has set description at defiance. Had I not yielded to those interested misrepresentations, I might from my brief have sketched the fact, and from my fancy drawn the consequences : but as it is, reality rushes before my frightened memory, and silences the tongue and mocks the imagination."

He then illustrates how *his* tongue was silenced, by going on to tell the jury, that, besides the more sordid task of awarding damages, they had yet a higher duty to perform. The importation of political hatred into this part of the speech is very delicious. He says,

"You are to do much more, you are to say whether an example of such transcendent turpitude is to stalk forth for public imitation. Whether *national* morals are to have the law for their protection, or *imported* crime (the defendant was an English Officer) is to feed upon impunity. Whether Chastity and Religion are still to be permitted to linger in this province, or it is to become one loathsome den of legalised infamy. Whether the sacred volume of the Gospel and the venerable Statutes of the Law are still to be respected, or flung into the furnace of a devouring lust, or perhaps converted into a pedestal on which the mob and the military are to erect the idol of a drunken adoration."

This is a pretty tall exordium to a speech in a case where a simple fact was at issue, and the question of damages was to be decided by the jury.

The passions excited by the Union had not yet died out, and this allusion to imported crime, and to the last remnants of respectability having a lingering existence in the province, were admirably calculated to prepare a jury for the impartial discharge of the duty before them.

We have all of us laughed over Sergeant Buzfuz's description of the deceased Bardell. Is it after all more comic than this description of the slater and of the prosaic fact that he got married ?

"It is now about five and twenty years since the plaintiff commenced business as a slate merchant in the city of Dublin. His vocation was humble, it is true, but it was nevertheless honest, and though, unlike his opponent, the heights of ambition lay not before him, the path of respectability did. Arrived at the age of manhood, for him the home of honesty was sacred ; for him the poor man's child was unassailed ; no domestic desolation mourned him, no anniversary of woe commemorated *his* achievements ; from his own sphere of life, naturally and honourably, he selected a companion whose beauty blessed his bed and whose virtues consecrated his dwelling. Eleven lovely children blessed their union, the darlings of their heart, the delight of their evenings, and, as they blindly anticipated, the prop and solace of their approaching age. Oh SACRED, WEDDED LOVE ! how dear ! How delightful ! How divine are thy enjoyments ! Contentment crowns thy board ! Affection glads thy fireside !

The learned counsel goes on for the best part of a column, with twaddle like this. In describing how the unhappy slater became bankrupt, he cannot leave rhodomontade alone ; but he

attributes the woes of the luckless man to the devastating war just concluded, and has something to say regarding the policy which dictated the action of our armies. However ridiculous this oration may seem to one reading it seventy-five years later, it had its due effect, for the jury award £750 damages, the exact amount which Sergeant Buzfuz exacted for Mrs. Bardell, in a case about equally weak, judging from the evidence.

This is not a solitary instance of this gentleman's eloquence. It was he who defended the widow against the bibulous Lieutenant, and, in three or four cases of the same nature as this one, he is reported as firing off effusions like those I have quoted.

In the other cases, however, the crime was unhappily *indigenous* and not *imported*. Perhaps even the English reader will now appreciate Counsellor Daly's expression. One can hardly conceive a judge and jury sitting for hours and listening to fustian like this. The Courts in Ireland have been described by Lever as scenes of brilliant eloquence and sparkling repartee. Within one's own recollection, the wit of the late judges, Whitesides and Dowse, rendered many a prosaic trial amusing. The quaint sayings too, of Chief Justice Monahan are within the recollection of many of his countrymen who are now serving in India. It was he who, on one very hot summer's day, was trying an abstruse legal question, and looked up and saw the hall crowded with a mob of the unwashed, who used the Court as a sort of lounge and probably as a relief from the glare outside. He looked up at them and said, "Now, you blackguards, you don't understand a word that is being said, and you are only crowding up the place and making it hot (and he might have added another discomfort). Be off with you now and *give your rags a gallop in the Park*." It remains for a newspaper to give us a description of speeches which, in a novel, would be set down as pure nonsense, and a caricature of some well-known speaker.

Some of the advertisements that appear in these sheets disclose a state of things that would make the hair of a political economist stand on end. For instance, we see a reward of three hundred pounds offered for the apprehension of one Edward Shanahan, who defrauded His Majesty the King of diverse linen and hempen bounties to which he, the said Shanahan, was not entitled. The description of Mr. Shanahan is not flattering to that defrauder of His Majesty, for we are told that he is of respectable appearance in his dress, but with a downcast look, as if unwilling to meet the eye of the person whom he addresses. It is not to be wondered at, going about, as he was, with the dire intent of defrauding George of pious memory. There is a strange contrast between this advertisement, offering *three* hundred pounds for the apprehension of a man who was

guilty of defrauding the revenue, and another on the same page which offers *one* hundred pounds reward for the apprehension of one Daniel Magennys, who was guilty of the minor offence of having wilfully murdered Norton Butler of Grouse Hall, by firing a shot at him which struck him, the said Norton Butler, in the thigh. We are told, however, in this advertisement, that the Chief Commissioners of His Majesty's Revenue of Inland Excise and Taxes in Ireland, holding in abhorrence and detestation the perpetrators of the said murder, and being desirous, as far as in them lies, to bring the said Daniel Magennys to condign punishment, do hereby offer the reward of one hundred pounds to any person or persons who shall apprehend him and lodge him in any of His Majesty's goals. The abhorrence in which this crime was held in the year 1816 is a contrast to the view taken in more modern times with regard to murder in Donegal, which was also the scene of the crime for which Daniel was wanted.

"Exclusive dealing" had also been developed as a fine art so far back as the times of which we are writing. It had not yet, however, received its euphonious title at the hands of a scholar and a statesman. It was then called by harsh and uncomplimentary terms, and those who employed the method were called such unpleasant names as ruffians and miscreants. In those degenerate days, people had not got to the length of describing a low public-house keeper as "the gentleman" who conducted negotiations between Mr. Gladstone and his suspects, and who turned out afterwards to be Mr. Pat Sherridan, one of the principal actors in the Phoenix Park tragedy. So, 'exclusive dealers' had to be content with making their wishes known in homely and terse language—understood however of the people to whom it was addressed.

The following is a specimen of a manifesto, conveying the wishes of the *patriotic** party in 1817. Like a lady's letter, the pith of the document lies in the postscript. It runs thus :—

We do hereby give notice, that men or women in this barony who will take any ground or grounds in this barony, will suffer very much by his cows and catles of all kind being houghed or killed.

CAPT. ROUSER,

For me and my Companions.

N. B.—And also, they will be burned alive in their own houses.

There is a touching simplicity in this notice which commends it. The threat, moreover, was not an idle one, for, in the same paper, we read no less than five cases in which persons who were obnoxious to Capt. Rouser "suffered very much," by having their houses burned over their heads.

Terrible as these events were, we must consider what the Ireland of that day was like. Take any one of these papers,

* This is what they styled themselves.

and we read of the people starving from causes which are now impossible. Protection and unequal restrictions on industries and trade had driven the necessities of life up to a price which made starvation the lot of the many. Lever has given us many pictures of the abject poverty in which the peasantry at the early part of the century lived. They are not found to be exaggerations when we read of the dealings of men called "maughers," or middle men, who simply batted on the poor, as regards the buying and selling of all kinds of necessities of life. In Ballina, in the West, we read of a raid on the potato market; in civilised Dublin we hear of the Police forcing dealers to sell meat in public market. Then we read of the frightful devastations of fever in almost every town—preventible, as we know now, but absolutely fostered by taxing light and ventilation. Added to this was a Penal Code, fiercely savage in its ferocity, under which hangings and floggings followed the track of every Judge of Assize. This was in itself enough to brutalise a people and familiarise them with crime. We may deplore the savagery of Capt. Rouser and his friends, but they lived in savage times and under conditions of life in which their own miseries made them callous to the sufferings of others. There was much more excuse to be made for them, the so-called ruffians and miscreants, than there is for "the exclusive dealers" of the latter end of the century. The one set of men were goaded by starvation and misery to crime, at a time when every offence was equally heinous, as far as the punishment with which it was visited; the others have committed their crimes against their country's interest and against society, at a time when the condition of the Irish tenant compares favourably with that of any agricultural community in the world, not excepting the Bengal peasantry under the Tenancy Act. We have no words sufficiently strong to condemn the Code under which offences were then punished. It was bad enough. But, perhaps, we are destined before long to see a state of society nearly as bad, should it become fashionable to call dishonesty in payment of rents an act of constitutional agitation, and a system of terrorism no less efficient than that of Capt. Rouser's, exclusive dealing; when murderers are let loose on society after but a few years imprisonment, and we are only saved from the restoration of dynamiters to their friends and relations by the stand of one plucky Home Secretary, whose act has alienated the sympathy of the Irish majority who control the destinies of the Empire. We may be approaching a time when Capt. Rouser and his friends, under other names, and in a more civilised guise, are destined to coerce the most distressful county by so-called constitutional methods, without any fear of the Judge of Assize to control their action.

History, we know, repeats itself, but we trust that "the common sense of most" will prevent Ireland being relegated to either the conditions under which Capt. Rouser lived and flourished and eventually was hanged in chains, or to those under which his successors of some few years ago, carried on their operations, before Mr. Arthur Balfour restored the country to a state of prosperity and peace.

In an account of the Meath Assizes held in 1817, there is recorded a trial which, for romantic incident, beats most sensational fictions. It was the trial of an Irish country gentleman, a barrister, and a man of considerable property, on the extraordinary charge of robbing the mail coach between Dublin and Galway, and causing the death of the guard, who was shot in defending the property committed to his charge. The whole story reads like a page out of a novel ; but it is sober fact, and is published in great detail.

It appears that two men, under sentence of death for robbing, escaped from the jail at Trim, and hid themselves in the grounds of Dangan Castle, the residence of Mr. O'Connor, the gentleman subsequently brought to trial. Shortly after this, on the eve of the great fair of Ballinasloe, the mail coach was coming along at night near a place called Cappagh Hill. There was a turnpike close by, and at about midnight the turnpike gate was seized and fastened, just as the coach was heard approaching. A party of men lined the road on either side, called upon the coachman to stop, and shot the guard who showed fight. The crime remained undetected for some time, until one of Mr. O'Connor's sons, when out shooting in the plantations, picked up a blunderbus which he took home and placed openly in his bedroom. The bedroom was in a cottage detached from the main building. His father, hearing of this, had a search made of the grounds, and there discovered the mail bags all cut to pieces ; a blunderbus, such as a guard of a coach would carry for the defence of the mails ; and, various papers and bank bills. He promptly sent for a neighbouring gentleman, showed him what he had found, and consulted with him as to the best post office to which he should send the property. It will scarcely be believed that this action on his part formed one of the chief items of evidence against him on his trial. No clue was found until some time after, when a man named Warren was caught in the attempt to pass one of the notes which had been stolen from the mail. He was brought to trial, convicted and sentenced to be hanged. He actually called Mr. O'Connor as a witness to character, and Mr. O'Connor gave evidence as to his general character. Mr. O'Connor's evil star seemed to have pursued him in this too : for he said, in a half-joking way, to the solicitor for the

post office at the hotel, "I don't know why he has called me, for, although I know nothing against him, I think he is a d—blackguard." This was used against Mr. O'Connor at his trial. When the fear of death was on Warren, he made the astounding statement to a priest, and afterwards repeated it to a Magistrate, that Mr. O'Connor, one evening, sent for him (although he had no previous dealings with him save such as he would have with any labourer on the estate), and without the slightest preface proposed to him that he should abandon his career of petty robbery (of which he confessed to about a dozen crimes), and join him (Mr. O'Connor) in robbing the mail. He said he had the two escaped convicts under his protection in the demesne grounds, and that Warren should find some allies and carry out the plot. They were all to take up mail robbing, then, as a profession, and follow up this crime by robbing the Enniskillen mail later on.

He then went on to say that Mr. O'Connor then supplied them with arms and sent them off on their mission; that they all came back to Dangan Castle and there distributed the spoil.

Mr. O'Connor then, according to this informer, announced his intention of sending up the stolen bags to the authorities at the post office, and of capturing the escaped prisoners, so that suspicion should be drawn off himself, and he would then be in a position to give evidence as to character in favour of his accomplices, should they be so unfortunate as to be caught. It will be beyond the bounds of belief, that, upon this evidence, a gentleman of rank and position and of substantial wealth was tried for his life; but such was the case. No less a person than the celebrated Sir Francis Burdett came over from London to give evidence as to Mr. O'Connor's means and position. That he was acquitted, was a matter of course. It is not so easy to realise that, when the informer was tried for perjury, the jury could not agree. It, however, subsequently came out that one jurymen refused to convict, because he knew that the prisoner would be hanged were he convicted for perjury: a comment on the advantage of the Draconian code which then prevailed. It is a pity that the papers at my disposal do not come up to a date sufficiently late, to enable me to find out what became of the interesting penitent Warren. We know that he was put back for trial after the jury disagreed, and it is to be hoped that the preparation he received for death was not thrown away on him.

The informer plays a part in many of Lever's novels, but I venture to say that not one of his pictures comes up to the reality. Mr. Warren, was, by his own confession, a thief by profession. He was also a member of a society called *carders*. We have read of "carding" in the annals of the

Land League, but we have from this gentleman's own lips a description of the *modus operandi* of carding. When a person became obnoxious to the members of this interesting fraternity, which occurred by an exhibition of churlishness in refusing to part with his goods or money for the benefit of the *poor*, he was visited by a carding party. The visitors had an instrument which consisted of a board studded with nails. This was drawn up and down the back of the churlish man, until the cockles of his heart were warmed and a spirit of generosity pervaded it. This effect was generally secured after a few applications of the card. Perhaps if this method of instilling generosity had been known in the times of David, poor Nabal might not have been handed down to the world as an example of "a churlish man."

Mr. Warren crowned his career by exhibiting the character of a religious man, when he saw the gallows within measurable distance; and, as such, he felt it his duty to denounce his former associates, including one gentleman who was distinguished as the PRINCE OF CARDERS. He, also, not only thought it right to denounce Mr. O'Connor as a highway robber, but also had the effrontery to swear that this gentleman of property had sworn him Warren in as a member of a Society whose *raison d'être* was a crusade against all those who would not part with their wealth for the benefit of the poor. This is a record of a career of villainy difficult to beat in any novel. Yet it is a story told in the witness box by a man, of himself and his career.

Travellers in this country must have often noticed groups of carts encamping by the roadside at the close of the day. This is done, not so much for the purpose of mutual protection as for company's sake, and for the purpose of cooking and feeding together. Such stages were not unknown in Ireland at the early part of this century, but in that country protection was as much required as convenience in the way of food and shelter. Strings of carts used to go from the larger towns to the smaller country villages. They went in company, as far as possible, and, when, broken up into detachments, they had to leave the main load, they took care, as far as possible, that their journey was ended by night, and that they got to some inhabited place before darkness came on. We read of a convoy of these carts leaving Dublin by the Naas road, and having to halt for the night, they were attacked by a band of robbers, who succeeded in making off with every piece of property on the carts, with the exception of two casks of whiskey, which were too heavy to move. The whiskey, however, was left, as a sort of kill for them, and the ruse was a successful one. For the thieves returned the following evening, doubtless anticipating a good time, but they walked into the hands of the police, and

were captured and eventually hanged in chains on the scene of their crime.

Apart from the risk of being robbed or murdered, a journey in those times must have been rather trying to a person of a nervous temperament. It could not have been pleasant to come across the bodies of men hanged in chains about the road. The feelings of the people who suffered from these marauders were seemingly not considered in executing justice on the criminal, for, we are told of a parsonage being made the scene of an execution, because the culprits were sentenced for robbing the Curate. One can imagine the feelings of a country parson on being told that a gallows was being erected on his tennis ground, and the announcement followed up by the appearance of a cart with the hangman, his victim sitting on his coffin, and "the Ordinary" in attendance. Yet we read of more than one instance in which insult was added to injury, by a man first having his house robbed and then having his lawn turned into the scene of a public execution. It is to be hoped that the culprit's body, hanged in chains, was not left as a permanent ornament to the premises.

The adventures of Freny the Highwayman are told with dramatic vigour in the pages of the Knight of Gwynne. We have, in these contemporary records, an account of the capture of a notorious desperado, whose love for the bottle caused his capture in the long run. It was effected in the yard of an inn into which he had gone to refresh the inner man. We read of the desperate hand-to-hand fight he made, and that he would, in all probability, have escaped, had he not been too drunk to get away. This capture was seemingly witnessed by a crowd of people who, by force of numbers, could have effected it, but, as we read in Lever, the sympathies of the people were always on the side of these desperate men, and it would have been as much as any man's life was worth to have aided the police in bringing one of them to justice.

There are several accounts of duels in these pages. One was of rather a peculiar character, and was racy of the soil. It appears that one of his Majesty's Judges was holding a feast of blood somewhere near the lakes of Killarney. He took the opportunity of a Sunday intervening, to rest from his judicial work and enjoy the beauties of nature. The boatman who rowed him was, one would think, ignorant of the rank of his passenger, for he gave him a graphic account of how two young gentlemen in the neighbourhood had had a difference of opinion, and were about to decide their difference by an exchange of shots. The worthy Judge at once wrote to the father of one of the combatants and to the brother of the other, calling upon them to put a stop to this scandalously illegal

proceeding. The father, it appears, tried in vain to induce his son to desist; but the brother of the other duellist answered the Judge pretty much as Cain is reported to have done, and said he was not his brother's keeper, and seemingly bade his brother God-speed on his errand of vindicating his honour. Great was the wrath of the learned Judge when he found that his august presence and mandate had failed to quench the ardour of the two young fire-eaters. He sent for the brother and father of each and seemingly held a kind of Star Chamber investigation, for the proceeding took place in his private room, to which the public or the press were not admitted. The defiant brother was fined £1000, but the fate of the father was not divulged. No punishment is recorded as having been meted out to the principals, which seems rather one-sided justice.

People fought for very little, it would appear, in those days. Two gentlemen, for instance, fell out regarding the question as to whether Miss A or Miss X was right on some point of etiquette, of a trifling nature, at a ball. They at once proceeded to settle the point with pistols, and blazed away at each other, until one man parted the other's hair with a bullet. This was considered close shaving enough to vindicate wounded honour, and the combatants were marched off the ground by their seconds. Had the bullet gone a little lower down, and one of the two would have had a fellow-creature's life on his conscience, and some few people would have to mourn one of their friends or relatives. This so-called code of honour was in keeping with the barbarous state of the law, and the semi-savage state of Society.

Every one knows the very close connexion that existed, for many generations, between Ireland and the Continent. "The Daltons" and "the Dod Family Abroad" give pictures respectively of the lives led by a ruined gentle family abroad, and the more comic adventures of a Squireen and his wife and family on a short tour on the Continent. The latter book is irresistibly funny. Poor Mr. Dod, is pictured cursing the day on which he ever was induced to go away from his farm. His wife trying to scrape her way into, what she considered, good society, and being taken in by valets and escrocs of every description, ashamed of her husband's vulgarity and going so far as to give a ball when she fondly thinks he is safely lodged in jail. I allude to these books to draw attention to the letters from abroad which appear in this Gazette. Long, chatty letters, such as the members of a family living on the Continent would write to their friends at home, fill a large portion of these papers. People in those days had to do without daily telegrams, giving meagre items of news, but they

were rewarded by most charming leisurely written letters. We can quite imagine the pleasure which these letters gave to many a country house, and how the chat about society abroad must have interested those whose relations were driven to live abroad by the dire necessity of the times. The correspondents were clearly, men and women of education, mixing in the best society abroad. In these letters alone there is the material for a novel, had not Lever previously occupied the ground.

Illicit distillation of potheen in Ireland is now as extinct as the snakes and toads banished by St. Patrick. But in the times of which we are writing, the trade was brisk, judging from the severe notices against it published in the advertisement columns. I can recollect the time when a separate Revenue Police used to be kept up for the prevention of distillation. Even now the epithet "potheen spy" is used as a term of abuse. A curious account appears which shows that there was a necessity of watching the watchers themselves, for we read of the Sheriff of Sligo having seized and offered for sale the property of a gentleman who got into difficulties. Amongst his goods and chattels was a case, for which the officer in charge of his Majesty's customs offered a private bid of two guineas, and became unpleasant to the Sheriff who refused the offered bid. The case was opened and was found to contain two barrels of whiskey which never paid the king six pence. It was not uncommon, some 40 years ago, for a small keg to be found in a police officer's house after any large seizure. How it came there was a mystery, but it never left the house till it was consumed. The cheapness of whisky has now rendered illicit distillation profitable, but from all we read the spirit made on the mountain side was good and wholesome. Unlike the frightful stuff which is now sold at fairs and markets, and which was described by the late Mr. A. M. Sullivan, "as resembling a torch light procession going down a man's throat." Perhaps, the change in the quality of the national beverage has something to do with the disappearance of the spirit of fun and fair fighting, which used to characterise all assemblies where Irishmen gathered together, and has given us in its place Irish Yankee sedition, and the use of "dynamite and revolver," lamented by the late Laureate.

Many of us remember the quaint forms of law which prevailed up to within comparatively recent years, "whereby plaintiffs were greatly damaged and aggrieved," and other extraordinary phraseology was used. It will surprise people to learn that so lately as the year 1817, the plea of wager by battle was not unknown. We have an account of what was known as "an appeal of murder." It appears that one gentleman discharged a pistol loaded with gun powder and a bullet

into the body of another, whereby the aforesaid gentleman died. A true bill was found against the discharger of the deadly weapon, but he was acquitted by the petty jury. He was, however, held to heavy bail. Why, or wherefore, after his acquittal, does not appear. The next of kin of the deceased feeling himself damnified and aggrieved by this verdict, brought forward in the Court of the King's Bench, what was called an appeal of murder under some Statute which was obsolete though unrepealed.

The accused was not to be caught napping, for he denied his guilt and demanded the privilege of defending his innocence with his body, and did then and there wage battle with his accuser, for which purpose he drew off his glove. A discussion then arose as to the proper custody of the glove, and it was finally deposited in Court, and the judges adjourned the case for a term, to give judgment on this extraordinary plea. Unfortunately I have not got the paper in which the final result of this case appeared. But reading the account of it brought one back somewhat to the times of Ivanhoe. One ingenious argument against the proposed battle was that, because one murder had been committed, there was no reason why the Court should order another to be done. This argument was deemed disrespectful to the Court and had to be withdrawn. The whole case shows that we are not so very far removed from feudal times and customs.

A long manifesto from the loyal Roman Catholic inhabitants of Ireland, addressed to their Protestant brethren, indicates a condition of things in marked contrast to those which now prevail. At that time the fact of a man being a Roman Catholic practically debarred him from all Civil rights, and this appeal was simply a plea for the co-operation of Protestants, in securing for Roman Catholics the ordinary rights of free men.

It is almost inconceivable that such a state of things could exist within even 70 years of our own times, and that the holding of certain views on religion could have in itself made a serf of a freeman. Yet it was so. Reading of such conditions of society, makes one wonder how the people of Ireland tolerated a system which was nothing short of oppression. Any attempt in those times to shake off a yoke which must have been well nigh intolerable, could have been understood, and must have claimed the sympathy of us, who can look back from the stand point of the present day upon the sufferings which men endured when our fathers were as yet unborn.

The times have truly changed, and we with them. All classes and creeds are now equal in the eyes of the law, and those who craved the co-operation of their Protestant fellow country-

men in obtaining emancipation, have now attained not only freedom, but the power of dictating a policy to an English Prime Minister.

The annals of the Meath election petition would suggest a doubt as to whether that freedom is altogether so complete as one would wish it to be. At any rate, if it is not, the limitation of it is no longer due to an alien ascendancy. Its foes are of its own household.

Such was Ireland shortly after the Union. A volume might be written from these moth-eaten papers to show still further how very far removed her condition was from the present outward aspect of civilization she presents to the world.

Roman Catholics and Protestants are now on terms of social and political equality; the condition of every class of the community has materially improved; railways have taken the place of the coaches which crawled through the country; travellers no longer go in bodily fear of highwaymen and robbers.

Humanity is no longer outraged by death sentences for every trivial offence. Nor are the susceptibilities of people shocked by the spectacle of men hanging in chains on the road sides. Free trade and competition have done away with *maughers* and other harpies, who rendered the necessities of life inaccessible to the bulk of the people. The potato no longer forms the one food staple to stand between the people and starvation. The casual visitor could see but little difference in material prosperity between the towns in England and those in Ireland, whilst the student of agricultural economics would discover a state of things under which the status of the Irish Agriculturalist compares favourably, as regards his landlord, with that of any peasantry in the world.

Yet, with all this great change in its material and social prosperity, we are brought face to face with a country as much divided by internal dissensions, as it was when Lever described his countrymen as

Fighting like devils for conciliation, and hating each other for the love of God.

We see Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites at each other's throats. We see Ulstermen arrayed against both. Now, this is not an edifying spectacle for the rest of Europe. It is an absolutely saddening one to any Irishman who has the good of his country at his heart.

The charge of Mr. Justice O'Brien at the Clare and Kerry Assizes still further discloses a state of things little short of appalling. Crime stalks, undetected in almost every case; and, where the offenders are brought to trial, the trial is a farce, for the juries refuse to convict in the face of the clearest evidence.

Whether a man be a Unionist or a Home Ruler, it is a sad and humiliating reflection to see this outcome of so-called civilisation at the end of the century. As I said, I do not intend this to be a political article. My countrymen are divided in their opinion as to whether Separation or Union is the better course. Every man has a right to his opinion, and to have his opinion respected and tolerated. Such respect and toleration, however, are impossible, so long as the masses are influenced by people whose interest it is to keep an open sore running, and to prevent the land having rest. It seems a strange thing to many of us, that a country which has grown with England's growth and strengthened with England's strength should, like an offending eye or right hand, have to be cast away from the Great Empire, which her sons have done so much to make and maintain. To us the extension of a liberal system of local self-government is all that is required to enable Irishmen to deal with their own affairs. There are many, however, who think differently, and they are entitled to their opinions. There is yet a third section of the community, and it is to that section that Ireland owes her troubles in the past, and against whom both Unionists and Home Rulers, who are sincere in their desire for the good of the old country, would do well to be on their guard.

That section consists of the political firebrand and the paid agitator, no matter to which side he lends or hires his services.

To these men a state of contentment in the country means that all hope of their gains is gone. Were Home Rule granted to-morrow, a fresh agitation would at once be set on foot, to gain a still wider measure of separation. This has been clearly shown by the agitation set on foot for the release of the dynamitards and the indignation expressed against the Home Secretary, who had the courage to declare that such pests to Society in England, at any rate, would be kept safe from doing further mischief. It was not enough for those who claimed the release of these would-be wholesale murderers that the Gweedore criminals were set at liberty, a step in the opinion of many thinking men fraught with grave danger. They must have those who planned the wholesale murder of innocent people also set at liberty. These men would never be content with any measure of Home Rule, which any Government would concede. Separation and absolute independence is what they desire, and, if they even got that, they would not be at a loss to find some subject of internecine strife, upon which to exercise their talents for mischief and for the stirring up of evil passions.

On the other side there are those who live by religious animosity, and, if the Home Rule Bill were defeated, would use the occasion for a celebration of a second battle of the Boyne

and for the excitement of those evil passions,—the strongest of all passions that can excite the human race,—those arising out of the odium theologicum which has been the curse of Ireland.

Sensible men can fight the Home Rule question with fair weapons. They can discuss what is for the good of our common country and for the Empire at large, without talking of importing stands of arms on the one side, or significant allusions to “dealing with those gentry (the Ulstermen) later on,” on the other. We who desire to maintain the Union, do not fear the result of an appeal to the common sense of the nation at large. Our opponents, doubtless, say the same thing. Neither of us, I imagine, cares for the aid of the auxiliaries who, as far as talk and threats go, are the loudest on the one side or on the other. Whatever the result may be,—and the next General Election will show that very decisively, one way or the other,—those who, like the writer, are living away from the strife of parties, but yet have not lost their interest in the well-being of the dear old country, must only hope, that it will bring peace to Ireland and heal the land which is sorely shaken; that Irishmen of all shades of political opinions will once more fall into line with the rest of the mighty Empire, which Ireland's sons in this country are proud to serve, and that in the Island itself we may, to quote our national poet, see

Like the rainbow's light
Her various tints unite,
And form in Heaven's sight
One Arch of Peace.

A. C. TUTE.

**ART. VII.—THE INDO-CHINESE OPIUM QUESTION
AS IT STANDS IN 1893.**

MY valued friend Dr. Arthur Pierson, of the United States, in a kind farewell letter on his leaving Great Britain, dated March 30, 1892, amongst other remarks writes as follows :

"Your position on the Opium-Question is the only attitude, which I cannot understand."

My object in these lines is to explain it.

It is not unknown, that for half a century I have made the subject of Christian Missions all over the world my special study, and that the work of the Bible-Societies is my special delight. During the quarter of a century, 1843 to 1867, that I spent in British India, as an administrator both in the Revenue and Judicial Department, I acquired a practical knowledge of the system in force for the government of that country, and, dwelling among the people in close intimacy, I acquired also a great love for them, and any wrong inflicted upon them, I learned to look on as a personal wrong, and I care not from what quarter that wrong comes, for I am ready to be their champion against the Government of the country, the manufacturers of Manchester, the injudicious missionary, or the sensational association of good men and women in England, who lift up one corner of the great Governmental carpet, which is spread over British India, and fret, if the pattern and texture are not precisely according to their own preconceptions, their own narrow experiences, and their own hastily-formed prejudices. I feel sure that the amiable members of such associations do not wish to injure the people of India by their wild and hopeless crusade against caste, the cultivation of the poppy, the controlled sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs, the marriage of infants, the difficulty experienced by a Hindu widow in finding a second husband, and other fond schemes of benevolence, but I submit that their soundest policy would be to work by the instrumentality of lectures, printed books, and the Indian public Press, so as to influence the opinion of the educated women and men of British India, and leave it to them to effect the desired reform in their social habits.

My first position is, that irresponsible parties in Great Britain had better leave the domestic affairs of the people of India alone, and turn to the blots in their own country: the drunken habits of the most drunken nation in Europe, the sexual profligacy of our great cities, and the sad sufferings of the poor, especially the female poor, in the Metropolis. Still more is it incumbent on the missionary who is sent out to preach the Gospel and

distribute translations of the Holy Scriptures, to keep to his own particular and holy duty, and leave such mundane subjects to the people of India themselves, or those of their countrymen, who understand the difficulty of the problem, and who are much more qualified to handle them, lest haply, while good people are straining at their own particular scheme of reforms, the great Empire should suddenly dissolve, and fade away. Those, who have studied the problem with the greatest care, are better informed as to the extreme instability of the British Power in British India : the greatest field for the labour of the Evangelist would be closed in the confusion which would follow the disruption of the great, benevolent, and well-intentioned Government of British India. I have no personal motive in supporting the policy of that Government, as I left British India owing to domestic afflictions, with the term of my service uncompleted, without pension, and without any honours, as the reward of service. My position is one of entire independence, and I am too old now to write with any personal ulterior object.

The people of France, in their thousand vineyards, produce alcoholic liquors which prove to be the ruin and disgrace of many Englishmen. Does the British Government expostulate with the Government of France, and point out to them the shame of sending poison for the sake of filthy lucre into the boundaries of a friendly country? The Republic would reply that the British Government was quite at liberty, and quite able, to exclude any imports from its ports, and might sarcastically draw attention to the vast amount of beer, whi-ky, gin, and rum which come into existence within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland. Similarly, the Emperor of China is quite able, if he chose, to remonstrate with the British Government against the import of opium into China, and the British Government could then suggest to the Emperor of China to forbid the import by his own Revenue-laws, and might sarcastically draw attention to the fact, that within the Empire of China is produced ten times the amount of opium imported from India, that the Indian opium is consumed by about two millions, out of a population of about four hundred millions. We know, as a fact, that the Emperor of China neither does make that complaint, nor wishes to stop the import of opium, which supplies the Imperial Treasury with an income of Two Millions of Roubles, annually levied at the Ports as Excise. So vast and increasing is the cultivation of the poppy in China, that we may reasonably expect that, within this generation, the import of Indian opium will cease, under the same inexorable law of commerce which destroyed the celebrated textile fabrics of Dacca and Bengal through the competition of British imports. One single Province of China produces more opium than the whole of India.

I am not careful to discuss the question whether the indulging in opium is, as some say, a necessity ; as others say, an innocent pleasure, or, as a third party say, a curse. I certainly admit that, if the creation of the world, and its products, were an open question, I should have omitted the poppy, the vine, hops, barley, and any other of the numerous staples from which intoxicating liquors are produced. I should also have omitted saltpetre, lead, and tobacco. But they do exist, and to the Ruling power in each country must be left the sole care of controlling the import, or culture, or manufacture. The good people of the Anti-Opium-Society have no experience of the difficulty of ruling subject countries. Polygamy, where a man can legally have many wives, polyandry, where a woman can legally have many husbands, idolatry, in all its hideous forms, infant-marriages, unlimited power of divorce, are not pleasant subjects to have to tolerate, or support by decree, in British Courts of Law, but, when Christians undertake the solemn duty of ruling non-Christian countries, they must accept the consequences, and the accompaniments. It is not clear, why these good people devote themselves with such enthusiasm to the Anti-Opium-problem in a Foreign Empire, at such a distance from our shores, while under their very eyes the poor negroes residing in our Colonies and Protectorates on the West Coast of Africa, are inundated with alcoholic liquor, despatched for the sake of filthy lucre from British ports. *There we are in very deed our brother's keeper*: it is not very clear, what the British Nation has to do with the morals of the people of China: who made us their judges? To those who have studied the habits of the people of China, opium-smoking does not appear to be the heaviest, or most disgusting, of their frailties: it is not on account of their opium-smoking that they are excluded from the United States, but for something worse.

In China the Protestant Missionaries do not appear to advantage: the fact, that they all agree in this particular misconception of their duty, craze, or prejudice, convinces the impartial observer that the question has not been inquired into, or argued out: a little healthy opposition would be advantageous. The Protestant missionaries are not popular in China as a class, and the reports which are printed of, their proceedings, quite explain the unpopularity: China is a great, ancient and civilised Empire, and the Chinese think as well of themselves, as Englishmen think of themselves. We have only to imagine associations of Buddhist missionaries settling in England, and deporting themselves as the Protestant missionary deports himself in China, and singling out the French wine-manufacturers, and the English licensed victuallers, as their ground of attack: they would not be popular. It is remarkable that,

though Cardinal Manning put himself so forward in the Anti-opium question, the French missionaries of the Romish Church, whose reports I read from week to week in the *Missions Catholiques* of Lyons, or quarterly in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, rarely allude to opium: they object to the heretical missionaries of Protestant Europe, and the exposure of infant children to die, and the other unpleasant habits of the people of China. Prince Kung remarked to the British Representative, "Take away your opium, and your missionaries": it appears, that the Protestant missionaries side with Prince Kung as regards the opium: the Church of Rome sides with him as regards the other branch of the request. With all the earnest and successful attempts of the missionaries to open Opium-Hospitals, and cure the sots of their fatal and degraded habit, I heartily agree. Whether they are justified in excluding the opium-smokers from Church-privileges, and the Sacraments, may be open to question, but that is a matter within their own discretion. Good, yet mistaken, religionists, have at all times of Church-history made themselves ridiculous: Tertullian mentions that the Marcionists admitted no married person to Baptism, unless he consented to a divorce: in the time of Cyprian, the married ordained Minister had to separate from his lawful wife, *mensâ et toro*: this rule was passed from the purest and highest motive. Many Christians in England do worse things than opium-smoking, and yet are not excluded. To the Sikh the smoking of tobacco is forbidden as a crime. The desire is, to get such sinners to Church, rather than to shut them out: however, the missionaries may be presumed to know best: if they were to petition the Emperor to issue an Edict to destroy all the opium-dens, and denounce the Treaty admitting Indian opium, much in the same way as the Emperor Honorius ordered the destruction of the temple of Serapis in Alexandria, we might reflect on their want of wisdom, but not wonder at it: but, when they seek to injure the people of India, and mislead a great portion of the British Nation, it is the duty of everyone, who loves the people of India, to wage war to the knife.

The Anti-Opium Association does not go in for historical accuracy, and allows a large license of legend as regards the events of 1842, or of 1857, both of which I personally recollect, as I was in India at the time: however, let the past pass: but, when the license is assumed to be inaccurate as to what happened in the House of Commons in 1891, I must take the liberty to correct them. The Honorary Secretary to the Anti-Opium-Urgency-Committee, in a letter to the *Times*, dated August, 1892, writes—"the Anglo-India-Opium-trade, a traffic which the House of Commons has condemned as morally

"indefensible," and "that ought to be abolished." Surely he was under the influence of the drug, when he thus wrote: April 10, 1891, is not so long ago: Sir Joseph Pease did, indeed, propose, that certain words should be substituted in a motion which comprised those sentences, and they were added by a majority of 30 in a house of 290: when the main question, as amended, was proposed, the late Sir Robert Fowler proposed another amendment: "that this House, feeling the pressure of "taxation of the people of India, will take steps to reimburse "the deficiency so caused to the Indian Government," and, when the question was put, that these words be then added, Mr. Healy spoke for ten minutes, when, it "being one of the clock, "Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without the question put: "the House was committed to nothing. The resolution carried as an amendment, was never put to the House as a substantive motion:

"Solvuntur risu tabulæ."

It looks as if the question would never arise in the Commons again in this form: Five millions per annum represent so many pennies in the pound for the Income-Tax: the question may be discussed, as an academic display of high morality, but there it will end. No Chancellor of the Exchequer will include such an item in his Budget, but the fact that Sir Robert Fowler, with the consent of his brother-in-law, Sir Joseph Pease, proposed this amendment, marks a new departure in the matter: the House of Commons seems on the eve of appreciating the fact that the semi-independent constitutional Government of British India will never yield in this question, and that it is one of financial life or death to the people of India. In the course of time the Chinese market may die out, but the people of India will have no grievance against their Government, for the mine of silver will have been worked out. But to throw overboard the treasure at the suggestion of a body of irresponsible enthusiasts at the other end of the world, would create and justify a rebellion: Great Britain lost her North American Colonies for a far smaller blunder than this.

The people of India who have received an English education, must be amazed at what must seem to them the hypocrisy of the English people, or a portion of them. In the books read in the State and the Missionary College, history tells them that the British Nation is the great slayer of mankind, the exterminator of weaker races in Australia, South Africa, and North America, the dominator by force of arms of India, the systematic bully of China and Japan, the exporter of saltpetre, arms of precision, and poisonous liquor, in past centuries the great Slave-dealer of the world; and yet suddenly it has become so squeamish, and thin-skinned, as to object to a trade legalised

by the Empire of India, which exports the article, and the Empire of China, which imports it : who thus strain at a gnat in the way of Chinese Opium, and swallow a camel in the way of liquor manufactured in Great Britain, either for the ruin of its own children, or the poisoning of the natives of subject provinces. If it is really a moral offence, *cadit questio*, but the principle must extend to the whole area of British commerce, British colonization, and British domination of subject countries by brute force. Some ingenious platform-speakers compare the Opium-Trade to the Slave-Trade, and seem to be able to say a good word for the latter. It may be, that both Trades are, or can be, a curse to the country which exports, and the country which imports. I do not say that it is so, but the analogy is possible; but in the slave trade there is a third ingredient, "the slave," in whose favour the sympathy of the world was roused, a man of like passions with ourselves, for whom Christ died on the Cross. Our good friends of the Anti-Opium Association can scarcely rouse such feelings in favour of the Opium-ball.

The young Indian educated in our Colleges, or perhaps a visitor to Great Britain, hears with surprise, that one Cathedral at Dublin was magnificently restored by a manufacturer and retailers of Dublin stout, and that another Cathedral in the same city was restored, and a Church-house built, by a manufacturer and retailer of Irish whisky. One of the famous odes of the Persian Poet, Hafiz, commences with lines, familiar to all educated youths in India :

"Yesterday my Spiritual guide went from the Mosque to the Wine Shop."

Here we have the reverse process, and the unhallowed proceeds, and accursed profits (to borrow the phraseology of the Anti-Opium-Trade Association) of the beer shop, and whisky bar, go to the place of worship. Surely a nation should not be allowed to go into Court, and charge others with sin, if their own hands are not clean. I admit, that brewers, and distillers are full of good works, and occupy a prominent position on religious platforms. Not long ago a benevolent person, retired from trade, in my presence presented to a missionary society a vast sum of money to be spent for the benefit of the Chinese. Someone suggested that inquiry should be made, whether the money had been made in the opium trade, but the question was not allowed to be put : the safest maxim is that of dear old Horace :

"*Si possis recte : si non, quocunque modo Rem.*"

Every shilling, or rupee, or dollar, accumulated in the home-trade of alcohol must have contributed more or less to the injury of millions who had not the grace to be temperate. As

in fact every country has its particular stimulant, and every class of society its peculiar indulgence, the real question is the abuse of such stimulant, not the moderate use. The people of Scotland are addicted to whisky: reverent ministers call without a blush for their dram at meals: a story is told of a Scotch missionary, fresh from China, making an hour's address on the abomination of opium in China, and then hurrying to the refreshment for a glass of whisky to restore his exhausted powers, and no one would wish to blame him.

It is a fair challenge: can anyone indicate the death of a single Chinaman, or Indian, caused by opium? Is the Chinese so dangerous to the public or his family as the Scotchman who has taken too much whisky? Is the population of China or India shrinking like that of France, and Spain? Is the procreation of children impeded by the use of opium, smoked, or eaten? Is the progress of education and the higher civilisation obstructed? The people of India have a very sensitive, and highly educated, conscience: The Hindu would die sooner than kill a cow, or eat beef: the Mahometan would cut his throat, rather than eat pork. Among both religions I know of hundreds, men of probity, honour, personal bravery, absolute integrity, gentlemen of the highest stamp: has any single Indian raised his voice against the culture of the poppy?

The Meeting at the Society of Arts on March 24, 1892, was a protest on the part of the friends of the people of India, and a warning to the good people of a private association who have neither knowledge, nor responsibility, and the Members of Parliament, who ought to have the first to qualify them for the discharge of the second. The welfare and the very existence of the great Indian Empire are at stake: only imagine a Colony, such as Canada, South Africa, or Australia, with their scant population and limited Budget, being treated in such a way. They are, indeed, independent Colonies, and would defy the Mother-Country, if any attempt were made by the House of Commons to interfere with their trade, and their revenue. The Empire of British India has its constitution also: it is practically, as regards its internal economy and financial arrangements, independent; the House of Commons discusses annually the Indian Budget at the last hour of the Session, in the presence of half-a-dozen members. In British India there are Provinces, and Provincial Councils, and wisely, by a late Act of Parliament, power has been given to add considerably to the number of Native Councillors: this will be a powerful corrective of any attempt of a benevolent association, to interfere with its internal economy. For every British soldier the Government of British India pays the Mother country the full expenditure: it has a Budget of one hundred millions: a

population of 280 millions : it raises its own loans, constructs its own railways, and, over and above, remits to Great Britain the enormous sum of seventeen millions annually, to pay the expenses contracted in that country.

The people of India are annually growing poorer and poorer, and are annually increasing in numbers. War has ceased : pestilence is controlled : famines are prepared for, and their consequences mitigated. There are annual popular Congresses to discuss the wrongs and grievances of the people : there is a free Press in all the languages of the country. Education has made wonderful strides : absolute toleration exists of all religions and political opinions ; the native manufactures flourish, in spite of the tyranny of the Manchester-school, and the necessity of maintaining Free Trade : the fall of the rupee in exchange-value threatens extraordinary complications : the Indian Empire always resembled Etna and Vesuvius, while in a state of quiescence, and may soon resemble them in an eruption. Great Britain holds India, as a man holds a wolf, by its two ears. Is this the kind of country to be treated as a tennis-ball or a shuttlecock, by a small party of enthusiasts, male and female, who go about the country headed by pretty young ladies and imported Chinaman, giving addresses to illustrate lime-light horrors, where every kind of exaggeration, sensationalism, pious misstatements, and Gospel-misquotations pass current in the presence of foolish audiences who condemn what they do not understand, and clap hands and stamp feet in answer to platitudes seasoned to suit their tastes. It really is unworthy of the good sense of the British middle classes, it is an injury to the blessed cause of Christian Missions, and causes the Evangelical Churches to become the laughing-stock, not only of free-thinker and unbeliever, but of the thoughtful and earnest Christian. It is notorious that it is from the funds supplied from this so-called *nefarious* traffic, that the Government of India has found itself in a position to make educational grants to missionary societies, to pay the clergy of the Episcopal and Presbyterian denominations, to support hospitals, and meet the many requirements of an enlightened Government. During the last fifty years the one important question, which has exercised the brains of two generations of public officers, has been to find out in what way new taxation can be laid on, to meet new requirements for the benefit of the people, without causing political disturbance, or generating moral evil : and such are the circumstances of British India, and the state of culture of the people, that the inquiry has been made in vain, and yet the Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, who has never been in India at all, seated in his arm-chair in London, puts forth his ideas as to the mode, in which the finances of

the great Empire may be managed, the five millions of the Opium-Trade replaced, and new taxation imposed. He might as well lecture the ants and the bees, as to the mode, in which their domestic affairs are to be managed: he neither understands it, nor do they care what his advice is.

At the meeting of the Society of Arts, the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain and China, with experience dating back to 1842 were present, and Sir Thomas Wade, on personal knowledge of the whole fifty years, spoke with no uncertain sound. There were present also medical authorities, such as Dr. Mouatt and Sir George Birdwood, who had made the products and resources of India their study, and a certain number of Indian administrators, who had known this subject for half a century, and had acquaintance with the difficulties of the problem, which no outsider can hope to attain. Those who were present, represented a large army of God-fearing Christian men, who have gone to their rest, and left to their survivors the duty of standing up for the people of India, at the price of loss of the esteem of personal friends.

The loss to the Public Revenue is but a small portion of the loss to British India which would result from the suppression of the traffic. This may seem a most sordid mode of putting the subject forward. Of course, the philanthropic speakers on public platforms and the writers of sensational essays in missionary periodicals, cry out: "The Lord will provide": stop the traffic, "and show your trust in God." Let the British Parliament set the example, and surrender the one hundred and forty millions levied from the liquor traffic in Great Britain. Great Kingdoms, and vast dependent Empires, cannot be ruled upon such sentimental principles as are accepted in an Anti-Opium-Trade-Meeting or an Exeter-Hall-Indignation-Caucus. We have to deal with realities. If any English association were to attempt to do away with the manufacture of whisky in Ireland or Scotland, from which so many persons obtain honest employment, some few amass large fortunes, and the State collects a considerable Excise-revenue, the Irish and Scotch would remonstrate, and beg the association to commence their crusade, by an onslaught on English hops, gin, and beer: this is just what the people of India cry out, through their Press, through their Constitutional Rulers, through their friends, and advocates. Long before the earliest date of British Rule, opium was made in India, and exported to China. The wealth of British India consists mainly of agricultural products, and the poppy is one of the most valuable crops: even in the time of the Emperor Akhbar, the crop is mentioned by Ab-ul-fazal, as an important source of Revenue to the State. The Bengal monopoly was established by law in 1797, A.D., as a corrective of the

oppression of the Revenue-farmers, and a protection of the people from getting the drug too cheaply. Advances are made to the cultivator, which protect him from the money lender, and enable him to pay an enhanced rent to the land-owner, who pays an enhanced Land-Revenue to the State, as the whole of the crop is sold at once to the Opium-manufactory, and the price, deducting the advance, is paid to him. Two millions of pounds is the average cost of the drug, thus delivered by the cultivator to the manufactory. The poppy seed and oil cake are an additional source of profit, worth at least £175,000 per annum. The average annual nett income, arising from the opium sold for foreign export, is six millions, and to this must be added, about £800,000, the price of the Excise opium, or opium sold to the people of India under most careful restrictions for home-consumption. One million and a quarter of cultivators live by this culture, and about three thousand men are employed in the manufacture: Five hundred thousand acres are under poppy cultivation. The export brings great profit to the shipping interests.

So far for the opium produced under the Bengal monopoly. But opium to the value of six millions is produced in the independent States of Central India, and two-thirds find their way to the port of export at Bombay; the remaining one-third is consumed by the people of the country. In the Province of the Panjab, which lies outside the Bengal monopoly, one hundred thousand pounds are realized, by a special Excise-duty on the crop grown. The account stands thus:

Béngal Crop - - - 7 Millions of pounds.

Panjab Crop - - - 1 Hundred thousand pounds.

Central India Crop 6 Millions of pounds.

Total - - - - 13 Millions one hundred thousand pounds.

This is the sum proposed to be sacrificed, and the amount is rather understated, as the Land-Revenue will also have to be reduced in a region where a profitable crop is arbitrarily forbidden. The people of India do not demand this sacrifice, nor do the people of China, but a body of irresponsible philanthropists, who seek to obtain this by a despotic act of the British Parliament, in which India is not represented. It is an amazing sight to witness Liberals, who would resent the least interference by an alien Power in their own affairs, supporting such a policy: the export of opium represents one-tenth of the whole exports of British India.

We have to consider, over and above the loss, the disturbing effects amidst a population whence a very large number of our Native soldiers are recruited. The cultivator may or may not find an equally remunerative crop for his land, but he has lost his silver-advances, and has to have resource to the village-banker.

The landholder will experience greater difficulties in getting in his rent, and paying his Land-Revenue to the Revenue-officers of the State. All these things may probably adjust themselves gradually, but the good people of the Association propose to limit the cultivation of the poppy to the amount required for medicinal purposes, and to deal with the millions of India somewhat in the way, in which the apothecaries are dealt with in the towns of Great Britain. What are medicinal purposes? It is stated with confidence, by those who ought to know, and who have no interest in speaking falsely, that in some climates the daily use of opium, eaten (not smoked as in China), is a necessity for the health: I can speak for my own people of the Panjab, that it is a necessity, in the same way as tobacco and beer, are necessities of the British nation, no more and no less. By the Sikh religion the use of tobacco is forbidden: the good people of the Anti-opium Association were not the first, who started a moral puzzle: the reason why Baba Nanak forbade tobacco, as a sin, is not more evident than the reason why it is now proposed to forbid opium: it is the *abuse* which we ought to guard against, not the *use* of God's good gifts. A Chinese missionary, more enlightened than his fellows, remarks, "Opium smoking is already taking the place not of the *abuse* of alcohol, but of the *use* of alcohol, and it is becoming possible to "take the drug in moderation," but he might have gone further and remarked, that, as sure as sentimental legislators forbid, by unnatural laws, such things as a wise Providence has supplied, to be used in wise moderation, so certainly the weaker members of the human race are driven into other, and even more objectionable indulgences.

The forbidding of tobacco has driven the Sikhs into the use, not always the abuse, of opium, either in the form of pills, or of a liquid concoction. I was one of the first British officers in 1846 placed in charge of a District in the Panjab, and one of my first duties was to regulate this previously uncontrolled and untaxed traffic. The good people of the Association impute to the Anglo-Indian administrators of the present and past generations, that by some Satanic device they taught the four hundred millions in China to smoke opium, and the two hundred and eighty millions in British India to eat opium, and drink intoxicating liquors. As surely as any attempt is made to cut off the moderate supply of highly taxed opium from the people of India, will they have recourse to hemp, known better in Europe as hashish, and churras, or ganja, a weed which grows wild, or to one of the twelve varieties of materials for concocting intoxicating liquors with which luxuriant Nature has provided the people of India, and the natives of the seaboard will be corrupted by the brandy from Europe, the

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rum from Mauritius, and the poisons provided by Christians. The people of India will attribute the suppression of their poppy-cultivation to the energy of some active Company in Great Britain for the export of intoxicating liquors. The Anti-Opium Trade enthusiast assumes, that the *soi* represents the average opium-smoker in China, or the average opium-eater or drinker in India, and that the existence of the moderate consumer is impossible. He would not like to have the argument turned round as regards the consumers of Spanish and French wines and alcohol, and of British beer and spirits in Great Britain. Many of the Bishops and Clergy and Non-conformist Ministers take their daily allowance of wine, and they are quite right to do so.

At any rate it may be safely assumed, that the Government of British India, or the British Parliament, can no more arrest the consumption of opium by the people of India, without causing political convulsions, than it can the practice of polygamy, the worship of idols by the Hindus, and the rite of circumcision by the Mahometans. There are some things that Government cannot do in Great Britain, although that Government is based on the will of the people governed : there are more things that the Government of India would not dare to attempt, or would certainly fail in doing, if attempted, without imperilling the very existence of the Empire. It is reported that no Burmese is to be allowed to purchase opium. As soon as the law is passed, the execution of it will be watched with interest : it will most probably prove to be an empty threat : at any rate nothing analogous to it has ever been attempted in India.

The assertion that the work of the evangelisation of the people of China is impeded by the opium-traffic is unworthy of those who utter it as a war cry, or indicates their want of intelligence, if they think so. France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Scandinavia, and the United States of North America all send their quota of missionaries to China, and none of these States have the least connection with the import of opium. The people of China are quite intelligent enough to discriminate nationality : indeed, they know it too well. My own experience is this : that the missionaries of all denominations and nationalities in British India are popular with the people, even with the unconverted heathens, because they conduct themselves in a quiet, unasserting way, neither annoying the officers of Government, nor offending the prejudices of the people : of this I have positive knowledge extending over fifty years. But in China it is different : this is not the place to enlarge upon it : if the Emperor of China were strong enough, he would be supported by his people in an effort to eject every missionary from the empire, following the example of the Em-

peror of Russia, and the French Republic. Only this year a British Consul forwarded a general complaint to the British Foreign Office, a copy of which was forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and it was read in my presence at a meeting of the Board of Missions of the two Provinces. Neither the Government, nor the people of India, would wish the missionaries to be disturbed in their peaceful work, and the great majority of missionaries keep to their holy work, and do not, like their brethren in China, meddle in politics. The missionaries of all denominations, Protestant and Roman Catholic, are a great blessing to British India: they have to tolerate the sight of idolatry in its most hideous form, of polygamy, where woman falls from the just dignity of her sex, as the help-mate of her husband, of marriages contracted without the consent of the weaker party, of enforced widowhood even of girls of tender years, who have never even seen their so-called husbands: they know that atrocious crimes in the name of religion, burning of widows, slaying of daughters, burying alive of lepers, drowning the aged in the Ganges, are only put a stop to by the stern laws of a Christian Government: they see European liquors pouring into India from Europe. Amidst all this gigantic sin, the Anti-Opium Trade Society does not disturb them from their holy duties.

At the late decennial Congress of Missionaries of Bombay, an attempt to bring the Opium-Trade, and other grievances of a non-missionary character under discussion was checked, and not allowed: The Editor of the *Church Times* naturally asks: What is our duty? Clearly, at any cost, we should be consistent; just as the Rev. M. B. Fuller told the Conference, that he had refused a Government grant towards his industrial school, because the money was tainted, so British missionaries should refuse Government help, if they receive any, unless they consider that it comes from an honestly-earned Revenue. But, inasmuch as the Home Government raises some millions from taxes on alcoholic liquors, are all Government employés, and those who receive State aid, to refuse grants and salaries? If consistency is to be considered a virtue in India, we must show our belief in it at home. Then schools of every kind receiving Government-grants will have to look elsewhere for their funds. This is just my opinion: how can the Church Missionary Society place in its holy coffers the tainted money, which is granted to them by the sinful Government of India?

Some of the speakers on platforms compare this source of income to the profits collected from a house of ill-fame, and the obscene offerings to an idol-shrine: How can a missionary society allow its subordinates to touch such money? They know, and we know that they know, and the taxpayers in India know

that they know, that the five millions of Anti-Opium Trade pay the salaries of the Bishop and Clergy, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholics, and the education-grants to missionary societies of all denominations. Why do they not cry out? "Thy money perish with thee:" No! it suits them to take it. It must not be supposed that the Chinese opium trade is the result of any astute policy, or, as good people believe, the machination of Satan himself, acting through a succession of Governor-Generals and Viceroy, like Lord Lawrence and Lord Northbrook; and their unprincipled advisers, some of whom appear constantly on missionary platforms. Like many other political events, the trade, from being small, and of comparatively no importance, grew year by year with the peace and prosperity of the two Empires of India and China. I wish to record one incident, of which I am personally cognizant. When my Master, Major Broadfoot, Agent to the Governor-General on the N. W. frontier, was killed at the battle of Ferozeshah, about Christmas day, 1845, I was with him, and, on his death, Sir Henry Lawrence was sent for to succeed him. It was a far cry to Nepal, and there were no railways then, and in the interim I was attached to the office of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, under the Foreign Secretary, Sir Frederick Currie. One day, we were in the tent of the Governor-General on business, and Sir Frederick begged for a five minutes pause from military affairs to get Sir Henry's signature to a paper regarding opium: it was signed: A few years before Sind had been conquered by Sir Charles Napier and annexed, and an unexpected consequence had ensued. The opium of Central India used partly to find its way to Bombay, where it paid a moderate export duty, and partly to Karachi, in Sind, which was an independent port, and the opium escaped taxation altogether: that outlet for untaxed opium was now closed, and there being no possible escape for Central India opium, opportunity was taken to double or treble the duty, and by a stroke of the pen a vast addition was made to the revenues.

Let us consider for a moment the effect of a real vote in the House of Commons, that the opium trade from India to China should cease, compensation of six millions annually being paid to India by the British taxpayer! Nothing less would satisfy India. The first step would be to abolish the Bengal monopoly: so far I am with the reformer: I hate monopolies, and would gladly see the culture and manufacture set free. The next step would be to abolish the Export-duty at Calcutta and Bombay: As the Indian Treasury would receive its six millions from England, there would be no objection there; the consequence would be that China would be deluged

with cheap opium. But our good friends would not be satisfied with such an amount of reform ; they would desire the State to use its power to prevent the export of the drug : there are two thousand miles of sea-board in British India, with innumerable rivers, small and great, backwaters, and unhealthy inlets, and it would take all the fleet of Great Britain to prevent the illicit export. Baffled here, the good people of the Anti-Opium Society would move Parliament to rule that nowhere in the Panjab, the North-West Provinces, Bengal, and Central India, should the poppy be cultivated. Such an order was never issued in a civilized State ; the people of India are not slaves : the population where the poppy is cultivated, is warlike, and supplies half our Native Army : in our Provinces there would be rebellion : in *Central India there would be war*. Mr. Batten closed his address at the Society of Arts with the following warning words :

" You may create discontent among our Native subjects, and " di-affection in the best forces of our Native Army : you may " alienate the Native (independent) States of Central India, and " Rájputana, our bravest and most loyal allies : you may drive " the consumer of opium to alcohol, and hemp : you may do all " this ; but you will never persuade the Chinese to abandon the " ever-increasing culture of the poppy. You may inflict on " India a cruel injury, the extent and consequences of which " you are incapable of calculating, but you will fail in any way " to benefit China unless you count it a benefit greatly to " extend the cultivation of the poppy, and the manufacture of " Opium within her borders."

I annex two quotations from *The Times* to show that others share my opinions.

" To prohibit the use of opium in India is to *force upon India the use of* " *alcoholic liquors*. Let there be no shirking of this fact. Sir Joseph Pease " himself will not contend, that a British-made law will suddenly accomplish " for non-Christian India what 19 centuries of Christianity have " failed to accomplish for any Christian country, and turn the people " into total abstainers. All the efforts of the Society for Preventing the " Liquor Traffic among the Aboriginal Races of the World " will be but a mockery, compared with the widespread " misery, disease, " degradation, and crime, which the substitution of alcohol for opium " would lead to among the races of India. The *Hindu Patriot*, the " leading native paper in Bengal, boldly joins issue with the Anti-Opium " agitators in England on this ground. Its issue brought by last mail " contains an article on 'The Moral Aspects of the Opium Question,' in which " it reaffirms the views put forth by *The Times* in regard to the disastrous " consequences to Indian morality, which the prohibition of opium would " involve. It puts the case in a nutshell. If the people, it says, ' are de- " prived by legislation of the use of opium, they will be driven to the use " of more dangerous drugs, like *bhang* or spirituous liquors.'

" Taken at the lowest figures, the present production of opium in China " amounts to the enormous quantity of more than 330,000 piculs annually. " At present, therefore, foreign opium ministers to certainly not more than

"one-fifth and probably to not more than one-sixth of the total consumption in China. *Its use is, moreover, steadily (if slowly) declining each year*, while, on the other hand, fresh tracts of country are being devoted each year to poppy cultivation; the production is steadily increasing not in one province only, but in all, and greater experience and greater care are everywhere effecting a marked improvement in the quality of the drug and raising it to the level of the Indian product. That the trade in Indian opium with China is doomed, there can be no doubt. The action of the Society for the Suppression of Opium may hasten its death. It would, however, be wisdom on its part to await the process of natural dissolution rather than to dislocate national and commercial interests merely in order to disassociate India from the trade. Its action will in no way tend to suppression of opium. China is independent of outside supplies, and if the Society gains its end so far as India is concerned, no less opium will be consumed; the only result gained will be that Chinese opium will be smoked in the place of India."

"Nor do I allude to the opium question, which in the hands of enthusiastic or prejudiced ignorance in London has been presented to English audiences in a guise, that excites a smile in every treaty port in China. There, at least, everybody knows that the helpless Celestial is neither being forced nor befooled by an insidious and immoral Government at Calcutta; whilst long before our domestic Puritans have purged the national conscience of what they style this great sin, the opium question will have settled itself by the rapid decline of the Indian import, and the acceptance by China herself of the undivided responsibility for her own moral welfare."

It is the misfortune, inherent in the circumstances and position of the otiose, well-to-do middle-classes of Great Britain and North America, that they have nothing to do. Mr. Froude, in one of his essays, attributes the spread of High Church Ritualism to this peculiarity. The Roman Catholics, the Hindu, and Mahometan, let off their religious sentimental steam in pilgrimages to shrines, and processions, and festivals: the Protestants, not having this safety-valve, take it out in benevolent and quasi-benevolent associations. In and among them is a moving spirit, male or female, of the class described by a writer of last generation, "who know all about the policy of the Nizam, the secret history of the wars with China, and the economy of an ant-hill." Thus came into existence the seven fads: I use the word without reproach: it is derived from the French word "*fadaise*," "a trifle": they are as follows, (1) Anti-vivisection, (2) Anti-vaccination, (3) Pharisaic observance of the Sabbath, (4) Total Abstinence, (5) the Anti-Opium-Trade Association, (6) the sounding brass of the Salvation-Army, and (7) the tinkling cymbal of the Ladies' Association to discourage child-marriage, to remarry widows in India, and protect the feet of Chinese women from unnatural ligaments.

The Lord will bless them for their good intentions, and mankind would bless them also, if they would break up these tiny troublesome associations, whose only object is to irritate more serious minds, and bring down ridicule on themselves

and turn their energies and prayers to the curing, or mitigating, of the great evils which sin and sorrow bring upon the great gatherings of humanity in British and American cities, beginning at London and New York. The Hindu has been before them in sentimental charity, and Quixotic benevolence. He is ready to subscribe to save a poor bullock from the butcher, and resents vaccination as an insult to the cow : he establishes hospitals for wounded animals, soothes the last moments of departing quadrupeds, and pays beggars to supply from their hands and necks food to the poor flea, who is incapacitated from his usual sanguineous vocation. He covers his mouth from fear of inhaling inadvisedly one of God's creatures : he shudders at the idea of liquor, or opium, or the flesh of animals : he observes with rigour the festivals and sacred days of his god, and rivals, or even transcends, the Salvation-Army in the loudness of his tamtams, and the disreputable appearance of his devotional processions.

Surely the daily, weekly, monthly, round, which so many of us tread, tread up to the age of fourscore, is sufficient to satisfy the unexhausted energies of the most otiose and most benevolent : I hear the sound of the tramp of good men and women from the Prison to the Lunatic Asylum, from the Board of Guardians to the Workhouse : from the Licensing Committee to the Temperance Society : from the Church Room to the Pulpit, from the association to rescue poor young women from sin to the needle-work-association to supply them with honest labour : from the Educational and Pure Literature Committee to the Hospital : from the Anti-Slavery Society Committee to the Home of the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian strangers : and lastly, from the Missionary Society Committee to the Bible and Tract Societies' Committee : is not this enough ? Why seek the unknown, and imperfectly known, when so much sin and misery that is known, lies at our door ? Why look over the nearer horizon to spy out dimly the further horizon, where all things appear as through the small end of a telescope. It is a subject of joy to witness such earnestness, and of sorrow to see it so misapplied : excellent material used for a wrong purpose.

It has been repeatedly remarked that no single public officer whose name is known as an authority on Indian subjects, has ever joined, or looked favourably on, the Anti-Opium Trade association. One of the most active leaders of the association expressed his wonder why this should be. Old Anglo-Indians, septuagenarian, and octogenarian, leave their quiet homes, or congenial scientific studies, to help to spread the Gospel of Christ, and distribute the Word of God : why is it that they fight some of their best friends, and stand up as the champions of

the rights of India's millions, in whose midst they have spent many happy years, and whom they never can forget? They are influenced by the sole desire to protect the weak and injured. A bountiful Providence has permitted them to return alive and well to their native land, when hundreds fell around them, but in the discharge of their high offices, they learnt how noble a trade it is to rule men, to understand their wants, to pity their weakness, to feel for them, and fight to the last, when their interests are in jeopardy: it may be urged, that their *legitimate* interests are not in jeopardy. Can it be doubted what reply the independent Colonies of Canada, Australia, and South Africa would make to the Anti-Opium association, if they were asked in a sanctimonious manner to give up one of their most precious cultures, to do away with their most valued export, to cut out millions from their Budget, and reduce thousands to want by robbing them of their hereditary industry? In a voice of thunder the reply would come: "Behold gin at home, my friends: Why do you behold the mote in your brother's eye, and perceive not the beam in your own?" "Cast out your own beam first: lay waste the hop gardens of Kent and Surrey, send all brewers and distillers to Coventry, whether they are Peers or Commoners, burn to the ground their breweries, and distilleries, forbid the export of gunpowder, intoxicating liquors, and warlike arms to the poor African." A division with a majority of thirty in a House with only half of its members, will be sufficient to describe the beer and alcoholic traffic of Great Britain as "morally indefensible," and that ought to be sufficient. Till that is done, old Anglo-Indians request you to leave India alone.

ROBERT NEEHDAM CUST.

ART. VIII.—DUPLEIX—THE SIEGE OF PONDICHERRY IN 1748.

AN account of the Siege of Pondichery, written by a native witness of the event, will not be without interest. The extracts we are about to give are taken from the memoirs of one Rangapillay, Dewan to Dupleix. These memoirs are very voluminous, are written in Tamil, and embrace the period extending from the years 1736 to 1761. Rangapillay was an actor in all the important events that occurred in this period, and was the friend and adviser of Dupleix, of Godeheu, of Leyrit and Lally de Tollendal. There are only two copies of the memoirs in existence, one belongs to M. Gallois Montbrun, and the other is in possession of the family of Rungapillay, which still exists in Pondichery. They are well worthy of being completely translated, and such a translation would form a valuable addition to Indian History.

The principal officers engaged in the siege of Pondichery were Paradis, Combeault d'Auteuil, de Bury, La Touche, de la Tour, de Bussy, Law, Duquesne, de Kerjean. The last was a nephew of Dupleix. Abdul Rahman, Ali Khan and Sheik Ebrahim, leaders of native troops, also displayed much courage and energy. Madame Dupleix, too, must not be omitted, who with her intelligent advice supported her husband. The history of this distinguished lady has yet to be written, but the diary of Rangapillay shows the part she took in the administration of French India for 15 years, and will some day see the light. Her father Jacques Theodore Albert, a surgeon in the Royal Company of France, married Elizabeth Rose de Castro, a Madras Creole, and of this marriage were born several children, of whom the only remarkable one was Marie Françoise, born 18th March 1708. There is no doubt that, notwithstanding the difference in Christian names, this child was the future Madame Dupleix; in fact in her marriage certificate in 1741 she is registered as 33 years of age, which would date her birth as in 1708. In all documents she is known as 'Jeanne'—the doubt has arisen most probably because she was only 11 years of age when she married M. Vincens; in this marriage certificate, which still exists, her age is not given. The certificate runs as follows: Jeanne Albert married, on the 5th June, 1819, M. Vincens, native of Montpellier, a member of the Upper Council of Pondichery. Of this marriage several children were born, of whom we need mention only one, Marie Rose, born in 1722, who married in 1738, Francis Coyle Barnwell, a member of Council of Madras, whose name frequently appears in the records of Madras of the period, especially during

the siege and capture of Madras by de la Bourdonnais in 1746, when both Mr. Barnwell and his wife were taken prisoners. M. Vincens died in 1739, or 1740, at Chandernagore, and his widow married Dupleix on the 17th April, 1741. One child, a son, was born in October 1742, who died a few days after his birth, but no evidence is obtainable of any other children. However Rangapillay's diary mentions a girl under the name of "Chou Chou," whom M. and Madame Dupleix reared as their own child. This girl accompanied them to France, but it is impossible to give her real name, or say who she was. Madame Dupleix died in France, and M. Dupleix married again Madame de Chastenay, and had by her one daughter, who married the Marquis of Valory. Her descendants still live, but there are no descendants of Dupleix in the male line.

The siege may be said to have commenced on the 15th August 1748, and from that date we translate the Diary.

Thursday, 15th August 1748.—Three English vessels anchored at about 1 P.M. opposite Virampatam. When the Governor, who was dining with M. d'Auteuil, was informed of this fact, he rose from table, asked for his telescope, and looked at the ships from the terrace of the house. He then called for the head of the road overseers and directed him to allow no one to leave the town. Sheik Ebrahim asked him for instructions regarding those who might have a pass from Rangapillay. The Governor replied that his order was general and absolute.

Sunday, the 18th August.—This morning, three English boats moored before Virampatam a floating beacon with a red flag. The Governor gave an order to remove the beacon. He sent for me and asked if any rice had arrived in the bazar. I told him that eleven bullock loads had arrived. The port boatmen carried away the flag that the English had placed on the beacon, and brought it to me. I showed it to the Governor, who ordered me to give 9 pagodas to the boatmen.

Tuesday, 28th August.—The sipahis and Mahappan, the chief of the peons, have written in from Archivack the following report:—"The English troops have arrived at the Paraynesavady Choultry, the other side of Kichenapooram. From 20 to 30 English horsemen have pushed a reconnaissance as far as Archivack. Mahappan fired several shots at these horsemen, and they retired." Madame Dupleix on hearing these news advised her husband to send all the disposable cavalry, both European and Native, out in the direction of Arian coupum and Archivack. He ordered 300 sipahis who were in the Talook of * * * to fall back on Arian coupum. He went there himself at 5 P.M. and did not return till 6. He sent for me at 8 P.M. and asked me whether the dooly he had ordered was ready. I replied, yes, and retired.

Wednesday, 21st August.—A horseman brought from Ariancoum the following news :—"The English troops that have arrived are Carnatic infantry, they have also about 200 English dragoons with them. There has been a skirmish between us and the Carnatic infantry."

M. Paradis came to see the Governor. A topaz from Ariancoum brought a note to the Governor, and he, having read it, told me that the enemy were encamped at Lingaracoil near Archivack. He ordered me to send at once some rice merchants to Ariancoum and make them set up shops there. At about 2 o'clock the Governor sent for me and told me that he had just received a letter from Soobya, a Vakil, who was with the army of Mafooz Khan, then encamped at Vittavalom. This letter gives the following news :—"The Governor (English) of Devampatam (Fort St. David) has written in the following terms: We are ready to attack Pondichery on about the 7th instant. We intend, when we have taken that town, to march on to Madras. 26 vessels have already arrived and we expect 12 more. We have landed 12,000 soldiers. We beg of you to assist us, as you have agreed by the treaty made with Nazir Jung."

The Governor asked me if it would not be well to get the wife of Chanda Sahib (who was residing in Pondichery) to write a letter to the English, asking them how they dared attack the town she was living in. I agreed that it would be a very good thing to do. The Governor then told me to send six disguised peons to set fire to all the villages where the English were encamped. I sent for Mulleapan their chief, and gave him the order, and told him that each peon would receive a reward of Rs. 10. The Governor asked me how many bales of cotton were available in the town. I said about 25. He then asked me if I thought that the Nawab (of the Carnatic) would help the English. I said I thought that Mafooz Khan was entirely on our side. To-day, at 5 P.M., an English sloop came into the roads and began taking soundings. A gun was fired at her, but missed her.

Thursday, 22nd August.—To-day the Governor told me that he had determined to send his wife and children into the house next the Church of the missionaries, and told me to send the 25 bales of cotton there. I did so. He then ordered me to publish by tum-tum through the town that each house should keep, ready filled, 30 or 40 chatties of water, and that any one disobeying would be punished with a heavy fine—50 blows with a rattan and have his ears cut off. He ordered me to double the guards of the town. I sent for the head watchman and ordered him to post 100 peons about the town, and to exercise the most careful surveillance. The Governor said, I cannot stay in my own house, I intend to go into the fort and live there, and

you must come with me. I agreed. We were informed that several vessels were approaching Pondichery. The Governor and M. Paradis mounted a bastion to examine the vessels. It was reported that several vessels under sail were approaching Pondichery. The Governor and M. Paradis got up on one of the bastions and looked at the vessels, and the Governor then went to his house and sent his furniture and beds and every thing required for his family to the Mission Church.

The Governor asked me whether I had got the son of Chanda Saib to write to the English, as he has told me yesterday. I replied that I had not thought it a fitting time to do so, but he insisted on it. I said he should be obeyed, and sent for the agent of Chanda Sahib and told him that it was urged that Chanda Sahib should write to the Governor of Fort St. David in the following terms: "You are aware that my family and that of Dost Ali Khan are residing in this town (Pondichery). We hear that you are preparing to attack it. Take care how you do anything of the sort, as the results may be disastrous for you. You must know that my father, Chanda Sahib, is advancing here at the head of an army of 80,000 horsemen, &c., &c." On hearing this Raja Pandey Din (the Agent) began to laugh; but at length he said I was right, and that he would consult with his master and his mistresses, and that he would make them write the letter to the Governor of Fort St. David.

At about 1 P.M. 13 or 14 English ships anchored before Virampatam. The Admiral was saluted with 9 guns from one of the vessels that had anchored yesterday. I counted 22 ships, large and small. Our troops fell back from Monterisapillay Savady to Ariancoupum. Only about 200 sipahis remained there, who were attacked by 2 or 300 English fusiliers with 8 guns. The English were repulsed. They renewed the attack at 2 P.M. and kept it up till 5 P.M. without success. The sipahis then, having neither powder nor provisions, retreated across the river. The English attacked them and showered a rain of bullets on our troops; 15 men were wounded and 3 were killed. The English army occupies Monterisapillay Savady and the French Ariancoupum. At 5-30 P.M. they hoisted the black and white flag at Ariancoupum, which is the rallying signal.

The Governor sent for me and I went to him and found M. M. Paradis, Duquesne, Guillard and others with him. Abdul Rahman gave an account of the fight at Monterisapillay Savady, and said that, if the Governor would give him 500 sipahis, he would drive the English back to Fort St. David. He showed a cannon ball that had been fired by the English and which he had picked up. Although the Governor and the others laughed at the Subedar's report, I thought that they were not very much pleased at it. The Governor appeared to

be distressed, judging from his words and the pallor of his countenance. A Member of Council asked me to get the Governor to allow the women and children to leave the town. I replied that it was his business as Member of Council to make the request. He said that it was my business as they called me the 'Governor of the Tamijars.' The inhabitants came to beg of me to get the permission of the Governor to send their wives and families out of the town. I had often spoken to him on the subject, but he refused to allow it. When I made known the Governor's refusal to the inhabitants they wept. "What shall we do," they said; "if the shots fall into our houses, our children will be terrified. It is probable that Pondichery will be taken as easily as Madras was." It is impossible to express the terror that prevails in the town. This night all the European females took refuge in the Church opposite my house and in the adjacent houses.

Friday, 23rd August.—The Governor sent for me at 6 this morning, and told me that he intended to call in all provisions from Oulgard and the surrounding villages, and if the owners refused to give them up, to have them destroyed. I gave these orders to the bailiff to be published and carried out.

It is said that the English are fortifying themselves at Monterisapillay Savady and that they will take Ariancoupum before attacking Pondichery.

Saturday, 24th August.—This morning, at five o'clock, the English troops arrived in great force on the bank of the Ariancoupum river, like ants coming out of an ant hill. They tried to take the Church, and then the village, by assault. At their approach the French placed some guns on the earth works and some on the bank, and opened a lively fire of artillery and musketry on the English. These, however, despite heavy loss, took the Church. I believe they lost 150 men in the attack. The officer commanding the battery at Ariancoupum sent in the following report:—"As I saw the English approaching by the sea-shore and ascending the river bank, I ordered the guns to fire on them. They succeeded in taking the Church and Cangaraya Moodelly's garden near it. We continued to fire on the Church and garden." M. de la Tour sent in a letter to say the English had left the Church after the fight we had near the Ariancoupum battery. They retired and went to attack the Pagoda of Anayarcoil. We made seven prisoners in the fight, one of whom was wounded. These prisoners and an unwounded officer have been sent on to Pondichery. When the prisoners arrived, the Governor's wife, who considered herself very clever in finding out the secret designs of the enemy, told the Governor she would like to question the prisoners. He agreed. The prisoners were brought before her, and one

of them made the following statement—"We arrived here with 25 ships ; 6,000 soldiers have landed, and there are 80 soldiers still on board each vessel. We attacked Ariancoupum, so that, after we had taken it, we might besiege Pondichery. Our fleet met a French fleet near the Mascareigne Islands, and fought with it ; we did not suffer any loss. A master gunner of Pondichery, a deserter, offered to make us masters of Ariancoupum in two hours, and gave us the necessary information ; he has also given us some secret information* that may aid us to capture Pondichery." M. de la Tour sent in fresh reports. "The English have retaken the Church and opened an artillery fire on us. Their shots reach Mourougapacum. One sipahi has had both legs carried away by a round shot ; another lost his leg at the knee ; a third has his head shattered ; a caffre has been disembowelled, and a young topaz has had his breast crushed. The English are advancing on the river." The Governor who had been cheerful up to this time, became sad at the recital of these news, and his countenance fell, being fully persuaded that the loss of Pondichery was certain. He lost his head and gave hurried orders without reflection.

The prisoners were supplied with bread, wine, tea and jam ; and the wounded man was sent to the hospital.

The Governor has received another report of the investment of the battery of Ariancoupum. This news threw the town into consternation. The Governor was very sad. I even saw him weeping.

The English tried to take the battery by escalade ; but Ali Khan's Company repulsed them vigorously, and they retired to the Aymar Pagoda. M. M. Law and de la Tour informed the Governor that shells were bursting in their battery, and that they could hold it no longer. The Governor ordered them to withdraw without noise.

The women and children, hearing the cannonade, fled outside the town as far as Contevalli. The peons posted on the roads would not allow them to go further. Sheik Ebrahim informed the Governor of this fact, and he, on my advice permitted the women and children only to leave the town, but ordered that they were not to take away any money. The Governor called me and asked me whether it was true that the women and children were leaving the town. I said it was true. He added that he had given permission that men and women of the Brahmin caste might be allowed to leave, but not to come back again. I said that he had done very well, as this kind of people were only a nuisance in the town.

Two peons of Chanda Sahib's arrived, bringing 50 or 60 letters to the Governor and others. They reported that Chanda Sahib was at Savanour-Rungapooram at the head of 12,000 cavalry, and that he would be at Pondichery in 20 days. The Governor ordered me to write to Chanda Sahib to hasten his arrival.

They continued to fight at Ariancoupum. The English have lost 150 dead, and 2 or 300 wounded. The French have had only 5 killed and 20 wounded. During the evening M. de la Tour received a letter from the English Commander, asking for a truce to remove the dead and wounded. M. de la Tour consented. The English hoisted a white flag and buried their dead, and removed their wounded. They told the French Officers that there were several corpses at the foot of the battery, and asked that they might be buried. The French found 20 corpses there and buried them. They also found an officer with both his feet shot away—he was a Commandant of sipahis. M. de la Tour sent him in a palanquin to the hospital at Pondichery.

Sunday, 25th August.—To-day, the King's birthday, was celebrated. The Governor and all the Members of Council and employés attended mass at 7-30 A.M. They then went to the Ariancoupum battery and fired 3 salutes of 21 guns each. After having reviewed the troops, the Governor returned to his house amid cries of 'Vive le Roi,' and another salute of 21 guns. Coolies were sent with picks and axes to cut down the walls and trees round the church at Ariancoupum. The English had withdrawn to the sea-shore and on Montiersapillay's Choultry. They told me that the Governor had ordered 400 sipahis to be posted in the Church and put batteries to be erected on the river bank, and that M. Paradis had gone to carry out these orders. The English are quiet.

Monday, 26th August.—The Governor called me this morning, and asked me whether paddy and other grains were coming in. I said no—that I had ordered the merchants to bring it, but that they had not done so. I added that these merchants were liable to a fine of 1,700 pagodas, to lose their ears, to receive 100 blows with a rattan and to be turned out of the town. The Governor approved of this. He told me the following news:—"Last night at 1 A.M. our rounds were fired into by our own battery, who took them for the enemy, and several of our men were wounded. When I heard of this, I went to Ariancoupum, and, by gentle words, restored peace and concord among the soldiers."

He asked me what the inhabitants of Pondichery and the villages around thought of the war. I replied that those who are wise say that the courage shown by the French in the earlier fights, give hopes that the English will not even be able to take Ariancoupum, and that fortune is not propitious to the English. The Governor then asked me what I thought. I replied that my own opinion and the prophecies of the Indians were to the effect that after September luck would turn in favor of the city. They say in the town that by God's aid you will be filled with joy then. * * *

Tuesday, 27th August.—Abdul Rahman told me that the

English who had landed at Virampatam had encamped there and established two batteries.

Wednesday, 28th August.—The Governor called me and ordered me to send two doolies to M. Paradis at Ariancoupum.

The English, who are preparing to attack, have established a fortified camp at Virampatam, with batteries of 12 and 18 pounders, and have opened fire on Ariancoupum. Many people have been killed by the shots. Among others a French horseman, a woman, four caffres and three sipahis. It is dangerous to pass along the road to Mouiegapacum. The Governor and a Portuguese have built a small fireship, intended to be put on a catamaran, and to set fire to the enemy's ships during the night. One of M. Paradis' topasses brought the following news :—"The English shot strike their mark, while those of our sipahis do not reach the enemy. The reason is that our guns are too small, being only 6 pounders. He said also that M d'Auteuil's French cavalry had been driven back to Contisallé. M. Paradis himself came in and confirmed the intelligence, and the Governor ordered two 24 pounders and one 18 pounder to be sent to Ariancoupum." It was reported that, in the afternoon, a barrel containing 200 fuzes was blown up by a shot, but, by the grace of God, no one was wounded. The Governor sent for me and I went to his house, where I found him in company with M. M. Duquesne, de Bury, Solminihac and others. He asked me the number of killed and wounded. I said that it had been reported that there were 5 French killed and 15 wounded, while the English had 150 killed and wounded, and that the English discouraged by the loss, were thinking of retreating. He said, "You are right; but when will they retire? I replied they will try the land attack for four days more, and then they will attack by sea, and they will take to flight before the French fleet arrives." This morning M. Paradis made a new battery and placed in it, and in the four already existing, several guns among them some 18 and 24 pounders, and opened fire. The enemy's battery was dismantled, and, a great number of English being killed or wounded, they evacuated the battery. A ball struck a powder barrel near the English tents and blew it up, the tents caught fire, and the soldiers fled. Four deserters came over to our army. The day has been favorable to us.

Friday, 30th August.—It was reported this morning that the French sipahis had fallen back on Pondichery. The English had again taken the Church at Ariancoupum and established a 7 gun battery. Then they opened fire on our battery and our men on the other side of the river. 50 or 60 Dutch, and 500 or 600 caffres attacked the English battery and took it in reverse. The English returned to the charge, retook the battery, and our troops

retreated to the river. M. Paradis opened fire from all our batteries to cover our retreat, and the English withdrew. One wounded French officer remained in the hands of the enemy. Our troops captured an English Captain of advanced age, the Major of Fort St. David, and 5 or 6 soldiers; and they were sent to the Governor. The two English officers were taken great care of and allowed to retain their swords.

At 10-30 A.M. the English shot blew up the magazine, next to the battery commanded by M. Paradis, with a great explosion that even shook the Governor's house. This explosion cost us the lives of 80 French soldiers, and many more were wounded. M. M. Law and de la Tour, who commanded this battery, evacuated it, after setting it on fire, and retired to the battery on this side of the river. The English loss was 150 killed and wounded, and ours was the same in consequence of the explosion of the magazine.

The English took possession of Ariancoupum and hoisted two flags there. Our troops retired on Contesallé. The French flag which floated over the fort was lowered, and many women left the town.

Friday, 31st August.—The events of yesterday have paled the cheeks of the Governor from fear. Travellers bring the news that the English have published that the inhabitants of Ariancoupum and surrounding villages may return to their houses and till their fields, and, if they like to work as coolies, they will get 1 fanom a day besides food.

Sunday, 1st September.—The English are fortifying themselves in Ariancoupum and the French at Contesallé. There has been no engagement.

Friday, 6th September.—To-day the English troops advanced towards Contesallé and opened a lively fire of artillery on the French. The French fell back on the town, after setting fire to the houses.

Saturday, 7th September.—The English have established themselves to the N.-W. of the town. Our troops occupy the ramparts; 200 sipahis are lodged in the Church of St. Paul and in tents round it. The Governor and M. Paradis asked the priests of the Mission permission to place guns on the top of the Church. They consented, on condition that the Isparen Pagoda was demolished. The Governor consented to do this. The causes are 1st. that he gives his wife too much influence in the management of affairs; 2nd. he has placed 100 peons at her disposal, who watch the roads and put every one to ransom who goes in or out; 3rd. she has so mismanaged the affairs of the town that it looks like a cucumber market. Inhabitants, heads of villages, cultivators, merchants, all are taken and made to carry earth; 4th. it was her determination to destroy the

Isparen Pagoda. I told the Governor that the European soldiers and topasses were pillaging the houses of the natives. He ordered me to publish by tum-tum that any soldier who acted in this manner would be hanged. He also ordered me to make known to the coolies and ryots, that all who were fit for work should hold themselves in readiness for Government service, and that they would be paid as usual, plus one measure of rice.

Sunday, 8th September.—To-day the Chief Engineer went with 200 coolies, 200 soldiers and 67 horsemen, furnished with pickaxes and crowbars, to demolish the Isparen Pagoda. They began the demolition on the south side; the Brahmins ran to me and informed me of it. (Rungapillay has entered into a long detail of the destruction. The complaints of the Brahmins and severe criticisms of Dupleix are needless to enter here, as the destruction of the Pagoda was needful for the defence.) (This note is by the French translator.) To-day the English approached to reconnoitre the town, and the French opened fire on them from all their batteries. A mortar placed near the Valdaour gate, fired on the English camp on the Oulgard hill. I went there and found the Governor. Seeing the shell rise in the air and fall again, vomiting flames, I remembered the fiery stars of the "Ramayana," and said, these are thunder invented by men in imitation of the gods. The Governor ordered the fire to cease at 6 P. M. and returned with M. Paradis.

The destruction of the Pagoda is attributed to the advice given by M. Paradis.

Monday, 9th September.—The English have anchored a mortar boat in the roads and fired 8 or 10 shells on the town. One shell fell on the house of the Director of Artillery, but did not burst. Another shell fell on the east side of the Governor's house and threw down the wall of M. Barthelemey's office. All the European females took refuge in the Church of St. Paul and adjacent houses. Mesdames Dupleix and d'Auteuil had already sent their furniture there. The Governor retired into a casemate at the north-west angle of the fort, placed under a pigeon house. Beside him, in another casemate, the Directors of Police, M. Guillard, M. Paradis and other officers were lodged. The French fired on the English from all the batteries in the town, but did not do much harm.

This evening two mortars on the sea face battery and one at the Valdaour gate burst, and 4 guns also. The English did not fire till the evening at about 6 P. M. I was talking in the street with 6 or 7 people, when we saw a shell in the air. We ran against each other, terribly frightened, and got into the arrack godown. My clothes were torn in the confusion. The shell fell in the Director of Police's garden, in front of the arrack

godown. The shells fell all over the town. One fell on the house occupied by Bara Sahib, the nephew of Chanda Sahib, and broke the tiles and woodwork. A splinter of tile struck the son of Barra Sahib on the neck and wounded him. All the women and peons of the house ran at once to St. Paul's Church, crying, "The shot has fallen on Bara Sahib's house and Bara Sahib's son is dead!" Madam Dupleix, hearing the cries, opened the Church door and let them in, but after enquiry she was very angry, and said how could you cry out that Bara Sahib was dead. Do you not know that my husband is called by that name? You plunged me into despair. You should not cry so loud for a slight wound. The shells have killed no one, and the inhabitants are getting more used to them. When they are fired, they shine like the sun and make a great noise; but move slowly, like a man with a big belly, so that we can get out of their way.

Tuesday, 10th September.—To-day the Governor went to inspect the sea face battery. A shell fell quite close to him, but by the grace of God it did not burst. We then returned to the citadel and visited the batteries at the Valdaour and Madras gates, and then went to St. Paul's Church where Madame Dupleix lived. I went to the fort, to the Governor's casemate, and found him there with M. M. Bussy, La Touche and Cornet. I asked him to give me a room in St. Paul's Church that I might put my family in, out of the way of the shells. He said all the rooms were occupied by European females, and that they were very small, but that there was a very strong casemate to the west of the Cuddalore gate, where he would allow us to live. Bara Sahib's family threatened to cut their throats if they were not allowed to quit the town. My wife, who heard their lamentations, said to them: "If you cut your throats we will send you to the hospital to be taken care of." Raja Sahib, the son of Chanda Sahib, was very frightened and passed the night in great distress.

The merchants of the Company ran about all dismayed, and embraced each other, saying, "Alas! what misfortunes have happened to us!" It is impossible to describe their terror.

Admiral Boscawen's ships, except five, have left the anchorage at Virampatam and have ranged themselves in line to the north of the citadel opposite Cottacoupum.

Wednesday, 11th September.—The English shelled the town from their ships this morning. Some shells fell on the powder magazine and set fire to the beams that were used as blindages. The fire was put out, and the beams were replaced with sand bags and other articles. One shell fell in the cloth-measuring office, another on the pigeon house, others on the ramparts and at the door of the Church. It is reported that the

English are camped at Paccamodipett and are raising batteries in the parcherry. I wanted to see it, so went to the battery in the Rue du Vannians, where I found M. Vincens, who commanded the battery, talking with M. Kerjean, who commanded the adjoining battery.

Saveri Mootoo, a lame man, a palliar, and head of Madame Dupleix's band of 100 spies, had command of another battery. These spies are palliards of this town and of Menlapore, who, from the favor of the Governor's wife, are paid 6 rupees a month beside daily rice. She had recommended them to the Governor, saying that they were very brave, and would do anything to annoy and pillage the English. One of them came to inform the brave commandant that 100 English, aided by 200 coolies, had established a battery near the parcherry and that they ought to be fired on. When this was reported to M. Vincens he said: "There are 200 of our sipahis posted in the betel gardens near the parcherry; they waste their ammunition in firing on the enemy who are out of reach, and then they come to the Governor and report that they have killed 20 or 30 English and get presents. Order the recall flag to be hoisted." I did so.

M. Vincens reported the presence of the English to M. la Touche, who was in command of all the batteries from the Valdaour gate to the Rue des Vannians, and asked permission to open fire on them, which was given. At this moment another spy came in and said that there were 400 English in the parcherry, so fire was opened from all the batteries. The sipahis posted in the betel garden returned to the town. The Governor came and inspected the batteries and then went to the Church of St. Paul. This morning also our sipahis went out to Mouragacoupum to bring in the guns they had abandoned there. They had a fight with the English, but succeeded in bringing back the guns. We lost two horsemen, and the English had several wounded. The Governor and his wife, who had planned the attack on the English gun, gave the sipahis most magnificent presents. Abdul Rahman and his young brother Hossein received each a Camedaka and 6 yards of carpet; the horsemen received 100 rupees and the infantry 220 rupees. After this he ordered them out to attack the English in the parcherry under M. Paradis, the sortie took place at 3 P.M. M. Paradis went out by the Madras Gate with 800 or 900 Europeans and Natives, horse and foot, and two guns to attack the English at Paccamodepett. The Governor went to the batteries at the Rue des Vannian to witness the engagement. The lame commandant of spies reported to M. Paradis that there were 600 English in the parcherry, and offered to show the road to it.

The English, learning the advance of the French, assembled in ambush, to the number of 1,000, on the banks of a canal to the

north of the parcherry. They left 200 coolies working at the batteries and told them to retire when the French arrived. The French, ignorant of the ambuscade, advanced their infantry to the north of the parcherry, while their cavalry went to the south, so as to surround it. The English, who were hidden in the canal, allowed our soldiers to pass, and then opened a lively fire on them. M. Paradis was mortally wounded in the head; Sheik Hosein had a leg broken; 40 Caffre soldiers and sipahis were wounded. The wounded were conveyed to the hospital. All the batteries opened fire to cover our retreat. The English ceased firing. I got these details from an officer who was in the action.

(Here a hiatus occurs in the diary till the 19th September. The French translator considers this very extraordinary, and thinks that Rangapillay ought to have given some more information regarding this action. He is of opinion that the French were betrayed.)

Paradis died on the 14th September, aged 47, and was buried in the chapel of the hospital. He was a Swiss, born in London.

Thursday, 19th September.—This morning two shells fell on the north wall of Fort St. Louis. The English to-day unmasked the battery they had made in the Sarumpakum parcherry. The French fired on it, to destroy it, but the English continued to fortify it. They suffered some losses. Abdool Rahman's sipahis and Madame Dupleix's pretended spies pillage all round Moulalpett. They bring into the town the furniture, linen, and other articles they have stolen there.

Friday, 20th September.—This morning there was an engagement, not far from the Devanayaga Chetty Choultry, between the English and 200 sipahis and some horsemen commanded by Ali Khan. We had two men killed and four wounded; two officers had their horses killed. The English had some killed and wounded, too, and retired to the Ellapillay Choultry. Our sipahis said that they had taken four guns, which they could not bring into the town, for want of hands. It is reported that the English troops have suffered for the past three days from want of provisions. The Pouniar has overflowed its banks and cut off communication between their camp and Fort St. David. A spy reports that the English must retire in seven or eight days, that Admiral Boscawen has written to the Governor of Fort St. David to say, that he must go in seven or eight days and send his fleet to Trincomallee before the monsoon breaks, and that he will return here in January, and that they should fortify Ariancoum when he will have 1,000 Europeans. He is waiting, they say, for the reply of the Governor of Fort St. David to order his ships to retire. The English have suffered severe losses, and, as they beat the coolies, they will not work for them. I reported

all this to the Governor, who went to inspect the batteries. He returned at 4 P. M., and inspected the soldiers employed in making gabions. They asked for wine, which the Governor ordered to be given them.

The English have offered Anaverdi Khan and Mafooz Khan a million of rupees if they will help them. These princes have answered that the French are redoubtable and very warlike, and that they cannot accept the English offer.

I told the Governor that it would be a good thing to write in general terms to Anaverdi Khan and Mafooz Khan to find out their views, which was accordingly done.

As I was going home, I met an English dragoon, a deserter. They were asking him about the condition of the English army, and I stopped to listen. He said that each ship had disembarked 200 men, who, with 1,600 soldiers who were here before, were besieging Pondichery. Troops had even come from Bombay. M. d'Autcuil took the dragoon with him to-day; also three French soldiers deserted, two were French, one Dutch. The English have begun to shell from their western battery; 50 or 60 shell fell about the Valdaour Gate, but no one was hurt.

The sipahis have made no sortie to-day, as it is an unlucky day. The Governor ordered me to send some confidential men out to set fire to the surrounding villages, the reason he gave being that the Nawab would think it had been done by the English. I carried out his order. I heard that five or six shells had fallen in Lechassala Chetty's garden. My children were so frightened that they ran away to the south quarter to Miravelly. One shell fell near the Church. Madame Dupleix had herself carried in a palanquin into the citadel. Another shell fell at the Cuddalore gate and killed one European and a native.

It is impossible to describe the inquietude and sadness of the inhabitants of the town, and their complaints against Madame Dupleix. They say that cotton bales have been placed on the roof of St. Paul's Church, and above them teak beams and cocoanut trees, to deaden the shock of the shells; and yet this lady has now taken refuge in the citadel and teases the troubled Indian by saying—who has been killed by the shell? You are frightened at nothing; where is your courage? &c., &c.

The English threw 100 shells into the town from their west battery, and 40 or 50 from their ships; but the inhabitants are less afraid of the shell than they are of Madame Dupleix's peons. At noon all the Christians living near the Valdaour gate confessed themselves and received the communion.

The Governor ordered Sheikh Ebrahim to make a sortie to-morrow morning with 300 sipahis and attack the English at the Devanagaya Chetty Choultry, each soldier to have ten cartridges.

Sunday, 22nd September.—This morning the Governor asked me if there was any news of Chanda Sahib. I replied that his relations had heard nothing.

Madame Dupleix is living in the casemate in the citadel formerly occupied by the Director of Police and Member of Council. These have gone to live in the large hall adjoining.

Thursday, 26th September.—This morning, at about half-past 7, Abdul Rahman with 350 or 400 sipahis, and Sheik Ebrahim with 50 or 60 sipahis and 60 or 70 Mahratta horse, made a sortie to the north towards Carouvadicoupum. They had an engagement there with the English, who numbered 1,000 Europeans and Carnatics, or sipahis. After a short fusillade, the English fled, leaving 40 or 50 killed and 70 or 80 wounded. Our troops pursued them. We had 15 soldiers more or less wounded and one killed. The Governor witnessed this action from the battery at the Madras gate. Seeing a reinforcement of 4 or 500 soldiers coming up to assist the English, he ordered out Ali Khan's sipahis at half-past 9. Our sipahis asked for cartridges, which were given them. The Governor also sent out some dragoons and other horsemen. The English rallied, about a mile and a half from the scene of action, and returned to their camp. Abdul Zalil, who came to the assistance of the English, mounted on an elephant and carrying a banner escorted by 150 or 200 horse, fled on seeing the English in retreat.

The English abandoned their dead. The Caffres plundered the corpses; five wounded English died on the road into the town.

Our troops, having gained the victory, clapped their hands and shouted three times 'Vive le Roi.' The Governor and the European and Indian witnesses of the victory were very pleased. Abdul Rahman, Ali Khan, his soldiers and the dragoons presented themselves to the Governor, who praised them highly for their courage and skill and dismissed them. As the Caffres of the advanced guard had shown much courage, the Governor gave them half a rupee and a bottle of wine each.

It is reported that the English lose daily 15 to 20 men, and that there is much sickness in their army; that since the commencement of hostilities at Ariancoupum, 1500 English soldiers have been killed or wounded, besides 4 or 500 Carnatics or Mussulman. They have fired over 1,000 shells, but with little damage.

Friday, 27th September.—The Governor wrote to Admiral Boscawen this morning.

Saturday, 28th September.—During the night 54 shells fell in the town. One fell on M. de Bury's house and one on M. de Solminihac's, and destroyed some furniture; four or five shells fell in the citadel, but did no harm; two fell on St. Paul's Church, several at the Valdaour gate and one on Abdul Rahman's house.

The English began to fire heavy guns to-day. It is said in the town that it will not be long before the English decamp, that in seven or eight days they will go, "twisting their 'queues' and carrying them on their shoulder." A lot of rain fell last night.

The enemy fired shell, from 8 P. M. till 2 A. M., and began again at 4-30 A. M. from the shipping.

Sunday, 29th September.—This morning I went to see the Governor. During the night a shell had burst at the door of the casemate occupied by the Governor and his wife, eight or ten shells fell in the citadel, altogether 50 shells during the night in various places. The French fired ten or fifteen shells at the English battery, but did not hit it.

I did not go out in the afternoon. The English 6 and 16 pounder shot fall all over the town. The inhabitants fear they shot more than the shell, as they can see and avoid the shell, but can neither see nor avoid the shot. Ten people were killed. The north wind has begun to blow strongly. If rain falls at it did yesterday, the English will be obliged to retire. The rain prevented our soldiers from going out to the battery outside the town last night. The English began shell-firing at about 8 P. M.

Monday, 30th September.—This morning, when I went to the citadel, Ajagaha Moodelly of the Police told me that the Governor had given an order to search the Indian's houses for paddy or rice, to measure the quantity found, and, leaving a quarter for the family, to take the rest and pay the price of it. The Governor confirmed these orders to me, and, smoking his pipe, asked me if Chanda Sahib had arrived. He then went out in his carriage to inspect the town. It was reported that the English had fired over 100 shells, which fell from the street of the Chetties to those of the billajas and Brahmins.

People who pick up the shot and shell and bring them to the citadel are paid 1 fanom (2 annas) for a shot, and a rupee for a shell. Shots are falling in great quantity everywhere. The sipahis have made a sortie, and the ships have thrown over 50 shells into the town.

Tuesday, 1st October.—I went to see the Governor. He asked me if it were true that only a very small quantity of paddy had been found. I said that only one house had been searched, and that I foresaw great difficulties in carrying out his order. He said it was probable that the paddy was buried, and ordered me to make strict search. He asked me if there were any news of Chanda Sahib. I said that I had none, and that I did not know whether the English had arrested his messengers. He said, "Take care that his son does not leave the town." I replied, "I cannot describe the terror he and his relations are in, they never pass the night in one place." "That is a proof of their foolishness," said the Governor. "The shot and shell, that have

fallen up to to-day have not done much harm ; 30 persons at the outside have been killed and some damage has been done to houses. Can this loss be compared with that of the English, who have lost over 1,000 men, killed, wounded or dead of disease, without counting the Carnatic soldiery. We have taken many prisoners. M. Boscaſſen has quarrelled with the new Engineer from England, and the latter has gone to Cuddalore." That proves, I said, that the English will be conquered. ' But " said the Governor, " just think of the place the English have chosen for their camp, and if they had camped on the beach, it would have been very easy for them to disembark their provisions and war material, and they would not have been troubled with the mud. I do not understand how it is that they did not foresee these troubles, or why they have camped to the west of the town. They have about ten miles of most difficult ground to pass with ammunition and provisions from the ships to the camp, and our troops can easily attack them on the road. They are obliged to escort all their convoys, and that employs 500 or 1,000 soldiers. Their troops cannot stand all this work and fight beside. Where they have camped is marshy, and a few days rain will compel them to retire. It is God that has allowed them to make such a bad choice." The Governor also told me that he was very angry with the Company's merchants. I asked why he said that. " They had asked him leave to quit the town, as they were afraid of the shot and shell. They have sent away their wives and children ; and their money and goods are in safety. They are alone here. What do they fear ? If they will ask me again I will punish them."

The Governor asked me what date the Shasters had fixed for the departure of the English ? I replied to him that all the Indians said that the English would go on the 30th Pourtaſſy (13th October) ; and that, from the 21st of that month (4th October), we might expect to see manifest signs of their intention.

The Governor, turning to the Europeans present, said, " These Indians' prophecies very often come true."

M. d'Auteuil told me that three shells had fallen upon the house I had quitted when I went to live in my store room in the Rue Valdaour.

The English to-day threw 48 shells from their ships into the citadel ; the greater part of them fell near the engineer's tank and the arrack godown and did no harm. The English batteries to the west threw 5 or 600 projectiles of sorts into the town. They fell all over the town, and two or three persons were killed in the battery in the Rue des Vannians. Our batteries replied with about 6 or 700 rounds.

Periana Moodelly told me that Madame Dupleix had said to her husband that there were five or six demons of heathens in this town, who wanted to get the English into it ; if we sent them out, they would betray our situation. He added, that he would daily bring 20 betel-leaves for my wife.

Wednesday, 2nd October.—This morning the Governor went to the hospital to visit the sick. On his return he sent for me and said in a serious tone : " I find it very strange that only 200 marcali of rice can be found in the town. Are those who are hunting for it playing with me ? " The Governor turned towards Ajagapa Moodelly, of the Police, who was present, and said : " Your bad faith is evident ! If they do not find rice, it is because you do not wish them to do so. I will cut off your ears ! " The English continued to discharge shot and shell. They fell like hail in the street leading to the Madras road, and in all the streets to the north of the Rue de Madras. Three or four women and children have been killed. The shot also fell in the bazar road, in the Rue Valdaour and in one street.

The French have established two batteries outside the town and have furnished them with guns. They fired 6 or 700 shots and shell on the English battery. Two or three of the English shells fell in the Church of St. Paul ; one fell in the Governor's kitchen ; one broke both the legs of a little girl, and another, in bursting, killed three or four persons. The English fire all night from their ships and their land batteries. The inhabitants, though much troubled, are less afraid than they were before. The Europeans are more frightened than the natives. One would have thought that a great number of people would have been killed by this daily rain of shot and shell ; but God, in his great goodness, has not allowed there to be a great loss of men, which proves that nothing is done unless he wills it.

To-day an old man was accused of selling betel-leaf. He was arrested and asked where he got it from. He said that he had gone out with the sortie of the previous night, when the English were attacked, and had gathered the betel-leaves in the gardens, as the others did. In spite of this declaration, the Governor ordered his ears to be cut off, and that he should have 200 blows with a rattan, as a spy. He also put a chain round his neck and sent him to hard labour. The inhabitants of the town fear the shot and shell less than they do this injustice. (Note by translator—Rangapillay seems to fear for his own ears, as he also got betel-leaf, as mentioned above). I heard that 500 sipahis and 50 Caffres were about to make a sortie, to upset the mortars and spike the guns of the enemy, and that 500 soldiers were about to march to Oupaïom. It was also reported that five soldiers, one sailor

and an officer were killed this evening at 5 P.M., by an 18 pr. round shot.

Thursday, 3rd October.—The sipahis who went out for a sortie to attack the English batteries last night, found some difficulties in the way, and turned towards Coptesallé. They heard a kind of a chant being sung by the English and a noise of carts. Having discovered that the English were hauling and mounting heavy guns, they hid themselves in the forest till day-light. At day-light they carried off some powder and shot which the English had left at various points, and then attacked the English who were dragging some 24 pounders by hand. The English, being few in number, only fired once. They wounded two or three infantry soldiers and killed two horsemen. 15 of the English were killed, among them an Artillery officer; six soldiers were taken prisoners and the rest fled. The French returned dragging the captured guns with shouts of 'Vive le Roi.' The Governor made smaller presents than he had originally intended to Abdul Rahman and Ali Khan, as at first the account was much exaggerated. He distributed Rs. 700.

I was full of joy when I met the Governor. He said, "You see, Rangapillay, how things are going." I replied, "We have had the pleasure of seeing the two guns taken from the enemy brought into the town, and we will be still more pleased when we see Admiral Boscawen brought in under a good escort." "God grant it," said the Governor smiling. "You see, Rangapillay, how I am turned black with fatigue! 'Never mind,' said I, 'what is bodily fatigue in comparison with the renown you have obtained? Is it not by labour of this sort that glory is acquired?'" M. de Bussy and the other officers present smilingly approved my words. The Governor sat down to dinner, and I retired.

Two cannons burst this morning and killed or wounded eight Europeans. I saw four of their soldiers in the hospital.

The carriages of the two guns taken from the English being too wide to enter the Madras gate, the guns were dismounted and put in the battery, and the carriages taken to pieces.

Last night, two of Madame Dupleix's spies came to see me in Sinavassa Chetty's godown, and told me that their mistress was very angry with me. They said, "She wants us to report against you, and to accuse you of having relations with the English, but, as you act very prudently, no one can accuse you." Saying this, they gave me about 400 betel-leaves, and added, "If we wish to destroy anyone, we can easily do so, as Madame Dupleix believes our reports." I replied, "I understand perfectly what you mean, and will recompense you to-morrow or the day after. If you find any more betel-leaves bring them

to me, and if you hear any news, come and tell me." This morning Abdul Rahman and Ali Khan went to the Governor and told him about the engagement. They complained that, in two previous skirmishes, they had failed because the Europeans retreated, and again to-day they said, "The Dragoons fled while we were fighting the English. We have complained to M. d' Auteuil. Let us have the horses of these soldiers, and you will see we will gain a good victory." The Governor, Madame Dupleix and other Europeans who heard these words, could not conceal their dissatisfaction.

The English fired about 20 shells during the night.

Friday, 4th October.—The English are trying to make a treaty with Mafooz Khan. They offer him 12 millions of rupees to come and help them with his army. Mafooz Khan replied to them: "You are not so brave as the French, and you do not persevere as they do in their military enterprises. If, after you have profited by our aid, you withdraw, it will cause disunion between us and the French, and you will draw down their enmity on us. We cannot believe your promises; your advice will only bring misfortune upon us without profit to yourselves. It is impossible for us to come to help you." The English replied to him: "Our King has sent us here with ships and money to take Pondichery. We will persevere in this undertaking, notwithstanding the great loss of men that we have suffered. We are resolved not to withdraw until we have taken Pondichery." Mafooz Khan, on these assertions of the English, promised them 1,500 horse and 300 sipahis, and, besides, he promises to come himself with his army, on conditions that the guns found at Gingee be handed over to him. The English promise to give him all the guns and powder he requires. On this Mafooz Khan has started at the head of his entire army to assist the English. The individual who told me this, does not wish his name to be mentioned.

Saturday, 5th October.—The English have opened a lively fire from their Western batteries. The shot and shell demolish the parapets of the batteries and the ramparts. The French repair, during the night, the destruction caused in the day. New orders are issued to search for paddy in the town.

Sunday, 6th October.—This morning I went to the citadel to salute the Governor; on his return from Mass, he asked me what quantity of paddy had been found in the town. I said that 4 garces and 415 vellams had been stored, and that the half of this had already been distributed among the coolies. The Governor told me that I must provide a reserve of 15 garces of paddy. He said further, "The English are firing a good deal to-day from their western batteries. Are you not

afraid to come into the citadel?" I replied: "The goodness of God and your kindness are a protection to me, and the shot and shell recoil from before me." "If this is the case," said an officer who was present, "you had better go and defeat and drive M. Boscawen away." I replied, "I will very soon report the flight of M. Boscawen," and the Governor and all the other persons present laughed at this.

The Governor said to me, "You must come into the citadel to-day with your family, and live in a room in the large godown. Do not lose any time, as from to-morrow the English will throw an immense quantity of shot and shell into the town, and then it will be impossible for you to leave your house."

I thanked the Governor for his kind thoughtfulness and said I would obey.

The Governor received yesterday four letters written in Telugu and Persian by Magamoodoo Khan, and Soupaya, the Vakil. The first letter said, "The English are besieging your town, and I let you know my advice on the means of putting an end to the war. I think it would be a good thing, if you wish it, that I should use my influence with the Nawab to intervene between you and your enemies. Write to him without delay asking him to come to Pondichery, and tell me when you have done so, that I may persuade him to the undertaking. If you do not approve of this, you can write to Hosein Sahib's mother, asking him to come to Pondichery and bring the Nawab, and thus cause the cessation of hostilities and ensure peace."

Soupaya's letter contained the following news: "The English have made presents to the Nawab and have written to him, and to Mafooz Khan, too, begging them to come to their assistance, in very flattering terms; and both seem willing to listen to the proposals. So you had better write promptly to Hosein Sahib, who has much influence over the Nawab, as the latter does nothing without consulting him, &c."

Abdul Rahman's sipahis have taken two English prisoners, who were led before the Governor, who employed a stratagem to discover from them the condition of their army. He put them in prison with another Englishman, who had been taken at Catapett, and was now in French employ. This last said to them, "It is now four months that I have been a prisoner, and I am treated as you see. Why are our countrymen so long in taking the place." He added some abuse of the French to these words. The other two told him confidentially, "that fever and diarrhoea were raging in the English army, that the change of climate, the heat, fatigue, deprivation of sleep, and the French shot, had destroyed a great number of men, and that Admiral Boscawen had held a Council of War, in which it was settled that for three days he would heavily bombard the

town from both the ships and the batteries, and that, if the French did not yield then, he would retire, as the rains were near, and his ships could not remain on the coast without danger."

The spy reported these facts to the Governor.

The shot and shell have killed and wounded 15 or 20 people. The battery at the north of the Valdaour road, that at the Rue des Vannians, at the Valdaour gate, and those near it are riddled with shot.

An English vessel came to take soundings at the third bar. The town batteries opened fire on her and she went to sea again.

Monday, 7th October.—The English to-day drew up 21 ships in two lines and fired on the citadel and on the town. The shots fell like a summer storm. They fell every where, even beyond the houses at the Valdaour gate. The fire of their land batteries was equally lively; and the parapets of our batteries, that served to protect the gunners have been beaten down. It is impossible to describe the damage caused by the projectiles; it is enough to say that no part of the town has escaped. The number of killed and wounded is 50 or 60. The French have mounted the two heavy guns taken from the English on the battery at the Valdaour gate and at the Rue des Vannians and opened fire on the English batteries and camp. The English fire, however, dismounted these guns, wounded an officer, and killed five or six gunners. The French replaced the guns with others of 24 and 36 lbs, but the English fire was so lively that the French batteries were no longer tenable. In three batteries the commandant gave orders to evacuate them, and only keep enough men in them to watch the enemy's movements.

Tuesday, 8th October.—The English formed a line of 21 ships before the citadel. The Admiral's ship hoisted a red flag at the mainmast. They opened fire at 6 A.M. and continued till 6 P. M.

They launched a hail of shell, and of 12, 16, 26, 32 and 36 pounder shot. Ah, what a rain of fire! the seven clouds, having absorbed the waters of the seven seas, seem to discharge them in fiery rain on Pondichery. It is estimated that 31,540 shots and 288 shells were fired by the ships, and the land batteries fired 2,500 shots and 770 shells. They flew all over the town like atoms in the air, not a single quarter, not even a house escaped. The French only fired twice. The Governor forbade firing. He said: "If the English are carrying on to-day in this strange manner, it is, doubtless, in the vain hope of making us capitulate. Let them do as they like; as for you, stay quiet and do not fire. These orders were obeyed. During the day 176 men were killed and 65 wounded, but they were

only coolies and poor people who were out in the streets and open places.

What has become of the courage of the English before that of the incomparable Dupleix ! It has vanished, as the night and snow disappear before the sun's rays. At 6 P.M. the red flag at the main top mast head of the English Admiral's ship was hauled down, and the fire ceased at once.

Wednesday, 9th October.—The inhabitants, foreseeing that the English would fire again as yesterday, kept themselves safe in their houses. Fire was not opened till 10 in the morning. The French unmasked an earthen battery which they had recently made, and fired on the English batteries. The result was fortunate ; one English battery was demolished, and the others were silenced. In the evening they began shelling again, and a head gunner of ours was killed, and they kept up the fire on the French batteries. From the sea face a shell struck one of the English ships, killed the Captain, and caused such damage that she had to fall out of line for repairs. The English shell have done us a great deal of harm.

Friday, 11th October.—Our fire has made great havoc among the English troops. I went to see the Governor, who asked me if it would rain soon. I said that the rain usually began on the 2nd of the month of Arpicy (13th October) and that there were indications of a change of season. M Duquesne and others who were present laughed at me, but the Governor told them that I was right, and that the rains usually began in the month of Arpicy.

Saturday, 12th October.—I went to the citadel and found the Governor taking coffee with M. M. Duquesne, Robert and others. He said to me : " You told me that, according to the Shasters, the English would retire on the 1st October (Indian month); now the 12th of our month corresponds with the 1st of yours according to the calendar. How is it that the English have not gone ?" I said, " The 30th of the Indian September corresponds with the 12th of your October; to-morrow will be the 1st Arpicy, and you will then hear of the retreat of the English and the rains will begin." I added, " You will see that in twelve days from to-morrow the English will be in retreat, and that from to-morrow their attacks will begin to slacken and will become less daily." As we were speaking, Abdul Rahman presented himself before the Governor and laid some weapons at his feet, and told him the following story : " Sheik Ebrahim and I, having learned that the English were constructing batteries at Poodoopollium, made a sortie with our peons, 7 or 800 sipahis and 100 caffres. When we arrived at Poodoopollium, we found that there were only 300 Carnatic soldiers and 200 pariahs, and that they were mostly asleep. We attacked them, and they fled, leaving their arms. We pillaged Poodoo-

pollium. The English came to assist their men, and we retreated; ten or twelve of us who lingered have been made prisoners by the enemy. We had seven or eight men wounded."

The Governor questioned the pariah prisoners about the English. They said that a contagious fever had made great ravages in the English army. The English have lost over 1,000 men since the beginning of the siege, from sickness and killed in action. They are going away in five or six days.

The Governor then went to the hospital to visit the sick and wounded. The English kept up the fire all day. The Governor ordered all the gunny bags that could be found to be brought to the citadel. These bags were filled with earth and laid down in the streets from the Rue de Madras to the Rue de Valdaour; seven or eight persons were killed in the town. This night three English deserters came in having carried off 2,000 rupees from their own people. They told the Governor that the English were about to raise the siege. This news filled the whole town with joy. God has deigned to preserve us from the cruelty of the English. How can I picture the renown that the Governor has acquired. It is like the sun that shines everywhere.

Sunday, 13th October.—The three English deserters gave the following news: "A great number of soldiers and sipahis have perished in the English army from your fire and a kind of fever. The sick and wounded are sent daily to Fort St. David in doolies. The batteries are full of mud. The soldiers, who stand night and day on the damp ground, suffer from swellings, and many succumb. M. Boscawen, seeing that the number of casualties is increasing, has given the order for retreat; the captains of the ships do not want to stay any longer in the roads, as they fear bad weather. It is only the Dutch that do not think thus, and who want to stay. "What does it matter," they say, "if the rainy season does come. When one fights, one must lose some men. If you want arms or soldiers, we will give them to you, the fleet can go and return after the rains. M. Boscawen does not agree with the Dutch and is resolved to retire." The Governor gave the deserters bread, wine and meat, and set them at liberty in the courtyard of the citadel. All the English vessels, except the flag ship and a mortar boat, have weighed anchor and sailed towards Cottacoupum. We saw 100 munnlah boats leave the shore and go to the ships. It is probable that M. Boscawen is embarking the guns, arms and ammunition that are at the northwest of the town. A small vessel from Fort St. David arrived in the roads, and, after having exchanged salutes, the captain of this vessel gave some message to the ship that was still in the roads and sailed for Cottacoupum. The other ship and mortar boat were not long in following him, and at 7 p. m. there was not a single British ship before

Pondichéry. I went to see the Governor, but was stopped on the way by an evil omen. I returned to my house, washed my face, took some betel and pan and went to see Lalchanana Naik. After breakfast I went to the citadel. I saw the Governor, Madame Duplex, Madame Ymmons, M. Duquesne and some other Europeans and Cassa Sultan. They were talking of the departure of the English and the embarkation of their armies. The Governor, seeing me, rose from his chair, and, coming in front of me, said: "The English are going; have they at last determined to retire?" He added that the Mahomedans had helped the English, and that he would make them feel the effects of his anger. I answered that he should take exemplary vengeance on them and make an impression that would last to the third generation. He told me that Abdul Sahib had deserted the previous night. He had gone to the English camp on the 22nd September, and was paid 400 rupees daily. It is reported that he had claimed from Admiral Boscawen the right to pillage the four principal streets of the town when it should be taken. While this conversation was going on, Abdul Rahman arrived. The Governor said to him:—"I give you the title of Nawab of Arcot!" He congratulated him on his courage and the work he had done during the war. Abdul Rahman replied, "Give me 1,000 sipahis, some horsemen, four mortars and four heavy guns, and I will go and take Arcot. After this, the Governor ordered him to go with M. Duquesne in the afternoon with 500 sipahis, 300 soldiers, 200 caffres and two guns, and attack the English, and destroy their batteries. They made the sortie, but were repulsed. The English continued to fire shot and shell on the place. At about midnight the English set fire to their batteries and retired to their camp on the sea-beach. They struck their tents and started for Fort St. David, partly by sea and partly by land.

A young Brahmin, whose name I do not know, told me that he had seen Admiral Boscawen in a palanquin, going towards Ariancoupum, on Monday, the 14th October. This report was confirmed by others. The English, from the beginning of the siege, have fired 60,000 shots and 4,000 shells.

The French have fired 30,000 shots and 300 shells.

Wednesday, 16th October.—The English troops, last night, set fire to their batteries and marched towards Peromal Naik's Choultry. They have also retired from their camp at Mootapollum, and have taken away their property and conveyed it to Vounayapollum and Villajisavady, and embarked it in their ships and then marched by Villenour to Fort St. David. A few English remained near the town, to aid in the removal of their armament, and fired occasionally some rounds at the town, to deceive the French. The latter did not

reply to the fire of the enemy. Our troops have collected 3 or 4,000 shots of various calibre in the English batteries. The English left the pick axes and crowbars and other tools they had used to make the batteries, also a large number of planks. The Dutch assisted the English in the war. They gave them 1,000 soldiers, commanded by one Roussel, who had been a captain in the French service and had married at Pondichery, the daughter of an European carpenter. He had been sent to Mahé, where he had some troubles with a Sieur X * * * Being recalled to head-quarters he was put in prison and he prosecuted M. Dupleix before the French tribunals. Having failed in his prosecution, he went to Holland and took service with that Power. His wife and children remained in Pondichery. The English left in their camp about 1,000 bags of rice, sugar, dates, &c., and had set them on fire.

The Governor ordered Abdul Rahman's sipahis, d'Auteuil's dragoons and the Mahratta horse to pursue the English from 4 A. M., and to return to the town after sunrise.

Thursday, 17th October.—The English were discovered crossing the Ariancoupum river and were pursued by our troops. They turned their guns and fired on us. The French retired, losing two horsemen, two horses and six or seven wounded.

I met the Governor as I was going to his house. He was on his way to visit the English batteries and works, and asked me to accompany him. We went to the Sarompacomodeanpett parcherry, where the English had constructed a 16 gun and mortar battery, and then we went to another battery to the north-west of the Madras gate. From thence we went to Pavajircasa Savady, opposite the Valdaour gate, where the French had a two gun battery. The English had constructed a two gun battery in front of this. We saw the trenches opened by the English. They started from the other side of Contesallé (2,500 metres from Pondichery), and were provided with covered ways leading to the batteries. All the batteries were protected with heavy beams, 10 or 12 inches thick, and hidden with branches. The English had employed 10,000 coolies at their works, and paid them very well, at the rate of 3 Cuddalore fanoms per diem.

To-day, at 5 in the evening, all the French soldiers, the sipahis, and the peons were drawn up in the square west of the citadel, with their muskets loaded, and the Governor, Madame Dupleix and a great number of Europeans and their wives went to the Church. During the Te Deum, the soldiers fired three salutes with their muskets and three salutes of 21 guns each. The French flag that had been hauled down during the siege, was hoisted on the citadel, and the troops shouted 'Vive le Roi' three times.

When the Governor came out of the Church, all the Europeans and their wives gave him their deepest thanks, and congratulated him on his courage. They all embraced him in turns and shouted three times 'Vive le Roi.' The Governor and members of Council then reviewed the troops, the officers saluting with their swords, raising their hats and shouting 'Vive le Roi.' The Governor entered the citadel with the members of Council and the Municipal officers. He was presented with wine on a salver, and they drank to the health of the King of France. They all then went into the large hall that was used for verifying the measurement of cloth, where a dinner was served.

After dinner, the merchants of the company, the employés, and the principal natives were introduced to the Governor and congratulated him.

Friday, 18th October—This morning, the Governor learned that the English had passed last night at Rettarsavady. He sent at once 5 or 600 sipahis, some soldiers, dragoons and peons, under the command of M. Duquesne, to occupy Ariancoupum. M. Duquesne hoisted the French flag on Ariancoupum, and assured himself that the English were in retreat on Fort St. David. The Governor went in a carriage to Ariancoupum and returned at 11 A. M. He gave me orders to publish by tum-tum in Oulgard, Archivack, Mouajapakam, and other places, that the inhabitants of Pondichery should return into the town, and that rice and other grain should be brought in at once.

The English fleet that was in the North, sailed towards Virampatam. Some of them anchored there, and the rest went to sea.

We conclude here the extracts from Rungapillay's diary. Those we have given are quite sufficient to illustrate the importance of these documents, hitherto untranslated, to the student of the history of our early struggles with the French in India.

ART. XI.—THE DEHRA DUN.

IV.

The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXI, 1858: Art IX. The Dehra Doon as a seat of European Colonisation in India.

Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon. By G. R. C. Williams. B.A., Bengal Civil Service, Roorkee, Thomason College Press, 1874.

Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces. Vols. X and XI.

Reports on Projects for the proposed Dehra Dún Railway, 1885-87.

Final Report of the Eighth Revision of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dehra Dún District. Allahabad Government Press, 1886.

Reports of the Forest Department.

THE CANALS OF THE DUN.

IN the first article of this series, I said a few words as to the canals which are everywhere taken off from the streams which descend from the Himálaya, and which the writer of the Settlement Report characterised as the greatest blessing to the district. "In fact," Mr. Baker said, "the people depend almost entirely on them for water for drinking and domestic purposes, and for the cultivation of all the more valuable crops." In order to prevent misconception of the nature of these canals, by people who do not know the Dún, I must explain that the largest of them are merely small channels, with a sectional area of the size of a small tributary of a canal in the plains of India. The Dún is a miniature district, and its canals are on a corresponding scale; and yet, owing to the rapid slope of the ground, from the hills towards the axial rivers of the twin valleys, these channels convey much larger quantities of water than similar channels do in the plains. Before I came to the Dún, a rough ground-plan of the property I was to live on was sent to me, and I saw on it, between the public road and the boundary of the property, two parallel lines, marked "canal," but which it seemed must be a roadside ditch. Accustomed as I had been to the large canals of the Son system in the Patna and Shahabad Districts of Behar, I felt it difficult to realise what such a canal could be like; and yet it appeared to be of importance, as the road was named after it. When I came to see the "canal," I found that it was a channel of rough masonry, perhaps two feet in width and of even less depth, though, being sunk below the level of the ground, the width and depth of the excavation were considerable in some places. Where the water came out near the surface, owing to the slope

of the bed of the canal being less than that of the ground, you could step across the "canal." This was a small branch canal, which yet has a course of some three miles or more, and waters a considerable area of land along its course. But even this little channel, the Eastern branch of the Rájpur canal, must not be treated altogether with contempt. Some years ago a large "waler" horse, belonging to the Vicéroy, broke away while at exercise near the stables (mentioned in a previous article) and tried to jump over the canal cutting. He failed to reach the ground on the other side, and slipping back fell on his back into the canal bed, and not being able to turn right side up, for want of room, the poor beast dammed up the water, and actually drowned himself. In many places this canal is not fenced off, and other accidents sometimes happen. I have known a pony jump into the bed, where it was six feet below the road, taking a cart with him, one of the ladies in which was seriously hurt.

The largest canal I have seen in the Dún, where running in a masonry channel, is not, I think, more than four feet in width, with a depth of two to three feet: the greatest velocity is probably three to four feet a second; but I will not here attempt technical accuracy of description. The slope of ground traversed by the canals which pass through and near Dehra is so great that frequent falls are necessary, and the water passing over these is often caught in wells. The noise of the falling water is music to those accustomed to it, and is quite missed when the water is cut off during the hot weather, when the supply is scarce and has to be husbanded by rotation, or when repair is going on. It even at a little distance reminds one of the "roar on the sand-beach" (*πολυφλὸν βοῶν θαλάσσης*); and I have often caught myself wondering what was the cause of an unnatural stillness, till I realised that the canal was closed. The transporting power of water is strikingly evidenced by these rapid channels, for not only is silt brought down in quantity from the foot of the Himálaya, during the rainy season, and even after a fall of rain or a thaw on the hills in the cold weather, but enormous quantities of gravel and shingle are carried even past Dehra, which is five to eight miles from the head of the Rájpur, or Raspana Canal. The channels soon get choked up, and flow and distribution of the water are interfered with; and then the accumulation has to be dug out at considerable expense. But this is not the whole of the mischief: the gravel in its passage wears out the masonry work, and frequent repair is necessary. Were there iron-works within reach, I almost think it would pay to line some of the channels with cast iron plates.

I have before alluded to the beautiful scenery near the head of the Bijápur Canal, which is taken off the Tonse River, a few miles from the foot of the Himaláya, among hills of Siwálik formation, and I recommended exploration of that valley. The vegetation is very pretty. I may mention a beautiful many-flowered, yellow primula, and *Cheilanthes rufa*, Desv., a pretty and rather curious fern which grows on shady and moist rocks and banks. At the head of this canal the stream is at the bottom of a deep valley, and to get the water near the surface of the country, the channel has to be taken along the left bank, which in places is precipitous. Owing to the difference in slope of beds of the river and the canal, the latter gradually comes up to the level of the country. The work here is like that required for a mountain road in the interior of the Himaláya, a bed for the canal being found by scooping out the rock on one side, and building up a retaining wall on the other. It requires some nerve to get along the parapet, especially where on one side there is a sheer drop to the bottom of the valley, and on the other one has to avoid knocking one's head against the overhanging rock. In the remaining part of its course this canal runs between rows of fine trees, with clumps of bamboos interspersed; and there is generally plenty of room on either side for riding and even driving. These shady avenues, and rapid running streams, are a charming feature of the Dehra plateau. At some of the falls on this and other canals in the Dún have been built flour-mills, of simple construction, which yield a large revenue to Government.

Mr. H. G. Ross wrote regarding the provision for irrigating the Dehra plateau:—

"From this stream" (the Tons) "a canal is taken which waters the fine plateau of land to the south-west of Dehra, running to a point formed by the Asan and the Tons. This is the most highly cultivated part of the district; here the best sugarcane and wheat crops are grown; and here also are a number of tea plantations."

Mr. Ross, however, had before explained that canal water is not used for irrigating tea, as it contains lime, which is injurious. *

"Further east is a canal taken out of the Rispana at Rájpur, it supplies Dehra with water for drinking and garden purposes, and, passing on, waters that portion of the plateau already referred to, which lies south of Dehra."

"Beyond the Rispana, at Rájpur, a canal is taken from the Song and flows through a country which is not at present well cultivated. The remaining canal" (Mr. Ross referred only to Government canals) "is taken out of the Jákhan near Bhogpur, waters all Ránpokari and Raynorpur and then flows into waste. The whole of the water in this canal would be brought into use if some forest land was given up. Beside these three Government canals there are

innumerable private canals or *guls*. Some of these have been made at great expense; others are mere channels of a few yards long, into which the water from a hill stream is diverted.

"In the valley portion of the Western Dún the Asan is used along its whole course both for rice and wheat. The Tons is used for rice. In the Eastern Dún the Rispana is used for rice lands to a small extent: so also is the Suswa behind the Nagsidh hill."

I believe that a much larger area of land in the Eastern Dún might be irrigated, and bear better crops than can now be grown on it, but for a theory held and acted on by the Irrigation Branch of the Public Works Department. It is held by the superior officers that the proper function of the rivers which flow through the Eastern Dún is to feed the Ganges canal, and so help to water the plains of the *Doab*, and that the water should not be diverted to irrigate the land of the Dún. Such a theory could not for a moment "hold water" if it were brought under discussion. To me it seems monstrous: and I therefore conclude that the district civil authorities cannot have represented the matter in the proper quarter. I must also remark, with regard to what Mr. Ross says about the part of the Dehra plateau in the Western Dún which is watered by the Bijápur canal from the Tons, that the supply is not nearly sufficient for the tract he describes as the most highly cultivated part of the district. There are thousands of acres of land, commanded by the lower part of the canal, for which the supply of water is so scanty and precarious, as either to prevent the land being let, or to furnish an excuse to the cultivators for taking it at very low rates. Mr. Ross continued:—

"Apart from these streams which are used in the valley, every village in the *Himalayas* possesses some land irrigated by channels, taken from the mountain streams. In the hills these streams are perennial, some of them containing really a fine body of water; but as they reach the level of the Dún, the whole of the water disappears, percolates through the gravelly soil, and does not again show until the main drainage channels of the Asan or Suswa are reached. These streams are used by the hillmen chiefly for rice lands, but in some cases they are used for wheat also."

Mr. Baker says that probably most of the water supply available has been already utilised. There are still some fine streams coming down from the hills, apparently running to waste, but it might not pay to conduct the water into the existing canals. He says:

"The large income from water power is striking. This represents the rents of the mills worked by the canals, at which the corn of the district is ground. Many villages have their own little mills (*gharás*) which pay no tax, but at these the corn is allowed to be ground for home consumption only and not for sale outside."

The canals, Mr. Baker writes, are without doubt the making of the Dún. The increase of revenue under the new Settle

ment due to canals, was put at Rs. 9,029, but this is considered a low estimate. Other ways in which the canals benefit the district, and add to the Government revenue, cannot be taken into account for assessment purposes. Mr. Baker cites two instances :

"They carry down water to many parts in sufficient quantity for drinking, though not for irrigation, and so people are able to live on and cultivate land which would otherwise be left barren, as being too far off from drinking water. Again, a tenant obtaining three or four acres of canal irrigated land, will cultivate ten or twelve acres of dry land. But for the canal the whole would be left uncultivated."

Mr. Baker says that no complaints have ever been made that the canal water impoverishes the soil.

"The ordinary complaints on the part of the villages are, that they get one watering and have to pay water rates, though they cannot get the necessary second or third watering. On the part of the Canal Department the complaint is, that the villagers are most wasteful, take more water than is necessary, and let a great deal run off. The Dún land is very porous, and there nearly always is a gravelly subsoil so that an acre of land in the Dún requires three or four times as much water to irrigate as an acre in the plains. Hence the importance of having pukka (masonry) distributaries as far as possible to prevent the very great loss from percolation.

"Water is very scarce in Dehra itself in the hot months. The canal is lowest when the demand is greatest. The distributaries are mostly dry, wide, roadside ditches, and the waste from percolation in these must be enormous. Just before leaving the Dún I proposed to Government that the present very low rates for watering gardens should be raised and pukka distributaries be constructed. This would repay Government well, and the people would be far better off for water. The irrigating power of all the canals would be very much increased if the great waste from percolation, as soon as the water leaves the main channel, could be avoided.

Mr. Baker's recommendation has been adopted, and a project is now being prepared for improving the canals, including lining some of the main channels with masonry, at a probable cost of Rs. 3,00,000. Experiments made by the officer at present in charge of the Dún canals, have proved that the loss of water by percolation and from other causes in an earthen channel, varies from 23 to 44 per cent of the water which enters at the head, while in masonry channels the loss, including evaporation, leakage at sluices, &c., is only 5 to 9 per cent.

There are 74 miles of irrigating channels in the Dún belonging to Government, and these, according to the amount entered on the capital account, have cost about Rs. 6,37,000. The area irrigated varies of course annually with the rainfall: the average for ten years, 1880-81 to 1889-90 was 14,309 acres, the area in 1885-86 having been 19,220 acres, much the largest of the series. In 1890-91 it fell to 16,984 acres. The estimated value of the crops raised as the area irrigated in 1889-90

was Rs. 6,36,834, equal to Rs. 36 per acre, or a return of 100 per cent. on the capital cost of the canals. The revenue assessed, and the charges in 1890-91, were as follow :—

		Rs.	Rs.
Revenue assessed	Water rates, &c	56,733	
	Share of land revenue	24,980	
		<hr/>	81,713
Charges	{ Maintenance	35,591	
	{ Establishment	14,849	
	{ Miscellaneous	2,009	
		<hr/>	52,449

giving a profit in direct revenue of Rs. 4,284, or in direct and indirect revenue of Rs. 29,264. Of the direct revenue, Rs. 17,729 were derived from lease of water power,—the flour mills. The total amount of water received at the heads of the canals was 159 cubic feet a second : the revenue per foot of discharge was, therefore, Rs. 111-8-0. The following statement gives the Revenue, Expenditure and Profit for the three years, to 1890-91 :—

	1888-89.	1889 90	1890 91.
	Rs	Rs	Rs.
Direct revenue realised	57,528	57,597	59,906
Indirect do. (share of land revenue) ...	24,980	24,980	24,980
Total revenue	82,508	82,577	84,886
Total Working Expenses	37,085	46,206	52,449
Net revenue from direct sources	20,443	11,391	7,457
Do. do direct and indirect	45,423	36,371	32,437
Capital account	6,37,904	6,36,834	6,36,834
Percentage on Capital of net direct revenue	3 20	1 79	1 17
Percentage on Capital of total revenue ..	7 12	5 71	5 09

It appears from the above that the revenue has been pretty steady, and that no additions have been made to Capital Account, all improvements must therefore have been charged to revenue. In 1890-91 a new syphon culvert was built, and a new mill. The total receipts to end of 1890-91 from the canals (including, I presume, share of land revenue) had been Rs. 20,18,270, and the total charges Rs. 11,29,037. The total profit to Government has therefore been Rs 8,89,233.

The area of the various crops irrigated in 1890-91 were :-

Nature of Crop.	Description of Crop.	Area in acres.	Percentage of whole.
Annual.	Sugarcane. ...	971	5.72
<i>Kharif</i> (rainy season) ...	Rice ...	6,269	36.91
	Garden ...	387	2.28
	Miscellaneous ..	429	2.52
	Total ...	7,085	41.71
<i>Rabi</i> (dry season) ...	Wheat ...	6,245	36.77
	Barley ...	477	2.81
	Gram ...	75	.44
	Gardens ...	898	5.29
	Miscellaneous ..	1,233	7.26
	Total ..	8,928	52.57
Total for whole year...		16,984	100.00

The canals ran, in 1890-91, for 176 days in the *kharif*, or hot and rainy season, and 171 days in the *rabi*, or cold and dry season. The average supply was 151 c.ft. a second in the *kharif*, and 167 c. ft. in the *rabi* season,—average for the two seasons, 159 c. ft. The area irrigated per cubic foot of water in the *kharif* season was 53 acres, and 54 acres in the *rabi*, total 107 acres.—50 acres of rice, or 100 acres of sugarcane, or 200 acres of *rabi*, is a common estimate of the "duty" of water. In Bengal 1 cubic foot per second is allowed to every 133 acres under cultivation. The details of work done, and revenue received, for each canal in the Dún, are given in the following table :—

Names of Canal.	Average supply in c. ft per second.	Area irrigated, per c. ft per second.	Occupiers rate per c. ft. per second	Receipts from water power per c. ft. per second.	Miscellaneous receipts per c. ft per second	Total Revenue per c. ft. per second.
		Acres	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Kathar Pattar ...	52.0	95	144	20	37	201
Bijapur ...	37.6	139	301	146	34	481
Rajpur ...	10.5	233	525	849	161	1,535
Kalanga (or Raipur)	41.7	73	145	41	14	200
Jakhan ...	20.0	64	87	30	23	140

The cost of maintenance per mile was Rs. 34 on the Kathar Pattar Canal, Rs. 32 on the Bijapur, Rs. 26 on the Rajpur, Rs. 20 on the Kalanga, and Rs. 22 on the Jakhan. The high revenue derived from the Rajpur Canal is due to its irrigating more garden land than the other canals do; and also because the mills along its course let for comparatively high rents owing to its proximity to the towns of Dehra and Rajpur. A wonderful area of sugarcane also is watered by this canal in the lower part of its course, considering the small quantity of water it brings down; and more water is taken from it for building purposes, and for brick-making, than from the other canals. The area irrigated in each of the two Dún parganas was as follows:—

Name of Pargana.	Area irrigated.			Double cropped area.	Net area irrigated.	No. of village.	No. of outlets.
	Kharif.	Rabi.	Total.				
Eastern Dún ..	2,106	2,232	4,338	1,661	2,677	49	112
Western Dún ..	5,949	6,607	12,646	5,212	7,434	106	227
Total ..	8,055	8,829	16,884	6,873	10,111	155	339

The water rates levied for irrigation from the Dún canals at the time of the last Settlement, and which were of course taken into account in framing it, were as follows:—

CROPS.	Bijapur Canal.	Rajpur Kathar-Pattar and Kalanga Canals.	Jakhan Canal.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
I. Sugarcane	5 0 0 a year	5 0 0 a year	5 0 0 a year.
II. Garden Produce 1st Class Rice, Tobacco and Cotton.	3 0 0 season	3 0 0 season	2 4 0 season.
III. Indigo and Cotton ..	2 4 0 "	2 4 0 "	2 4 0 "
IV. Second Class Rice, Wheat, Oats, and all other inferior crops	1 4 0 "	0 12 0 "	0 12 0 "
V. Tea (special.)	0 12 0 for each watering.	0 12 0 for each watering.	0 12 0 for each watering.

As a Scotsman, I feel bound to protest against oats being put in the second class of crops: I was raised and brought up on oats, and am still a regular consumer of the grain; and to this fact I attribute my ability, in my old age, to be able to contribute to the *Calcutta Review*. But I regret to say the oats I eat are not grown in the Dún; and I hesitate to advocate oats being more heavily rated by the irrigation authorities, lest, unhappily, that should set up a

barrier to improvement in the cultivation of that crop in the Dún. A considerable area of oats is cultivated near Dehra, and the produce is chiefly consumed by the Viceregal horses, Bodyguard, and private. Part also is cut green for cattle fodder. The grain both here and in Behar, where I used to see oat crops, looks very small and lean, compared with Scottish oats; but I should think it not impossible that, if the Viceroy were to draw the attention of the Revenue and Agricultural Department to the subject, not only might his horses get a larger proportion of grain to husk, but the human oat-eaters of India might get their porridge cheaper. In Behar the planters have mills which can produce oat-meal; but I have not met with such machinery in the Dún, and am obliged to buy Scotch meal in tins, which is expensive feeding. I feel sure that, with selection of seed and soil, better oats than one now sees could be grown in India, and I am ready to make the experiment, at Government, or any other person's expense. I do not know why indigo is mentioned in the schedule of rates, unless to discourage attempts to grow it, for though it has been tried, it is never now grown in the Dún. Tea is put down, I suppose because water is required for young plants in nurseries: I have already mentioned that tea, as a crop, is not irrigated.

Of late the water-rates on land irrigated from the Dún canals have varied, but since 1st October 1892 they have been fixed as follow, the rate on "superior" crops having been raised one rupee an acre. Oats are still treated leniently. Apparently the rates are now the same on all the canals.

Crops.	Rate per acre.	Period.
	Rs. As. P.	
I.—Sugar Cane	6 0 0	A year.
Garden produce	6 0 0	A season.
II.—Good rice, tobacco and water nuts (<i>Singhara</i>)	4 0 0	"
III.—Wheat, Indigo, Cotton	2 4 0	"
IV.—Oats and inferior crops	1 4 0	"
V.—Tea	0 12 0	Each watering.

The following rates are charged for water for other than irrigation purposes :—

	Rs. A. P.
Masonry building	0 2 0 per 100 c. ft.
Making bricks	12 0 0 „ table.
Making Tiles	0 1 0 per thousand.
Pot kilns	0 2 6 „ kiln.
Metalling roads	20 0 0 „ mile.
Filling tanks	0 2 0 „ 1,000 c. ft. of water.

These enhanced water rates have not been imposed without objection being expressed. Early in 1893 a meeting of European and native landlords was held in Dehra, at which, said a correspondent of a daily paper, nearly every landlord in the district was represented. A Committee was appointed to draw up a petition to the Local Government, and it was said that this would show how the whole district would suffer if "this enormous and sudden extra charge" for canal water were made :—

"A heavy tax like this should not be imposed on the district, at any rate not until the next Settlement. One great hardship is that, had the people had any idea changes could have been made before the next Settlement, many who have bought land would not have done so, and tenants would not have signed long leases for their fields. There are some large plots of land on which extra land revenue is taken by Government, because during the last Settlement they were put down as irrigable, whereas in reality these plots cannot be irrigated at all, because there is not enough of water in the canal to reach them. If the Canal Department insist on taking this increased rate, hundreds of acres will be thrown out of cultivation, and the land cannot stand any more taxation; the landlords and tenants will be ruined, and the Canal Department will lose, in the long run, as less water will be used."

The following schedules of expenditure in growing, and returns derived from the chief crops in the Dún, will be found interesting, as well as useful to owners of land and intending settlers in the Dún. They have been carefully prepared, and given to me, along with other statistics, by Mr. J. H. Ivens, C. E., the Officer in charge of the canals.

Sugarcane (Paunda, the variety eaten raw, as it is cut.)

Expenditure per acre.

			Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Ploughing, 6 times at 12 annas	...	...	4	8 0
2.	Making <i>khyaris</i> (plots for irrigation) 16 men at 2 as, 6 pie	...	...	2	8 0
3.	Hoeing ground, 16 men at 2 as, 6 pie	...	...	2	8 0
4.	Manure* 8 cart loads at 12 as.	...	...	6	0 0
5.	"Seed" (cuttings) 100 <i>mds.</i> at 5 <i>mds.</i> per rupee	...	...	20	0 0
6.	Sowing (planting) 20 men at 2 as, 6 pie	...	...	3	2 0
7.	Weeding, &c, 20 men at 2 as, 6 pie	...	...	3	2 0
8.	Do. 60 do. do.	...	...	9	6 0
9.	Do. 20 do. do.	...	...	3	2 0
10.	Trenching, per acre, about	...	...	5	4 0
11.	Labour in irrigating, 16 men at 2 as, 6 pie	...	...	2	8 0
12.	Fencing, about	...	...	3	0 0
13.	Watching, about	...	...	8	0 0
14.	Land rent, about	...	...	19	0 0
15.	Water-rate	...	...	6	0 0
Total Expenditure			...	98	0 0

* This quantity seems very small : 45 cart loads of manure per acre is thought a fair amount to apply to Tea.

Receipts per acre.

Average sales of 6 acres of cane...	...	...	180	0	0
Average profit per acre	...	...	82	0	0
or over 83 per cent.					

Rice : Expenditure per acre.

1. Ploughing, 3 times at 12 as.	...	...	2	4	0
2. Harrowing 3 „, 1 rupee 4 as.	...	...	3	12	0
3. Making <i>Kiyaris</i> , 12 men at 2 as 6 pie	...	...	1	14	0
4. Seed 8 <i>seers</i> (about 16 lbs) at 1 anna.	...	...	0	8	0
5. Sowing	...	...	1	3	0
6. Cutting, 12 men at 2 as. 6 pie	...	...	1	14	0
7. Treading, winnowing, &c., about	...	...	1	8	0
8. Labour in irrigating, 10 men at 2 as. 6 pie	...	...	1	9	0
9. Land rent, about	...	...	14	8	0
10. Water-rate	...	...	4	0	0
Total Expenditure	...	...	33	0	0

Receipts.

Straw ... 48 <i>mds.</i> at 6 per rupee	...	...	8	0	0
Grain ... 24 „ at 20 <i>seers</i> per rupee	...	...	48	0	0
Total receipts	...	...	56	0	0
Profit per acre	...	...	23	0	0
or about 69·7 per cent.					

Wheat : Expenditure per acre.

1. Ploughing, 8 times at 12 as.	...	...	6	0	0
2. Seed, 42 <i>seers</i> at 14 per rupee	...	...	3	0	0
3. Labour in irrigating, 4 men at 2 as. 6 pie	...	...	0	10	0
4. Cutting do. do. 12 do. do.	...	...	1	14	0
5. Treading, winnowing, &c., about	...	...	4	4	0
6. Land rent, about	...	...	5	0	0
7. Water-rate	...	...	2	4	0
Total Expenditure	...	...	23	0	0

Receipts.

Straw .. 24 <i>mds.</i> at 3 per rupee	...	...	8	0	0
Grain ... 12 do. 16 do.	...	...	30	0	0
Total receipts	...	...	38	0	0
Profit per acre	...	...	15	0	0

or 65·21 per cent.

It will be observed that the enhanced water rate is only 6·12 per cent. of the total expenditure in cultivating the *paunda* variety of sugarcane, whereas it is 12·12 per cent. on the expenditure on rice, and 9·78 on wheat, the profit on the cultivation of those crops being, respectively, 83, 69·7 and 65·21 per cent. The revised water rates seem therefore to be somewhat disproportionately assessed : rice pays nearly twice as much in

proportion to the expenditure as does sugarcane, and nearly one-third more than does wheat. The water rate paid for rice is 17·39 per cent. on the profit derived from cultivating it, while the percentage on the profit from wheat is 9·78 per cent. and on that from sugarcane, only 6·12 per cent.

The complaint of the landlords that they and their tenants will be ruined by the enhanced water rates seems, however, hardly to be justified. An increase of one rupee, on Rs. 97, the former cost per acre of cultivating sugarcane, which still yields 83 per cent. profit, or even of one rupee, on Rs. 32, the former cost for rice, which still yields a profit of 69·7 per cent., will hardly throw land out of cultivation. Part of the complaint is, that there is not enough water in the canals to reach some of the land commanded. If the enhanced rates enable the canal authorities to stop the present waste by percolation, and thus to send the water farther on, both landlords and tenants will shortly be benefited. Hitherto no capital account has been kept for the Dún Canals, they being classified as a "Minor Work"; but I believe such an account is now to be opened.

C. W. HOPE. .

THE QUARTER.

THE Commission appointed to inquire into the question of trial by jury in Bengal sent in its report towards the latter end of March, on the 28th of which month it was published. In addition to recommending the withdrawal of Sir Charles Elliott's notification, the Commission advised the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code, a slight alteration in which would compel every Sessions Judge, whenever he disagreed with the jury's verdict, to submit it to the High Court with a view to that tribunal setting aside the verdict, if this were required, in the interests of justice. Indeed, it was the Lieutenant-Governor himself who recommended the appointment of such a Commission, and its report was accepted in the same frank spirit by both the local administration and by Lord Landsdowne, the first issue of the *Calcutta Gazette* revoking the obnoxious Notification of 20th October 1892. More recently it has been withdrawn in Assam also.

The Madras and Bombay Armies Bill, the main object of which, as our readers are aware, was to place the armies of those Presidencies under the direct control of the Commander-in-Chief in India, came to a second reading in the House of Lords on the 4th May last. Lord Kimberley, in moving that the Bill be read a second time, pointed out that the facts of the situation required that the army should be capable not only of dealing with the internal affairs of the country, but also of defending it, if necessary, from foreign aggression, a contingency which had become less remote as our Indian Empire approached more nearly the frontiers of a Great European power. Lord Cross touched on the great difference of opinion involved in the questions which the Bill raised, both from the political and military points of view. The new school of officers, whose attention was specially directed to the defence of the North-Western frontier, held that for purposes of defence against a foreign foe, it was necessary to have the whole of the Indian army concentrated under one head. As the Bill, however, was brought in on the responsibility of the Government, he hoped it would be carried into effect with the least possible delay. The Duke of Cambridge, the Earl of Northbrook and the Marquis of Ripon also spoke; but there was no serious opposition to the Bill, except as to one provision, *viz*, the exclusion of local Commanders-in-Chief from the Councils. Lord Kimberley however, said that such exclusion was not a cardinal point of the Bill. The debate

concluded with the maiden speech of the Duke of Connaught, who contended warmly that the Commanders-in-Chief of Bombay and Madras should retain their seats on the Councils, as otherwise they would lose prestige in the eyes of the sepoy, who now takes a deep interest in such matters. As was expected, when the Bill subsequently passed through Committee on the 17th May, it passed with an amendment by Lord Cross, enabling the Commanders-in-Chief of Madras and Bombay to become members of the local Legislative Councils.

The Lieutenant-Governor has appointed the following gentlemen to be members of the Bengal Legislative Council:—Mr. D. R. Lyall, C.S.I. Member of the Board of Revenue; Mr. J. A. Boudillon, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Financial and Municipal Departments; Moulvi Abdul Jubbar Khan Bahadoor Officiating Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta; Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee; Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose; Maharaja Sir Luchmessur Singh, Bahadoor; K.C.I.E., of Durbhanga; Maulvi Seraj-ul-Islam Khan, Bahadoor, Mr. Patnick Playfair; Mr. Womesh Chunder Bannerjee and Mr. John Gilham Womack.

The debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill was resumed in Parliament on the 10th April last. Mr. Chamberlain held the ear of the house in a speech of masterly lucidity while replying to Mr. Gladstone's line of argument in moving the second reading. He pointed out that, according to Mr. Gladstone's own admission, it lay on the authors of the Bill to show that it would produce the effect claimed. For a settlement of the Irish Question on the basis of a "union of hearts," the first condition must be the contentment of the people, yet Mr. Gladstone ignored the minority which represented the propertied classes. He asked if the financial proposals would be accepted as a final settlement. On the proposed basis, Ireland would pay to Great Britain $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling in peace, and in time of war $2\frac{1}{2}$ million, less than was equitable. That did not look well for the "union of hearts." We are to be fined £2,500,000 a year to settle the Irish controversy, and the Irish are from the first requiring us to sacrifice £2,500,000 more. The only free revenue proposed to be left in the hands of the Irish executive was income tax and stamps. The former, if imposed harshly, would drive trade from the land. The only other source of taxation was the land, which was in the hands of small landowners, whom the Irish Government would not feel happy in taxing largely. In the course of his speech Mr. Chamberlain alluded to Mr. Gladstone's accusation against the Irish members, of preaching the "gospel of plunder." Mr. Gladstone, interrupting, denied that his charge was against the Irish people, having been intended for Mr.

Parnell when working to destroy the efficacy of the Land Act Mr. J. M. McCarthy could not say that the Nationalist members were satisfied with the financial clauses, which, however, would be considered in committee. On April 11th, Mr. Chamberlain in a personal explanation, quoting from Mr. Gladstone's Leeds speech of 1881, and a later speech, showed that, when the Prime Minister spoke of the gospel of plunder and of "marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the empire," he was not speaking of Mr. Parnell alone, but of a "small body of men." The occasion was of peculiar interest, for it afforded Mr. Gladstone an opportunity of explaining words that have often been quoted against him, and what was the explanation now vouchsafed? The attempt to link them with Mr. Parnell alone having failed, he explained further that "he had referred solely to Mr. Parnell and some of his followers of the Land League," declining to identify individuals in the House. On the debate on the Home Rule Bill being called, members rushed out of the house, and not a minister was left on the Treasury Bench, but Mr. Gladstone, who sat for a few minutes and then departed. Sir E. Ashmead Bartlett completed his speech of the previous night, and Mr. Davitt followed with a maiden speech. Mr. T. W. Russell then spoke, demonstrating the impossibility of trusting the men who had officered and manned the Land League, organized the plan of campaign, invented boycotting, and failed to lift up their voices against crime. The debate closed at midnight with a very thin house.

The debate of the 12th presented no new or striking features. On the 20th Mr. Sexton resumed the debate. Regarding the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, he said that, while the Imperial Parliament reserved to itself legislation on the land question and others of the gravest topics, the power of the Irish members to share in the legislation should remain undiminished. He traversed Mr. Chamberlain's statement of the financial loss to Great Britain, and contended that Ireland's contribution would be increased by substantially £500,000 a year. Mr. Carson remarked that those who looked for a final settlement had but slender confidence in the present Bill. Its safeguards were absolutely illusory. Colonel Saunderson did not trust the Nationalist population of Ireland. At the late general election, in spite of the ballot, 71 Irish members had been returned through the action of the Roman Catholic priests. Consequently the issue to be decided was, whether they could trust the Roman Catholic clergy on the one hand or the Parnellites, the hill-side men and the Fenians on the other. To the loyal minority the Bill was an enactment of penal laws. It would strike at the very foundation of prosperity and of the constitution of the empire. Mr. Napier spoke against the Bill until midnight, when the debate was adjourned.

On the 21st Sir H. James said that the most important question this discussion had reference to was, the character of the men to whom the Government of Ireland was to be confided—, how were the Nationalist members, who had been *de facto* rulers of Ireland for 11 or 12 years, *i. e.* during the existence of the Land League, likely to act in the future? The passing of the Bill was equivalent to the repeal of the Union, and the epitaph of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was written in the preamble. The position, too, of the Irish representatives to be left at Westminster had never yet received consideration in the country. If the constituencies had been told that 103 or 80 Irish members were to take part in the discussion of British affairs, while the representatives of Great Britain were to be excluded from all share in the Government of Ireland, the Prime Minister and his colleagues would not now be sitting on the Treasury Bench. Several then spoke for or against the second reading, after which Mr. Balfour rose. He alluded to the alleged failure of coercion and the alleged failure of the Union. Coercion, when firmly and courageously applied, had not proved ineffectual; and as regards the Union, before it the tenant farmers were half-clad, less than half-fed, and not educated at all. England had often played a sorry part; but had not always been the villain of the piece. All law and civilization in Ireland was the work of England, as well as its imperfect unity and the Parliament which Ireland desired to have restored. By the very nature of the case the Bill was but a compromise, and when people built a house they did not expect it to tumble down after a month. If it passed, all hope of a peaceful and united Ireland would perish for ever.

Mr. Gladstone then spoke, admitting the financial difficulties, which however should not terrify us. Our supremacy would, for the first time in 90 years, be founded on right, as well as backed by power. But for the Land League, the Act of 1881 would not now be on the statute book. The Bill would close a controversy of 700 years. We had given free institutions to people of our own race throughout the world, and they had always succeeded. Mr. Morley shortly after moved the closure.

On the 8th May the House went into Committee on the Bill. In connexion with clause I, which proposes to establish a Legislature in Ireland, an amendment intended to secure the supreme power and authority of Parliament in all matters, was lost, as was in fact every amendment proposed on that day, which was sufficiently lively for a beginning. On the next day, several amendments were ruled out of order, and amidst personal squabbles and unparliamentary language,

the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster and the subordinate character of the proposed Legislature were discussed—every amendment being defeated. It is quite needless to follow the wrangling day after day. Suffice it to say that, with the amendments on each of the 36 clauses, there will, it is anticipated, be not less than 400 divisions, and it may be months before the Bill gets through the Committee stage. Clause II was reached on the 12th May and the debate on that clause resumed on the 16th. After warm discussion Sir H. James's amendment, that the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom should remain unaffected, was agreed to. Further progress on the Home Rule Bill was then deferred till the 30th May, when the third clause, as to exceptions from the powers of the Irish legislature, would be proceeded with. We learn by the telegraph that 90 amendments await discussion in connection with that clause alone.

On Wednesday, the 10th May, took place the opening of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington, to commemorate the Jubilee of Victoria *Regina et Imperatrix*. The London dailies, especially the *Daily Telegraph*, are full of word painting to describe the gorgeousness of the scene; and the illustrated papers attempt faintly to represent to the eye the splendour and variety of the assemblage on an occasion which can properly occur but once in fifty years. We are restricted to the briefest possible allusion to what took place. From 9 o'clock in the morning, "all Suburbia seemed passing along the route from trains and trams and omnibuses." The arrival of the troops meant not only the Horse Guards Blue on their black steeds, but Lancers from New South Wales in their picturesque felt-hats of Tyrolean shape, with cock's feathers at the side. Then came a series of processions led by a carriage containing the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Princess May and the Duchess of Teck, and there was no mistaking the honest warmth of the English cheer which greeted this carriage. The centre of attraction, however, was the Queen herself. A solitary horseman, "brave in gold and scarlet," led the van. Then came a detachment of household cavalry, followed by carriages containing equerries, Maids of Honour and others holding high place in the Queen's household. Behind these came the Australian Lancers; then the Indian troops, turbaned warriors, with scimitars drawn, like a scene from the Arabian nights. Close behind these came the six cream-coloured horses magnificently caparisoned, their manes decorated with ribbons of Imperial purple, and their golden trappings reflecting the sun. The sovereign of the Empire bows her acknowledgements to a welcome of whose

depth and enthusiasm there can be no doubt. Outside the Institute were drawn up the Guards of Honour from the Coldstreams, the Royal Marine, and the Royal Navy. To the left of the entrance were Grenadiers and Lancers. The Yeomen of the Guard were also present. A steady stream of well-appointed carriages brought Field Officers, Admirals, Cabinet Ministers and Ambassadors. Time would fail to record more in detail the successive steps in this mighty gathering. We must not, however, omit the Lord Mayor and Her Majesty's Judges, and the representative of the Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Her Majesty's advance up the Hall was heralded by a fanfare of trumpets, and the orchestra bursting forth with the National Anthem. When the Queen reached the Dais and seated herself in the Chair of State, the Prince of Wales, as President of the Institute, read the address to Her Majesty. The address alluded to Her Majesty laying the foundation-stone of the building on the fiftieth anniversary of her accession to the throne, when the idea of the Institute was conceived as "a tribute of love and loyalty." It is looked forward to as "an enduring emblem of the unity of the Empire, and of the common bond of loyalty and affection which make its people one. The varied products and the vast capabilities and resources of the many countries of which the British Empire consists will be here illustrated." It also pointed out how this would enable one part of the Empire to understand every other part, and for this object a Department of Commercial Intelligence had been established to record the developments of the British dominions and disseminate information on that subject. Not the least of the objects contemplated was the facilities it would afford for social intercourse, and the stimulus it would impart to enterprise and technical knowledge.

The Queen returned a suitable reply.

From a practical point of view, the most striking feature in the Institute is its tendency to preserve the common citizenship. In a commercial aspect it cannot but be useful to the Colonies and Dependencies as a Museum of products and new inventions, giving them an advertisement in the simplest and most effective manner. Nor can we overlook the view afforded of England's resources in time of war. The Australian Cavalry and the Canadian Artillery, as well as the troops from India, give a glimpse of the material on which she could rely.

The *Spectator* points out the irony with which the Fates might regard the contrariety between the pageant at South Kensington "intended to knit closer the lands peopled or held

by the English," and the spectacle at Westminster of Parliament "busy destroying the web of Empire by cutting one of the essential threads of the fabric." Perhaps it was some such feeling which induced Mr. Gladstone to excuse himself from being present at the opening of the Institute. In any case it may account for the uncivil reception which he met with when he did appear there on the 17th. The contrast between the objects of the Institute and the aims of the author of Home Rule was too overwhelming. Let us, however, do justice to its venerable author. We are bound to credit him with sincerity, and, therefore, with a true desire to maintain the unity of the Empire which to him appears best secured by "the union of hearts," however vainly he may be seeking to reach that method. It must be regretted that, considering the occasion, and that Mr. Gladstone was present as a guest of the Prince of Wales, so gross a piece of indecorum was perpetrated.

The report of Lord Herschell's Committee was signed on the 31st May. It was not to be acted upon by the Secretary of State for India, or laid before Parliament, until the views of the Government of India had been ascertained. A telegraphic communication was made to that Government to be followed by a despatch containing a summary of the Committee's recommendations. As to these it were wisest to indulge in no guessing, though the feeling has got abroad, that remedial measures for the improvement of the value of the rupee have been recommended.

On the night of Tuesday, the 11th April last, an atrocious murder, supposed to be the work of dacoits, took place in the Baladhun Bungalow in the Cachar District. Mr. Cockburn, the Manager, was found, the following morning, with his head nearly cut off, lying across the doorstep. It is supposed that the dacoits stole up to the back verandah and killed the chowkidar while he was asleep, and that Mr. Cockburn, awakened by the noise, went out to see what was the matter and was attacked by the gang. He had two severe cuts from a *dhalao*, which must have caused immediate death. Although urgent telegrams were sent to Silchar early on Wednesday morning, the Police officer did not arrive till 24 hours later. The planters of Cachar held an indignation meeting, at which they passed resolutions strongly condemnatory of the apathy of the Police, notwithstanding that dacoities have been frequent, and Cachar swarms with bad characters. It has certainly taken a long time to track the real murderers in this case. The last thing reported in the matter is, that an Inspector of Police from Sylhet thinks he has found a clue, and that it was the work of a Ghoorka, late of the Munipooree army, employed by Mr. Cockburn as a garden building contractor. He

had built a house which Mr. Cockburn pulled down, and had been heard to utter threats against the Saheb. He and his employees disappeared after the murder.

On the 6th May the telegraph informed us of the Colonial Bank of Australia suspending payment. A panic-wave started at Melbourne, rolled onward through New South Wales to Queensland, overwhelming strong Banking establishments which had been deemed immovable. In a little more than three months, thirteen Banks have suspended payment, their liabilities reaching over sixty-eight millions sterling, and the supply of current money depends on a few solvent institutions. To relieve the situation, the Governments of both Queensland and New South Wales proclaimed bank notes to be legal tender within their respective colonies. Large purchases of Australian stock by London Companies have had an excellent effect, and the Governor of the Bank of England, at a Lord Mayor's banquet, declared that he did not despair of the Australian banking system as a failure.

The defeat of the German Army Bill in the Reichstag is believed to increase, though perhaps slightly, the probability of war. That the increase it proposed to the strength of the army was necessary, will be inferred from the fact that the Military experts suggested it; and the present may be regarded by her enemies as the hour of Germany's weakness. Yet the people both have confidence in the army, and have become so familiar with the spectre of invasion, as to be little moved by it. The Government of Germany, however, although weakened by the defeat, is not a Parliamentary Government, but, as has been well observed, a Government "governing with the assistance of Parliament," and is not in the position in which an English Government would be, if it sustained a defeat amounting to a vote of want of confidence. The Opposition has not, as in England, the materials for a fresh government. It does not constitute a permanent majority; but has obtained a majority by uniting various parties, Liberals, Radicals, Social democrats, Catholics and independents. Its hope is, not to obtain power, but to compel the Emperor to chose a successor to Count Caprivi. Immediately on the amendment by Baron Von Huene being lost, Count Caprivi rose and read an Imperial message, dissolving the Reichstag.

An Imperial order has since been officially published, fixing June 15th as the date for the elections to the new Reichstag, which will probably be convened on the 26th or 27th. The electoral campaign is being commenced without delay. The Emperor has lost no time in publicly expressing his personal views on the rejection of the Army Bills; having relied implicitly on the patriotism of the Imperial Diet to pass them, he was deeply

disappointed. At a Spring inspection of the army he said that, if the new Reichstag refused to pass the Bills, he would not even then give up the idea of their becoming law. "I am determined to use every means in my power to achieve my purpose, for I am convinced that the Bills are necessary for the maintenance of the general peace."

On the 1st of May, President Cleveland opened the World's Fair at Chicago, in the State of Illinois, on the shores of Lake Michigan. At 9 A. M. a procession started from the Lexington Hotel, consisting of an escort of mounted police, two companies of United States Cavalry, a detachment of the Chicago Hussars in gorgeous uniforms, and Troop A of the Illinois National Guard. Then followed, in the first carriage, the President of the United States, the Vice-President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury, and in other carriages the Secretaries of different departments, the Ambassador designate to the Court of St. James and the Duke of Veragua, the President of the Exhibition with his party. The Duchess was escorted by Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mr. Dickens. The procession of officials was completed by the Governor of Illinois and the Mayor of Chicago. The cheering along the route is said to have been tremendous, and the reception of the Duchess enthusiastic, bouquets of flowers being thrown into her carriage. Near the entrance were Arabs, Singhalese and other Asiatics, who saluted the procession in Oriental style. A special stand in the centre of the platform was erected for the President, Vice-President, the Duke of Veragua and the higher officials of the Exhibition. Immediately behind were seated the foreign diplomatic representatives, the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, the State Governors and other distinguished guests. 300 pressmen represented the newspapers of the entire world. Time would fail to detail the foreign representatives. As the company took their places, a band of 600 performers played the Columbian March and Hymn, and then Mr. Milburn, Chaplain to the Senate, offered prayer, after which Miss Jessie Gouthoi, read a poem based on the incidents of Colombo's voyage. It was called "The Prophecy," and was composed by Mr. Croffut, a journalist. This was received with much applause. After the overture to "Rienzi," the Director General of the Exposition, Mr. Davis, gave an address reviewing the efforts made to complete the work, which cost over 100 million dollars.

President Cleveland then rose amid "a tornado of cheers" and spoke congratulating his fellow citizens on the stupendous results of American enterprise, skill and intelligence, asking the older nations no allowance on the score of youth. "We have built these splendid edifices, but we have also built

the magnificent fabric of a popular government whose grand proportions are seen throughout the world." As in duty bound, he referred to the exhibition as exemplifying "in the noblest sense the brotherhood of nations," as the "meaning that underlies this ceremony." It is to be hoped that this meaning will be more practically set forth than heretofore within the congeries of nationalities making up the States themselves. As the President ended, he pressed a button which started all the vast machinery in the exhibition. There arose immediately from all sides the triumphant strains of the Hallelujah Chorus, in which people and orchestra united. The electric fountains in the lagoons began to play, and torrents of water rushed from the great McMonnies fountain, while the artillery thundered salutes, and the chimes in adjacent buildings rang merry peals. The gilded models of the Columbian caravels were suddenly disclosed, and the flags of all nations were unfurled on all the buildings of the exhibition. It was a transformation scene, and the band played the National Anthem.

Of course a grand lunch followed, and lastly the Women's Building was dedicated by the performance of a grand march and a dramatic overture. Addresses were delivered by the Duchess of Veragua on behalf of Spain, and by other ladies on behalf of other countries.

June 12th 1893.

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SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1891-92

SINCE the Bengal Educational Machine is run with more regard to business considerations than culture, and does not care for results that cannot be figured in columns and made to present a balance sheet acceptable to accountants and statistic-mongers, we cannot do better for the Report before us than help the circulation of its advertisements of progress by playing echo to its poems in praise of numbers, and retailing the information, that during the year under report, there was an increase in the numbers of pupils under instruction, from 1 336,886 to 1,392,371 in public institutions, and from 132,057 to 139,594 in private or indigenous institutions: total 1,468 943 to 1,531,965. At the same time the aggregate number of public institutions has risen from 52,563 to 53,956, while private or indigenous institutions are 13,868 instead of 13,387: total 65,950 in 1890-91 and 67,824 in 1891-92. Among the schools classed as "public institutions" which adopt departmental standards, the number supported or aided by public funds has risen from 43,670 to 43,972, and that of the unaided schools from 8,893 to 9,984. In the various classes of institutions there were the "usual" fluctuations; but we note, not without satisfaction, that the number of pupils in receipt of university and secondary education diminished, while primary education attracted more students than before. Not only, we are told, has the decline in the number of lower primary schools, which had been continuous for four years, been arrested, but the rebound has carried the figures nearly up to the highest strength previously attained.

Better still, female schools increased in number from 2,270 to 2,743, and their pupils from 49,638 to 57,801. It is pleasant, too, to read that Arabic and Persian schools recovered to a slight extent their losses previously recorded, whereas elementary Koran schools, which declined in 1890-91, more than regained their strength in 1889-90. In last year's Report attention was invited to the fact that, whereas the number of male and female children of school-going age had increased in ten years by between 6 and 7 per cent., the number of boys at school had advanced by 54 per cent. and of girls under instruction by 166 per cent. From further calculations on the revised figures of the late census, it appears that, of the children of a school-going age, 26·2 of the boys and 1·7 of the girls are at school. Education in Bengal has, therefore, it is

thought, a large field for the extension of its operations, especially among the lower classes. The total expenditure on education in Bengal, including all disbursements from public and private sources, such as the fees and contributions paid to the University and in all public schools and colleges, amounted to Rs. 93,52,000, as compared with Rs. 85,74,000 in the preceding year, an increase of Rs. 7,78,000. The expenditure from Provincial revenues rose from Rs. 22,26,000 to Rs. 24,06,000, an increase of Rs. 2,70,000; and that from all public sources, including district and municipal funds, rose from Rs. 32,67,000 to Rs. 36,29,000, *i.e.*, by Rs. 3,62,000. The private expenditure rose from Rs. 53,07,000 to Rs. 57,23,000. Collegiate education cost more by Rs. 45,000, secondary education by Rs. 1,78,000 (due to the re-inclusion of the figures for unaided secondary schools for Europeans and Eurasians), primary education by Rs. 1,66,000, and female education by Rs. 1,06,000, chiefly from private sources. Under the last two heads district funds contributed Rs. 45,000 more than last year, and municipal funds Rs. 5,000 more. Sir Charles Elliott deems it very unsatisfactory to find that, while municipal funds contributed Rs. 46,000 (though less than last year) on secondary education, so small a sum as Rs. 17,000 was spent from the same source on primary education. By the way, the construction of a new building in Calcutta for the Government School of Art added largely to the sum spent on buildings. In some good time coming educationalists will arrive at the knowledge, that Bengalis have no affinities of any sort with Art, will comprehend that Nature is stronger than an alien æstheticism, and will waste public money on no more fads.

When Sir Charles Elliott gets hold of a bone to worry, he hangs on to it tenaciously. He would, it appears, have been glad to receive from the Director a fuller account of the share taken by the District Boards throughout the Province in the work of education, because, as they constitute a link of the chain of Government in this respect, it is important that their services should be properly utilised and their co-operation sought for by the Chairmen of the Boards. Mr. Tawney is accordingly glad to be able to report that the Boards have gradually learned, during the last six years, to work in harmony with the Department of Public Instruction for the advancement of education. So far, too, as the District Boards have been mentioned, the notices of them are generally satisfactory. But the few District Committees still existing appear to meet very seldom for the transaction of business.

The number of colleges stands at 34, the same as last

year, divided into—Government 11, municipal 1, aided 7, and unaided 15. The students on the lists are returned as 5,225, instead of 5,232 last year, a variation of no significance. The aided colleges have, taken together, lost 81 students. The Government colleges show an increase of 16 students. The Midnapore college had 46, instead of 50 youths under instruction. In such instances we venture to think stagnation better than advance; prevention more to be desired than cure.

It is satisfactory to find that more than half the candidates sent up from Bengal colleges failed in Philosophy. When Bengali students come to understand that philosophy cannot be learnt by rote, something will have been gained. The explanation offered is that the students read notes and abstracts, instead of the works prescribed by the University. Opinion is advanced that, since the great reaction which followed the severe pluckings of 1889, the tendency has been for the Entrance examination to grow harder, the First Arts to grow easier, and the examinations for B.A. B.L. and M.A. to grow harder. The Lieutenant-Governor, in the Resolution on the report for 1890-91, expressed his opinion that efforts should be made to secure uniformity of standard, and that this could be attained only by continuity in the examining body. He is not aware whether the Director addressed the University authorities on this subject, or whether any notice has been taken of his remarks, but he trusts that the matter will not be forgotten. It seems to him that, while it is proper that examinations for University degrees should be so severe as to make those degrees genuine titles of honour, it is not judicious, or in accordance with general policy elsewhere, to oppose many difficulties in the way of those who desire to matriculate; and in a minor degree the same may be said of the First Arts examination. He regrets that no reference has been made, as should have been done, to the disgraceful theft of Entrance examination papers from the custody of the Principal of the Patna College, and the extent, if any, to which the pupils were implicated; the final report in the case has not yet been received by Government.

The number of candidates who took up the A or Literature course has risen this year from 667 to 967, whereas the students of the B or Science course are more numerous by 182 to 140. The increase in the former case has been 45 per cent.; in the latter, 30: thus showing the greater popularity of the A course. On the other hand, the percentage of success is 20 in the A course, and 46 in the B course. Mr. Tawney adheres to Sir A. Croft's view, that the usual preference of the best students for the Science course has again mani-

fested itself : he adverts to the fact that, of the 52 holders of senior scholarships, 22 have chosen the A course and 29 the B course. His conclusion is that, as a general rule, serious students are apt to prefer the B course, but he admits that some diligent students have a marked preference for the literary course, arising from the natural bias of their minds. The Lieutenant-Governor does not feel quite satisfied that the best students embark on the Science course for the sake of Science, and not because it is the easiest course in which to obtain a degree ; if this were not the case, and if students took up the Science course for the love of the study, it is probable that they would pursue it after they leave the University ; but it is notorious that this is very rarely the case.

With regard to secondary education the high English schools have increased in number from 351 to 356, but the number of pupils is practically unaltered, being 75,300 against 75,587. At the University Entrance Examination 1,643 boys passed, as compared with 1,710 in 1891, and 2,156 in 1890, the percentage of success being 40 instead of 42 and 50 respectively. Thus the tide of success of these schools has continued to ebb. The failures are partly attributed to the want of preparation of the candidates, and partly to a specially difficult paper in English ; but History and Geography proved more generally fatal than English. Mr. Tawney states his belief that there is a natural aversion to historical studies in the Indian mind ; and this opinion is certainly supported by the fact that works of history are but rarely produced in this country, and little aptitude is shown by Indian students for research and the verification of facts.

The results of the middle English and middle Vernacular scholarship examinations were inferior to those of the preceding year. It is said that the candidates in the middle English are generally more successful than those in the latter examination, although the course of studies is harder ; the Lieutenant-Governor has read this statement with some surprise, as the standard of English attained in the former is not very satisfactory. Orders have been issued during the year for the encouragement of drawing in schools, but the scheme cannot be brought into full operation until the supply of teachers available is considerably augmented. At the last Entrance examination 141 candidates took up drawing, of whom only 9 passed : it is presumed that the effect of the teaching of the newly-appointed drawing masters at the training and other schools had not had time to be felt.

Physical training, gymnastic exercises, &c., are said to be more popular with the present generation of school boys than they were with their forbears, and in their prosecution the

Bengali boy is said to be more zealous than the Behári. Does a Bengali ever go near a gymnasium, ever touch a cricket ball, *after* he has secured a Government appointment, or other fairly sure means of livelihood? To assume that affectation of regard for manly sports involves liking for them, when it is only put on temporarily as a means towards obtaining a "post" argues, to our thinking, want of knowledge of the race and its all-absorbent worship of roopiya, paisa.

There is a healthy ring in para. 13 of Sir Charles Elliott's Resolution in the Education Report—only. Well, here is the para:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor is glad to read that discipline has markedly improved in all classes of schools (paragraph 83, and to a certain extent his own observation bears out the remark. But it shows a rather sanguine feeling when Mr. Tawney goes on to assert that 'nearly all that it is possible to effect by departmental influence is being done to improve the discipline in schools.' Sir Charles Elliott is satisfied that many of the high officials of the Department have this object sincerely at heart. But he wishes that were it generally accepted by every Principal, Professor, and Teacher in a Government college and school, that his relations to the students should not begin and end in the lecture-room, but that he should endeavour out of school hours to acquire their confidence and obtain an influence over them which should last through their lives. His Honour has observed with great pleasure how many of the staff of the Department devote themselves to joining with their boys both in athletic games and in intellectual pursuits which lie outside of the ordinary curriculum of the University, and he believes that the kindly leading and influence thus exercised does more to train up the students to be gentlemen and scholars, useful citizens, and loyal subjects of the Queen, than a wilderness of moral text-books could do."

Sir Charles Elliott believes in Boarding Houses.

Grants-in-aid of primary schools have been "better worked up to" than of yore. Its an old economical story, that supply creates demand.

The percentage of boys at primary schools to the number of boys of school-going age varies from 52 in Howrah to 8 and 7 in Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga and 6 in Purnea.

There has been a somewhat serious decline during the last three years in the standard of the results of the upper primary scholarship examination for boys, *i. e.*, candidates from upper primary schools, including private students.

The number of training schools for masters, mistresses, and gurus, again declined from 222 to 205, and the pupils similarly from 1,958 to 1,943; the cost increased at the same time from Rs. 1,13,997 to Rs. 1,16,703. It is not stated whether the Director regards the teaching staff as too strong or too costly.

An unfavourable account is given of the scheme of training gurus, which has now been in working for more than five years. Mr. Bellett, Inspector of Rajshahi Circle, considers

it a failure, and the Director admits that his argument has much force. Mr. Tawney would, however, apparently maintain the system, with a view to accelerating the elimination of the illiterate gurus by training them properly (in the third grade training schools), and in this opinion the Lieutenant-Governor concurs. At the same time he is disposed to regard the cost of these gurus as disproportionate to their value. A sufficient stimulus to improvement might be afforded if it were laid down that no one should be appointed a teacher in a lower primary school (stipendiary) unless he had passed through an upper primary school, or to an upper primary school unless he had received his education in a middle vernacular school, and so on : he wishes the Director to take these suggestions into his consideration.

It is considered worth while to draw attention to the fluctuations in the numbers of the students reading for the chief professions, as follows :—

YEAR.	Law.	Medicine.	Engineering.	Arts and industry	Other special schools	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1888-89	935	999	518	651	172	3,275
1889-90	912	1,016	652	795	611	3,986
1890-91	1,025	1,124	703	753	550	4,215
1891-92	563	1,290	661	853	559	3,926

The remarkable decrease in the number of law students is accounted for by the recent changes in the regulations for the B.L. and pleadership examinations, which require shorter periods of study than formerly. The increase in the number of medical pupils is attributable to the opening of another school of Homœopathy in Calcutta. The total cost of the Calcutta Medical College rose slightly but the average cost per pupil fell from Rs. 873 to Rs. 738. As the number of engineering students decreased, so the cost per head rose in all the institutions. The decrease at the Sibpur College is partly due to fewer admissions to the first year class, on account of the raising of the standard for admission : there were 75 applicants, and only 28 finally joined. The Lieutenant-Governor trusts that the new rules will not ultimately lead to such larger rejections and to keeping down the number of pupils. His attention has been drawn to the facts that there were only three Europeans or Eurasians in the Engineer Department, and that, though the free list for Europeans and Eurasians was full, only

11 out of the 27 reduced fee-ships were awarded in the apprentice department. There has been a continued falling off in this branch, and, as Mr Tawney rightly observes, it is a question that needs enquiry. The notices of industrial schools contained in the report are considered satisfactory, as showing that some real progress is being achieved. Some of the District Boards have done well in creating scholarships for the encouragement of higher industrial studies.

The number of Muhammadan pupils increased during the year from 415,428 to 448,847, and their ratio to the total number of youths under instruction from 28·2 to 29·2. The corresponding figures in 1890 were 433,653 and 29·06, so that the loss of last year has been more than recovered. The Lieutenant-Governor hopes that there has been no falsification of the figures, as in Dacca in 1890, when fraudulent returns were made by subordinate inspecting officers of two municipalities.

Indigenous education, amongst aboriginal tribes, &c., which declined to some extent in 1890-91, has nearly recovered the loss then recorded; the figures of the last five years are as follows :—

		1887-88.	1888-89	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.
Schools	...	10,048	11,709	13,867	13,387	13,868
Pupils	...	96,721	117,284	139,603	132,057	139,594

These schools are chiefly of importance as representing the sites which the extended operations of the department may hereafter occupy; they only indicate the existence of a large number of these schools which, it is contended, ought to die out as Government schools become more numerous and more popular.

Municipal Department. Local Self-Government. Resolution reviewing the Reports on the working of the District Boards in Bengal, during the year 1891-92

THE 38 District Boards in Bengal at the close of 1891-92 contained 790 members, including the Chairmen. Of the total number of members, 168 held their seats *ex-officio*, 313 were nominated by Government, and 309 were elected by Local Boards. The number of Europeans and Eurasians was 197, and of natives of the country 593. These figures give the following percentages as compared with those for 1890-91 :—*Ex-officio* members 21·26, as against 23·45; nominated members 39·6, as compared with 35·81; representative members elected by Local Boards 39·1 to 40·73; and Europeans and Eurasians 24·93 to 25·22. The balance of power in the Boards has therefore practically remained unchanged.

The total number of meetings held by the District Boards was 521, the average number for each District Board being 13·4,

against 12·6 last year. The largest number of meetings (24) was held by the Saran District Board; the Dinajpur and Pabna District Boards come next with 19 meetings each while Darbhanaga and Puri show 18 meetings each. The Boards which met least often were Jalpaiguri and Rajshahi, showing 8 and 9 meetings, respectively. In the following districts also the number of meetings held fell short of the prescribed number of at least one a month :—

Birbhum	... 11	Nadia	... 10	Shahabad	... 11
Hooghly	... 10	Tippera	... 10	Muzaffarpur	... 11
Rangpur	... 11	Patna	... 10	Malda	... 11

In Birbhum six meetings had to be adjourned for want of a quorum, the same difficulty occurring once in Rangpur and twice in Muzaffarpur. The Tippera District Board held no meetings in October or January, as there was no business to transact. This, the Commissioner remarks, coincides with the fact that of the three District Boards in his Division that of Tippera has by far the most of its business done for it by the Magistrate. In Malda no meeting was held during the month of July, for the same reason. In the case of the other districts no explanation has been offered why so few meetings took place.

Taking all the Boards together, the average attendance of members at each meeting was 9·61, against 9·68 in 1890-91. It was best in the following districts, where it amounted to, or exceeded one-half of the total number of members :—

Bankura,	Bogra,
Birbhum,	Pabna,
Midnapore,	Backerganj,
Howrah,	Tippera,
24 Paaganas,	Noakhali,
	Chittagong.

and bad in Murshidabad, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Cuttack, and Puri. In Jalpaiguri it was below one-third of the actual strength of the Board. No adequate reasons have been assigned for the small attendance in these districts. The Lieutenant-Governor cannot accept local apathy, bad roads, and foul weather as sufficient explanations for repeated absence.

The total number of meetings held by the Local Boards was 961, against 882 in 1890-91, being an average of nine meetings for each Local Board. Twelve Boards held more than one meeting a month, while as many as eighty-six Boards failed to meet once a month. The Local Boards which met least often were Alipore which held three, and Barrackpore, Bagirhat, Dacea, Gopalganj, Kishenganj, and Puri, which held four meetings each. The average attendance at the meetings of Local Boards was 5·15 against 5·41 in 1890-91. Various reasons, none of which taken alone appear to have much weight, have been assigned for the fewness of the meetings of these Boards

and the small attendance at them. On this subject Mr. Earle, Magistrate of Jessore, writes as follows :—

“ The inadequate attendance at the Local Boards is said to be due to the fact that no travelling allowance can be allowed to the members in respect of their attendance. In this connection it is also urged that if members were allowed such an allowance for inspecting ferries, pounds, &c, when requested to do so, much useful work might be obtained from them. I regret that I have not had sufficient experience in these matters to be able to give an opinion as to how far the granting of travelling allowance would afford a remedy, but I fear that a want of public spirit is the real cause of the evil.”

On this the Commissioner very properly remarks that—

“ The essence of Local Self-Government is that private gentlemen should give their services to the public gratuitously, and if they decline to work unless paid for it, public spirit must be at a low ebb.”

Of the entire number of members (790) in District Boards 31·5 per cent. were Government servants ; 28·9 were zamindars and talukdars ; 22·6 were pleaders and mukhtears. Of the total number of members (1,248) of Local Boards, 47·7 were zamindars, talukdars, or zamindars' servants, 23·8 were pleaders and mukhtears, and 12·5 Government servants. In the District Boards Government servants furnish the largest proportion owing greatly to the number of official Chairmen. In the Local Boards the landed interest is most largely represented, and the percentage of Government servants is very small. The proportions in each case are virtually the same as in 1890-91.

Mr. Beames, Commissioner of the Presidency Division, makes the following remarks :—

“ The local officers are not generally satisfied with the manner in which the Local Boards have worked. They all think, with the exception of the Magistrate of Khulna, that the Local Boards take very little interest in the duties entrusted to them, that they lack method and business habits, and that they require constant and close supervision. To remedy these defects, the Magistrates of the 24 Parganas, Nadia and Jessore recommend official Chairmen in all cases. The Magistrate of Murshidabad thinks that the Boards are of little practical use, while the Magistrate of Khulna is of opinion that they have no comprehensive knowledge of the entire area placed under their charge. Probably the petty nature of the charge devolving upon Local Boards has a good deal to do with their want of zeal: much is also due to their want of experience. It seems also that Local Boards have been too freely created ; it would be better if they were only constituted in those places where there was a real necessity for their existence. In small districts the whole of the work could be perfectly well done by the District Board, and there is no necessity for having Local Boards at all. It is only introducing an elaborate machinery for doing that which could be better done without it”

Here is a quotation from the Resolution :—

“ The Government of India having suggested that the system of farming out cattle-pounds was in some respects open to objection, the question of the continuance of this practice was carefully considered in consultation with district and divisional officers, who re-

ported on the matter at great length. The Lieutenant-Governor's conclusion, in reviewing the whole subject, was that the increase in the number of pounds effected in recent years had been very advantageous to the people; that such increase was only possible under the farming system; that the system of direct management could only be properly worked at thánas, sub-divisional headquarters, &c., under the eye of officials, and could not properly be applied to outlying villages, where constant supervision over the pound-keeper is impracticable; that there is no reason to insist upon direct management being introduced even at head quarters of thánas, inasmuch as all the charges brought against the farming system are equally applicable to the direct system, so long as it is possible for the paid pound-keeper to embezzle the receipts and not to enter them in his books; and that the attempt now to go back to the system of direct management would inflict on the revenues of the District Boards a heavy loss. These views having been laid before the Government of India, they have agreed to leave the matter to the discretion of the Lieutenant-Governor, who is about to issue orders providing for the better inspection of pounds, and for the introduction of revised forms and registers, measures which will, it is hoped, while interfering as little as possible with the farmers, provide effectually against the abuses alleged to be inherent in the farming system.

Here is a para. for the ingenious to exercise their wits on. It is headed "Scientific and other Minor Departments," and runs—The receipts under this head, which increased from Rs. 1,425 to Rs. 3,123, have not been noticed in their reports by any of the Commissioners except the Commissioner of Dacca. In Dacca the sum of Rs. 470 represents the amount realized from the zamindars of the Kartick Baroni Fair, on account of conservancy arrangements.

Under the heading Civil Works,—we are told that the total receipts were Rs. 4,18,759 against Rs. 373,379. The receipts from tolls and ferries which are the main source of income under this head, were Rs. 3,75,664, as compared with Rs. 3,38,558, showing an increase of Rs. 37,106. The increase was shared by all the Divisions: and was highest in the marginally noted districts. In Jalpaiguri the large increase is attributed to the adjustment of outstanding balances of deposits received from the ferry farmers. In Burdwan, Champaran and Howrah the advance is due to better collections of the gross demand, while a better settlement, accounts for the increase in Monghyr and Malda. In Patna, Mymensingh and Tippera there was an increase in the number of public ferries. In Cuttack the advance is attributed to a contribution received on account of municipal ferries.

Since the year when the ferries were divided between Government and the District Boards, the revenue credited to Local Funds has risen from Rs. 2,96,076 to Rs. 3,75,664, thus fully justifying the assertion so often made by Government, that the ferry revenue was an improveable one. But the Lieutenant-Governor is not yet satisfied that it has been developed to

its furthest extent ; he inclines to the belief that in some districts there still remain ferries which it would be to the public advantage for the District Boards to administer, and it is notorious that in many districts the collection of rents from the farmers is a matter of great difficulty and delay.

Only one new loan was granted, and the disbursement of two loans previously sanctioned was completed during the year. The Dinajpur District Board drew the second instalment Rs. 40,000, of the loan of two lakhs referred to in the Resolution for 1890-91. The Patna District Board also drew the second or last instalment of the loan of Rs. 80,000 for the construction of bridges on the roads between Bakhtiarpur and Bihâr, and between Masourhi and Pabhera. A loan of Rs. 50,000 was granted to the District Board of Saran to enable them to meet the heavy and unexpected expenditure which they were obliged to incur in consequence of the damage done to the roads of the district by the floods of August 1890.

The total expenditure incurred by the District Boards on education was Rs. 11,05,375, against Rs. 10,01,855 in 1890-91, showing an increase of Rs. 1,03,520.

- Taking the province as a whole, it appears that one-fifth of the Board's income was expended on education, and that about half of this amount was devoted to primary schools ; but the correctness of the latter figure is open to much doubt, as some of the expenditure on these schools has evidently been shown under "Grants-in-aid." It is impossible, therefore, to say with certainty, how much has been expended in each district on primary education.

Sir Charles Elliott trusts that the report for next year will show a more liberal expenditure on this object, and a larger sense of what the District Boards are bound to do for the intellectual improvement of the population.

- It is written that the cause of Female Medical Education has been furthered by the District Boards during 1891-92 in two ways—either by grants to local hospitals and dispensaries, towards the training of midwives entertained by them, or by the offer of scholarships. In regard to the first measure, the District Board of Gaya take the foremost place with an expenditure of Rs. 669 during the year in the training of midwives at the Gaya Pilgrim Hospital. The Burdwan Board granted Rs. 12 a month to the local municipality for the same purpose. The Cuttack District Board made a grant of Rs. 100 to the Lady Dufferin Fund for the furtherance of female medical education. Offers of scholarships to female students of obstetrics were made on very liberal terms, but without success, by the District Boards of Burdwan, Bankura, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Pabna, and Champaran : in other districts greater success has

been obtained. The Midnapore Board paid a scholarship of Rs. 10 to Miss Kadambini Mukerjee, a student of the Campbell Medical School, for six months of the year. The District Board of Saran awarded a scholarship of Rs. 10 a month to Mrs. Kadambini Banerji, a female student of the same school, who has guaranteed to serve under the Board for at least as many years as she has received the stipend: it was proposed to confer the scholarship on a Bihari, but no candidate came forward. In Birbhum and Tippera, the District Board, finding, after prolonged trial, that their invitations met with no response, have abandoned the provision of scholarships of this class.

Statement IV appended to the Resolution gives details of the works undertaken by District Boards for the improvement of sanitation during the year. The District Boards in the Patna Division expended the largest amount (Rs. 11,361-12-3), and those of the Chittagong Division, the lowest (Rs. 916). The efforts of the District Boards in the matter of sanitation were directed chiefly to the construction and repairs of wells, and to the excavation of tanks, the total amount expended on these objects being Rs. 37,278.

With reference to Local Boards the Lieutenant-Governor is inclined to think that either too much or too little has been made of them: as at present constituted, they possess exiguous powers and evoke little interest, so that one phase of opinion counsels their abolition: on the other hand, it is urged that an increase of responsibility would be followed by a development of energy. Sir Charles Elliott is not prepared either to abolish Local Boards or to increase their powers so long as they are constituted as they generally are at present: the remedy, in his opinion, lies in the hands of the members themselves, and consists in the election of official Chairmen. Were this more generally done, he feels convinced that the work would be more efficiently carried through, not because the Chairman was in receipt of salary from Government, but because he would bring to bear upon his duties a certain prestige and a familiarity with public business, both of which, in most instances, are lacking in a non-official Chairman.

There's no doubt the work would be better done; but what, meanwhile, would become of Self-Government and all the political object lessons it is warranted to teach?

Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency, during the year 1890-91.

THE year's revenue totalled Rs. 12,50,23,660 and Rs. 12,48,96,314 as expended. There was thus, a surplus of $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs, whereas that of the previous year amounted to 146 lakhs. The Secretariat writes as if aggrieved at

the contrast. It is a waste of emotion. In these days of the ever-falling rupee, the Indian Government that manages to make both ends meet, has much to be thankful for. It was the intermittency of famine, in so many parts of Southern India that induced an unacceptable balance sheet, contingently with pushing on construction of the East Coast Railway as a scheme for furtherance of famine relief and insurance. 130½ lakh of rupees were spent on it, against 22¾ lakhs in 1890-91. Outlay on Civil Works and on Irrigation Minor Works and Navigation likewise showed a large excess; but since these are presumably reproductive works, we fail to see necessity for heartache on their account. Moreover, the deficit caused by the above was, admittedly, to some extent counter-balanced, by increased receipts, chiefly from Railways opened for traffic and from the Postal Department. Currency notes, aggregating in value 22½ lakhs, were sent from Madras to District Treasuries against 18¼ and 26 lakhs sent in 1889-90 and 1890-91 respectively, while those returned to Madras from District Treasuries amounted to 81½ lakhs against 43¾ and 43½ lakhs in the two previous years. Small silver to the value of 11 lakhs was received from Calcutta: in 1890-91 the supply was drawn from Bombay, and amounted to 8¼ lakhs only. As to *Land revenue* the receipts from this source were divided among the following heads:—

Minor heads.	1890-91	1891-92.	Difference. + or —.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Ordinary revenue	4,73,27,719	4,31,21,671	— 42,06,048
Sale-proceeds of waste lands, &c., and receipts for the improvement of Gov- ernment estates	16,721	10,398	— 6,323
Fisheries and other receipts classified as miscellaneous revenue	68,831	82,033	+ 31,202
Total ..	4,74,13,271	4,32,14,102	— 41,99,169

The large decrease in the year under review was due chiefly to the unfavourable season, and the consequent remission and postponement of collections notably in the districts of Salem, North Arcot, Bellary, Nellore, Anantapur, Kurnool, Chingleput, Cuddapah and Vijayapatam. The land revenue charges amounted to Rs. 48,69,283 against Rs. 45,79,170 in the year before.

Although the season was favourable for salt manufacture, receipts fell from Rs. 1,91,95,566 in 1890-91 to Rs. 1,76,81,809. On this subject, we quote from the report.

By far the largest decrease, amounting to nearly 20 lakhs of rupees,

was under excise duty, and was due to the development of the system of cash sales alluded to in the report for the previous year, which, in 1890-91, anticipated a great portion of the revenue that, under the credit system, would ordinarily have been collected in the year under review. Of the total receipts, Rs. 1,16,05,214 were realized on account of Government salt sold and excise salt removed on cash payment, inclusive of the supplies for f h-curing and to the French Government, and Rs. 59,51,606 on account of salt issued on credit both before and during the year. Rs. 26,44,624 only were realised on account of salt issued in the preceding year against Rs. 45,77,321 in 1890-91. The total charges of the department, excluding those debitable to excise and those due to the transfer of the salt administration of Orissa to this Presidency, amounted to Rs. 17,74,030, showing an increase of Rs. 1,90,735 over those of the preceding year, due chiefly to expansion of departmental operations.

The receipts and charges relating to Orissa aggregated Rs. 47,686 and Rs. 1,33,003, respectively, against Rs. 3,22,262 and Rs. 1,10,496 booked in the previous year. The large falling off in the receipts was due to the absence of any restriction on the sales in Ganjam during the greater portion of the year, to the small local stocks and to the high prices charged by the licensees. The increase in the charges was due chiefly to the filling up of the higher grades of appointments, and to an increase in the expenditure on travelling, construction, and rewards.

Stamp revenue and expenditure rose from Rs. 64,56,879 and Rs. 1,63,746 in 1890-91 to Rs. 67,47,574 and Rs. 1,70,748 respectively, in the year under review. Abkari revenue continued to rise. Opium receipts fell from Rs. 5,54,848 to Rs. 3,90,014. Receipts from sea customs, exclusive of the import duty on salt, amounted to Rs. 15,76,927 against Rs. 16,66,258 in the previous year. The income tax receipts of the year under review were the highest on record, which is odd, considering the famine and dulness of trade. Or, does a famine make many people's fortunes? That of 1874 in Behar assuredly did. The total value of the sea-borne traffic, excluding treasure and transactions on account of Government, amounted to 27 crores and 95½ lakhs against 27 crores and 62 lakhs in 1890-91. In comparison with that year, imports and Indian produce increased by 64½ lakhs, while those of foreign merchandize declined by 25½ lakhs. Rs. 78,615 were expended on Imperial Military Works, Rs. 39,042 on Provincial Civil Works, Rs. 26,98,201 on local incorporated works. Construction of the interminable Madras Harbour works was persevered with.

The total expenditure in the Irrigation Branch of the Public Works Department during 1891-92 was Rs. 74,31,963, or Rs. 5,86,079 more than in 1890-91. The outlay incurred during the year, on the capital account of the Godáveri delta system, was Rs. 66,551. The area irrigated during Fasli 1301 (1891-92) was for first crop 640,781 acres and for second crop 91,583 acres, against 631,137 and 49,358 acres in the previous year. The total revenue

amounted to Rs. 22,62,472 and the total charges to Rs. 5,48,243, leaving a net balance of Rs. 17,14,229, or 13·39 per cent. on the total capital outlay of Rs. 1,28,00,594, including indirect charges. The length of the navigable canals open for traffic was 495 miles. The outlay on the capital account of the Kistna delta system was Rs. 4,28,902, leaving Rs. 41,82,145 still to be spent to complete the works estimated for. The area irrigated was 480,728 acres, against 463,071 acres in the previous year. The revenue derived amounted to Rs. 17,88,014 and the charges to Rs. 4,45,102, leaving a net revenue of Rs. 13,42,912 or 12·83 per cent. on the total capital outlay of Rs. 1,04,67,292. The length of the navigable canals open for traffic was 284 miles. Altogether, results of the year's working justified General Cotton's wisdom of its canal children.

During the year no extensions were made to the Madras Railway or to the South Indian Railway proper; but of the Villupuram-Guntakal State Railway, the section from Pákalá to Váyalpád (47·3 miles) was opened for traffic on 1st January, 1892, and that from Váyalpád to Dharmavaram (94·5 miles) on 20th March, 1892. The final portion from Dharmavaram to Guntakal (63·3 miles) was opened for goods traffic only on 1st March 1892. In July 1891 the extension from Dharmavaram to Hindipur (46 miles) having been sanctioned, work was in rapid progress for 44 miles from Dharmavaram. A survey for the extension of the line from Mutupet to Adirámputnam was carried out by the Madras Railway. A portion of the original alignment of the Nilgiri Railway was re-surveyed, and the final location was fixed between Mettupá-laiyam and Coonoor, the length being 16·5 miles. The length of the East Coast Railway was increased to 516 miles and the work was rapidly approaching completion. Surveys were completed by the Madras Railway from Bezváda to Masulipatam (50 miles) and from Pálghat to Kuníapatnam (60¾ miles). At the request of the French Government, a line was surveyed from Peralam to Karikal (146 miles). The Madras Railway opened 4 trial stations.

The total capital expenditure on the Bezváda Extension Railway up to 31st March 1892 was Rs. 14,16,720, or Rs. 55,986 per mile. The line yielded a net profit of 1·96 per cent. on outlay. It is worked by H. H. the Nizam's guaranteed State Railway Company. Post offices increased and multiplied. The value-payable and insurance, and money order systems continued to be largely utilized by the public. 656 miles of telegraph lines were added during the year, making the total mileage up to 6,357 miles. The population for which returns of births and deaths were furnished, numbered 28,513,734.

The highest birth-rate was recorded in Madras, the lowest (22·7) in Godávári. The proportion of male to female births was 103·9 to 100. The death ratio was 26·2 per mile of population. The average for the previous five years had been 21·8 per mile. As usual, mortality was greater among the males than among the females. The mortality from cholera was great; that seems to be an inevitable concomitant of famine. The total number of vaccine operations performed was 1,053,420: percentage of success 92·1. The best results were obtained with lymph direct from the calf, next to that with preserved animal lymph, lowest of all with lanoline paste. The number of hospitals and dispensaries increased from 415 to 432, and there was a corresponding rise in the number of patients treated, and in their daily average attendance. A paucity of Commissioned Medical officers was, as in previous years, noticeable. Owing to the withdrawal of the contagious Diseases Act, venereal affections were on the increase, and the type of disease was more virulent. Local self-Government does not seem to vex men's minds or excite any enthusiasm in the Southern Presidency.

As in previous years, there were 55 municipalities administered under Act IV of 1884, and the several municipal councils consisted of 871 members, against 868 in 1890-91. Of these, 55 were *ex-officio* members, 418 were nominated by Government and 398 were elected by the rate-payers, the corresponding numbers for the previous year being 55,394 and 419. Of the total number, 207 were official members, including the elected officials, and 664 were non-official members, against 193 and 675 respectively, in 1890-91, while according to nationality there were 158 Europeans and Eurasians and 713 Natives, against 146 and 722, respectively in the previous year. Each council held, on an average, 28 meetings, with an attendance of 8·3 members, against 27 meetings, with an attendance of 8·1 members in the previous year. The privilege of electing councillors was withdrawn from the municipalities of Masulipatam and Wárajápet, but extended to those of Guntūr and Vizianagram, and the municipal councils of Conjeeveram, Masulipatam and Wárajápet were deprived of the right of electing their own chairmen. The elective system was in force in 32 towns, as in 1890-91, while the privilege of electing their own chairmen was enjoyed by 36 municipal councils, against 39 in the previous year.

The average incidence of Municipal Taxation was As. 12-9 including, and As. 9-4 excluding, tolls.

On the 31st March 1892 the number of clergymen in the Diocese of Madras was 264, of whom 39 were Government chaplains, the figures in the previous year being, respectively,

268 and 40. The appointments during the year numbered 9, of which 6 were those of native clergy. The voluntary contributions made through the clergy amounted to Rs. 1,41,476, against Rs. 1,29,476 in 1890-91. The Bishop visited 8 districts in the diocese.

The total number of Muhammadans in superior service on the 1st April, 1892, was 5,962 against 5,974 in the previous year. Of these, 5,053 held appointments in the Police department. The appointments include those of 2 Statutory Civilians. The percentage of Muhammadans to the total population was 6·2, whilst the percentage of that class to all other classes of employes was 16·3.

Report on the Working of Municipalities in the Punjab during the year 1891-92.

THIS Report is somewhat musty. It leads off with information that the Municipalities of Rānia, Rori and Ellenabad in the Hissar District, of Vairowāl in the Amritsar District, Duniyapur in the Mooltan District, Garhshankar in Hoshiārpur, Mudki and Moga, in Ferozepore, were abolished from the 1st April 1891, in accordance with the decision which was arrived at in the previous year.

The boundaries of the limits of the Municipality of Delhi were revised during the year. The old boundaries were very vaguely defined. They ran straight across certain revenue Mauzas and followed the boundary of none. Offences committed on one side of an imaginary line were triable in one Court and on the other side by another Court. Lands under the management of the Committee were partly within and partly outside Municipal limits, or sometimes wholly without the Municipality. The revision of the boundary was thus necessary, and the new limits are said to be more intelligible and certainly more workable. Other common sense dictated revisions were undertaken.

The story of changes in the system of appointing members of the Municipal Committee of Simla may be read with more profit in the newspapers of the day than in this rosylined State paper which is a long way off being, in the slang of the day, up to date.

Elections are not a cause of much excitement, as a rule. The elective system is not in force at Dalhousie. At Delhi four elected members retired in rotation, and there was a fifth vacancy that occurred late in the preceding year. In no case was there a contest. For one vacancy on the Simla Municipal Board 291 votes were recorded out of 475. One-third of the elected members at Dharmasāla vacated office by rotation. The former members were re-elected without opposition.

There were 9 vacancies in Mooltan ; 7 new candidates were proposed, but they subsequently withdrew. The old members were consequently returned unopposed. By way of exception, there was a contest for one vacancy at Lahore which was severe to a degree. There were two candidates, and, 1,481 votes out of a registered voting strength of 1,653 were recorded. There was also a vacancy amongst the Christian members, but, "as usual," no candidates offered themselves for election, and the place was filled by appointment. In Murree the three retiring candidates were returned without opposition.

The interest taken in elections in minor Municipalities varies considerably in different districts. In the minor towns of the Delhi District there were 7 vacancies, all of which were contested, and 562 out of 883 registered voters exercised their privilege. In Hissar 4 vacancies only out of 11 were contested. The Commissioner says that the people seem to prefer nomination to election, which is evidently not popular there. Want of system in the District Office at Gurgaon, and neglect of technical regularity on the part of the Committee at Rewari, caused the elections to be delayed beyond the close of the year under report. In the other minor towns of this district, Farukhnagar, Palwal, Ferozpur and Sohna, there were 10 vacancies, all of which were contested ; 749 votes were recorded out of 1,187. There was a keen contest at the elections at Bahadurgarh and Gohana in the Rohtak District ; 1,187 voters out of 1,263 came to the poll. There was no contest at Rohtak or Jhajjar. In the Karnal District 4 vacancies only out of 21 were contested. And so on, and so on throughout the province.

In the 8 vacancies that occurred in Montgomery District less than half the registered voters exercised their privilege. The Deputy Commissioner holds that the people do not appreciate the elective system, "which is calculated to create ill-feeling, both on religious and private grounds." Friendly relations are frequently strained, and, in their anxiety to avoid the displeasure of any of the candidates, most of the voters keep aloof altogether. He also remarks that there was again a good deal of ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans, as was the case in 1891.

Intense excitement was evinced in the election for a vacancy in one of the wards at Siálkot. The outgoing Muhammadans were opposed by Hindus. It was really a religious struggle, but, as the majority of the voters in the ward were Muhammadans, the old members were re-elected. It is reported that for some days before the election took place the agents of both parties were busily canvassing votes. During the poll several attempts were made by Hindu and Muhammadan

voters of other wards to vote for the candidate in whom they were interested, but whom they had no right to vote for. Obviously, the civilization of the West is advancing with rapid strides in the Punjab.

Ap[ro]pos of 'self-Government' we are told that, generally speaking, formal interventions in the affairs of Municipalities are not necessary. Cases of defect in rules and other irregularities are pointed out by way of advice to Committees, which receive them in a loyal spirit. It is often sufficient in cases of more serious irregularity, such for instance as when undue encroachments on the public streets are allowed in Municipalities, to ask the Committee to reconsider its decision. Thus in Jullundur the resolution of the Committee to allow a verandah encroaching on the street was overruled by the Commissioner, and the Committee dropped the subject without demur. In Lahore Division a question relating to the establishment of a girls' school at Mooltan was referred again to the Committee for reconsideration, and the original resolution was cancelled. A proposal by the Municipal Committee of Chiniot to appoint an Octroi Superintendent was negatived by the Commissioner, on the recommendation of the Deputy Commissioner. In Shahpur a proposal to give an allowance to an unqualified hakim, and in Khusháb, a proposal to levy octroi on certain articles against Government rules, were overruled. The Deputy Commissioner of Gujrát set aside a resolution of the Kunjáh Municipality to repair a well and a travellers' rest-house, on the ground that they were private property and could not be repaired at public expense. The Commissioner of Deraját overruled a resolution of the Jámpur Municipality ordering the removal of some pottery kilns. At Gohána in the Rohtak District the Deputy Commissioner, with the permission of the Commissioner, overruled a resolution exempting from taxation the animals intended for sacrifice at the Id-ul-zuha. In short, it is difficult to see where the element of self-Government comes in at all, except on paper.

Municipal Department. Resolution reviewing the Reports on the working of Municipalities in Bengal, during the year 1891-92.

AT the end of last year there were in Bengal 145 Municipalities yielding more or less evidence of existence. In less bald terms, no Municipalities were deprived of their privileges. By way of compensation, the late Census has made it apparent that, whereas ten years ago the Municipal population aggregated 4·5 per cent. of the whole, it amounts to only 3·8 per cent. now. The Census is not unluckily the

only factor responsible for this shrinkage of percentage, for Act III of 1884 did away with a large number of Unions which owed existence to Act V of 1876. It is pleaded in mitigation, that these were small groups of villages which were in no sense urban.

The percentage of rate-payers is highest in the Presidency Division, where it is 21·3, and lowest in the Orissa Division, where it is no more than 14·5. In some few municipalities the proportion per cent. considerably exceeds the provincial average, as for instance in the three municipalities in Nadia of Birnagar (34·3), Ranaghat (30·8), and Santipur (30·2). In Cuttack and Daibhanga, on the other hand, the ratio was as low as 8·8 per cent. The extremely low figures in these two important municipalities indicate either an extraordinary proportion of the very poorest classes, or the need for a thorough revision of the assessment. The average proportion of rate-payers to the whole population within municipal limits was 17·4 per cent.

General elections were held only in the Municipalities of Kharar and Hazaribagh. In both places, we are told, the elections were contested, but not with much spirit. By-elections were in many places contested, the percentage of attendance of voters varying from 77·7 at Arrah to '09 at Lalbagh. Two of the bye-elections held during the year collapsed, one at Utterpara, the other at Cuttack. In one ward in the Meherpur Municipality there are only three persons registered as qualified to vote at an election. Sir Charles Elliot is heretically of opinion that "it seems ridiculous to recognize it as a separate ward for electoral purposes." The general percentage of voters at elections was 37·5; a figure which Sir Charles again heretically stigmatizes as indicating clearly enough that, "in spite of statements often made to the contrary, the average voter sets but little store by the privilege of the franchise." As to the constitution of committees, the proportion of members of the legal profession is highest in the Chittagong and Chota Nagpur Divisions, where it is 36·9 and 34·7 per cent. respectively. In the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions the percentage is only 13·5 and 20·7. The landholding class are best represented in the Patna Division (26·2 per cent.), the Presidency (22·1 per cent.), Dacca (21·8 per cent.), and Bhagalpur (21·2 per cent.). In the Patna Division there is a considerable proportion of non-official Europeans, and in the Monghyr district three-fourths of the Commissioners are European employes of the East Indian Railway. The largest number of meetings held was at Kumarkhali, 56—a figure which is unkindly held to imply "either an extraordinary devotion to business or unusual

difficulty in securing a quorum." In thirty-seven Municipalities, the number of meetings held exceeded 20. Twenty-two Municipalities held less than twelve meetings. "At the same time it is to be noted that frequent meetings do not necessarily imply successful administration, since the Commissioners of Puri met on 26 occasions." In respect of the percentage of attendance, the results of the year are declared satisfactory. *Re* Ward Committees popular opinion appears unfavourable to their creation. We note that the Chairman of the Howrah Commissioners demurs to them in Howrah, on the ground that there is a strong executive, quite distinct from the Commissioners, which recognizes only the orders of the Commissioners as a body, and not orders of single Commissioners. A Ward Committee, he urges, "is partly consultative and partly executive, and is thus peculiarly liable to exercise abuse of powers." In Burdwan no Ward Committees have been formed, but the elected Commissioners are supposed to look after the interests of the wards for which they were severally elected. Agreeing as we do with Sydney Smith, that lack on the part of a Corporation of either a body to be kicked, or a soul to be damned, hinders business, we incline to look upon this innovation, and its recognition of *some* personal responsibility, with favour. The Magistrate of Nadia considers it a mistake to entrust Ward Committees with the duty of making assessments or collections of taxes, since, being residents of the wards, the members are not strong enough to resist local influence or risk odium. Their services could, he suggests, be better utilized in supervising conservancy arrangements, road-cleaning, and petty public works. He is evidently a democrat, desirous of extending the "privileges of the franchise" &c., &c, to Dhangars, Moosahurs, Beldars and so forth, to the exclusion of caste men and respectabilities. The Chairman of the Arrah Municipality thinks that ends are worth more than means, and observes:—

"I am not sure myself that the institution of Ward Committees in Arrah is necessary at present. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman look after the sanitation of the town and give their directions to the overseer. If the Ward Committees acted wisely and energetically, they would be, no doubt, of use, but, from my experience of three months' work in this municipality, I think their supervision would give the Chairman more trouble and take up more time than the performance in person of their duties would demand." The Commissioner of Patna agrees with these remarks; and reports that Ward Committees are no doubt very good in theory, but in practice they merely tend to disintegrate the working and generally

to dissipate the control of the central authority, and as a general rule they give more trouble than they are worth. As regards the Cuttack Municipality, the Commissioner of the Orissa Division reports, that the crying want of this municipality, is a thoroughly competent staff for supervising its public works.

The average incidence per head of Municipal taxation of all kinds throughout Bengal (excluding Calcutta) was Re. 0-12-4 against Re. 0-11-11 in the previous year. The figures for the several Divisions show great variations, not altogether commensurate with the wealth or the wants of the towns concerned. The subject of Municipal assessment and its periodical revision is now on the legislative anvil. Pending authoritative pronouncement as to the tinkering resolved on, Sir Chas. Elliott reminds Municipal Commissioners that the most certain way of escaping the interference of Government and the appointment of an independent assessor, is to make a fair and reasonable assessment up to the limits allowed by law. The wants of almost all municipalities in the direction of drainage, water-supply, conservancy, roads and lighting are still insufficiently met, and until these omissions, which all make for the best interests of the population, whether rich or poor, are made good, no considerations should be allowed to interfere with the clear duty of the Commissioners. In eleven Municipalities there was no demand outstanding at the close of the year. Sir Charles is of opinion that too large remissions were allowed in many municipalities, and that, generally speaking, a mischievous leniency is shown in this respect. He wants the standards of municipal collections brought up to the level of that prescribed for Land Revenue. And he expects this to be accomplished without the operation of a Sunset-Law, or equally stringent equivalent. *Multa petentibus desunt multa*. The total income from taxation during 1891-92 shows an increase of Rs. 1,04,202, or 5·2 per cent. over that of the previous year. Receipts show an increase under the following heads:—

Heads of Revenue.				Amount of increase.
				Rs.
Taxation—				
Tax on houses and lands	...	...	...	36,481
Tax on animals and vehicles				6,722
Tax on professions and trades				3,293
Water-rate	...			3,520
Conservancy rate				19 167
Tax on persons according to their circumstances and property	...	...	...	41,041
		Total taxation	...	1,10,224
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	12,913
		Total increase	...	1,23,137

On the other hand there was a decrease under the following heads :-

Heads of Revenue.			Amount of decrease.
			Rs.
Tolls (on roads and at ferries) ... ..	...	...	4,174
Lighting rate ... ..	...	...	1,848
Extraordinary and debt .. ..	.	.	37,087
Total			43,199
Nett increase			80,028

Pour encourager les autres, we quote para. 38 of the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution:—

The Lieutenant-Governor has read with satisfaction the Record in the Commissioners' Reports of gifts of money or land made, and of works of public utility executed by private individuals within municipal limits. His Honour notices the following instances of private munificence as specially deserving of acknowledgement—Kaja Mohendra Lal Khan of Narajal continued to contribute Rs. 25 a month to the Midnapore Municipality for the maintenance of the ward for contagious diseases. In Ghatal the masonry bathing ghat commenced by Babu Chintamani Kumar in 1890-91 was completed during the year. Maharani Shurnomoyee, M.I.O.C.I., of Kasimbazar, gave a further sum of Rs. 500 for the construction of a road in Howrah, which has been called by her name. To the Bally Municipality, Babu Akh y Churn Guha a rich gentleman of Calcutta, has made a gift of a strip of land, 15 feet wide and 490 yards long, for the construction of a road. Babu Srishtidhar Conch another wealthy merchant of Goveidanga, has sunk a well at a cost of Rs. 5,000. Babu Girija Prosunno Mukerjee, zemindar of Goveidanga and the Chairman of the local municipality, has caused a large *phel* to be excavated, covering an area of nearly 15 bighas, at a cost of Rs. 5,000. Srimati Monmohini Das of Naihati, widow of the late Babu Tarik Chundra Surkar, of Kerr, Iarok and Company, has built an iron shed with ornamental pillars on the masonry ghat which she constructed last year at a cost of Rs. 6,000. At Jessore, Babu Umesh Chundra Ghose has excavated a new tank at Nilganj at his own expense. A substantial building, with ample and comfortable accommodation and spacious frontage, was erected in the heart of the town of Rampur Balia, adjoining the college buildings, for the purposes of a hostel for the Hindu students of the college. The cost, which was about Rs. 10,000, was for the most part met by a contribution from the Dighaputtia Ward's estate. Babu Upendra Nath Sen, zemindar of Basandā, made a donation of Rs. 2,800 to the Barisal Municipality, for the construction of a cholera ward, attached to the Municipal Charitable Dispensary. Kazi Raizuddin Ahmed, a Municipal Commissioner of Dacca, constructed an embanked road in the Dacca Municipality at his own cost. Mr. Lucas, a zemindar, excavated a tank near the bazar in the Pirojpur Municipality. Nawab Ahsanulla Khan Bahadur, C.I.I., of Dacca, contributed Rs. 3,000 to the Comilla Municipality for the erection of an additional ward in the municipal dispensary. The hospital for females at Comilla, which is being erected by the munificence of the Nawab Sahiba Faizunissa and her co-sharers, will be within the Comilla Municipality, where the site for it has also been given by these ladies. Messrs. Burrows, Thomson, and Mylne of Bihra contributed Rs. 652 towards the maintenance of the Jagdispur dispensary, and kept up a middle class English school at a cost of Rs. 1,354. Mr. J. Hennessy, a zemindar and indigo-planter of Mathurapur, made a gift of Rs. 1,000 for the improvement of the accommodation of the dispensary in the English Bazar Municipality. Raja Baikuntha Nath De, Bahadur, and Babu Satyendra Nath Dey re-excavated the Rant Sagar tank in the Balasore Municipality, at a cost of Rs. 3,764, and established a charitable dispensary for females, endowing it at the same time with an income of Rs. 600 per annum.



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ART. I.—RACE AND LANGUAGE.

THE relation of language to race is the burning question of linguistic science; the battle ground between the old traditions of philology, and the new methods of anthropology and ethnography. Is common speech, with its implied relation of common culture and common intellectual life, the decisive test of race kinship? Or, is language to be rejected altogether as a valid criterion, in favour of purely physical standards of skull-measurement, colour and orbital index?

A brief historical summary will make the present position of the controversy clearer. The foundation-stone of comparative philology was laid in 1784, when the first Asiatic Society was founded in Calcutta. The combined labours of the splendid triad of Bengal Civilians, Sir Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones and Thomas Colebrooke, gradually elucidated the structure of the Sanskrit tongue, and it at once became clear that the sacred idiom of India could claim close kinship with the tongues of Greece and Rome. So evident was the likeness, that sapient theory was at once forthcoming that Sanskrit had been invented by the Brahmans, after classical models brought to India by Christian Missionaries. The progress of research soon showed, however, that the affinities of Sanskrit were not alone with Greek and Latin, but that all three tongues were bound by strong ties of relationship to the Gothic of Wulfila's Bible, preserved on the purple vellum of the beautiful silver Codex; to the old Slavonic in the liturgy of the Eastern Church; and to the early idioms of Ireland and Gaul. To this group were added the language of the Zend Avesta, and old Lithuanian; all evidently members of one family of speech.

The enthusiasm created by this discovery increased when it was found that not only were these ancient tongues closely related, but that, through them, the modern languages of Europe, Persia and India were connected with each other; that tongues so unlike as Portuguese, Italian, Welsh, English,

Dutch, Danish, Polish, Russian, Romaic, Persian, Hindi and Uriya, were clearly and demonstrably akin.

The students of philology at once leaped to the conclusion, that nothing but common race could account for these varied resemblances, among widely separated, and apparently unconnected tongues; and the unity of the Aryan peoples followed at once as a deduction from the unity of the Aryan languages.

Then other families of speech were detected and outlined. The Semitic group of languages was placed beside the Aryan; the Dravidian tongues were compared by Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Bleek explored the dialects of South Africa. The Ural Attai languages, at first included under the rather vague title of Turanian; the languages of China; the dialects of the Red Indians and the Polynesians were established beside the earlier groups; and, though there remained, and still remains, a residuum of doubtful tongues, it was evident that a classification of the whole human race on the basis of language, was in a fair way towards completion.

Meanwhile the deciphering of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and the cuneiforms of Babylon and Assyria, the nations that had stood like majestic shadows behind our oldest history, brought a splendid accession of energy to the science of language; and comparative philology vied with biology and physics in popularity and prestige.

During all this time the axiom that common language meant common race was never seriously impeached; when it had been shown that forms of speech were related, the same relation was at once assumed for the speakers; while evident exceptions were classed as "adopted languages," and attributed to exceptional political or social conditions. The climax of confusion was probably reached, when certain sub-Himalayan tribes were spoken of as "Hindu in language and creed, though *monosyllabic in blood*." *

To-day it is difficult for us to understand the almost unquestioned acceptance of the axiom, that race is co-extensive with language. Instances to the contrary are to hand on all sides, the English or French speaking negroes of the West Indies; the South American natives who speak Spanish or Portuguese; the English speaking Maoris; the natives of Goa and Pondicherry, who talk corrupt Portuguese or French; the Dutch spoken in the East Indies; the Malay speaking Chinamen of the Straits Settlements; the Jews who talk every language in Europe; Parsis speaking, not Persian, but Gujarati; the English-speaking Cymri of Cornwall; and a

* *The Ethnology of the British Colonies* : R G. Latham, M D, F. R. S., p 134.

hundred other instances at once occur to us, where language seems to have no connection with race at all.

Historically, however, it was not from a consideration of these obvious facts that the axiom of common race and common language was first assailed; nor need this surprise us, for the most obvious facts are often the last to be recognised. The earliest doubts of its accuracy sprang from quite a different cause: the application of biological methods to the human race, and the classification of man by the new science of Anthropology. The most notable result of this classification, as far as philology is concerned, was the discovery of four quite distinct race types in Europe alone, all speaking Aryan languages, but none corresponding exactly to linguistic divisions.

It was at once evident that the identity of language with race was no longer tenable; the issue was narrowed down to the question, which of these race types had borrowed their speech from the other. Learned representatives of different types each claimed for themselves identity with the original Aryans; while others, like Professor Oppert, went so far as to say that "there are Aryan languages, but there is no Aryan race."

Outside the Aryan family, a tendency to confuse language with race still lingers in terms like Semitic and Hamitic, which really imply racial unity; and it would be difficult to say on what evidence, other than that of language, the so-called Accadians of Chaldaea are often spoken of as "Turanians, the kindred of the oblique-eyed Finns."

These three terms are probably only unconscious survivals, due to the absence of sound ethnical evidence, and will doubtless disappear, as the principle on which they are based is gradually eliminated in practice. How completely this axiom of racial and linguistic unity has been discarded in theory, is shown by sentences like the following, in the best recent manuals of linguistic science: "language is a social product, not a racial one;" "identity or relationship of language can prove nothing more than social contact;" "language is an aid to the historian, not to the ethnologist."* And probably the almost universal opinion of scholars on this question is expressed by the author of "The Origin of the Aryans," in the declaration that "language seems almost independent of race."†

Compared with the views of the old school of comparative philologists, the opinions just quoted indicate nothing

* *Introduction to the Science of Language*: A. H. Sayce; Vol II. pp. 316—317.

† p. 204.

less than a revolution. But, like many revolutions, a closer scrutiny would seem to show that this one has gone too far ; and that the relation of language to race is capable of more exact expression. In the new axioms, that "language seems almost independent of race ;" that "language is an aid to the historian, not to the ethnologist," it would seem that there has been an unconscious identification of "language" with "vocabulary ;" while in reality vocabulary is only a part, and not, perhaps, even the most important part, of language, when scientifically treated. Without entering into tedious subdivisions, we may say that, besides vocabulary, language consists of grammatical structure, accent, tone, and phonetic type ; and for a full understanding of the relation between race and language, it will be necessary to examine language under each of these heads. To do so adequately and exhaustively, I would require a separate treatise for each head ; but a few obvious principles, which are too liable to be overlooked, may be stated quite briefly.

Even if we read "vocabulary" for "language" in the sentences just quoted, and say that "*vocabulary* seems almost independent of race," we shall be guilty of a certain inaccuracy and looseness of statement probably due to our identifying language too much with *written*, or rather *literary* language ; and forgetting that literary language is only a narrow and conventional, almost artificial, form of the far more fluid, elastic and vital spoken language, or speech. A few familiar examples will illustrate this. It will hardly be denied that no two people pronounce the same word in exactly the same way. Of a score of speakers, whose voices are familiar, we can identify each by the pronunciation of a single word. An ordinary ear will detect so much ; and delicate scientific instruments, the phonograph, resonance globes, and audiphones will detect a world of further differences, in rapidity of vibration, timbre, pitch, and quality of overtones ; all real differences, which a complete scientific analysis could not afford to neglect.

Then not only is it true that no two people pronounce the same word in exactly the same way, but it is further true that in the same person's pronunciation of any word, there is a wide degree of variation ; as the articulate voice passes through a well-marked series of modulations, from the period of the "whining school-boy" till that sad autumn of life, when the

" Big manly voice,
Turning again towards childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound."

Passing from merely personal to local variations, it will

hardly be an exaggeration to say that the number of different pronunciations of the same word over a wide area is practically unlimited. If we are dealing with literary language alone, it is easy to set these variations down to ignorance, or lack of education ; but, once we leave this narrow conventional standard, and pass to vital, living speech, it will be found impossible to fix on any one as necessarily the right pronunciation ; and we shall have to face the fact that what we call a " word " is merely a symbol for a practically unlimited number of variations, each of which, as we have seen, has within itself unmeasured abysses of change.

The practical bearing of this on the question of race and language can easily be illustrated. In the first place, it will be found necessary to ascertain what degree of variation can be called merely local and personal ; what degree of difference will amount to a difference of dialect ; and what degree will be sufficient to constitute a difference of language. Are we to say, for instance, that " home " and " hame," " stone " and " stane," " ghost " and " ghaist " are merely local variations ; while " home " and, " heim," " stone " and " stein," " ghost " and " gheist " belong to different languages ? Are we to say that " hand " and " hond," " land " and " lond " are both English, while " hand " and " land " are German ? These examples suggest several considerations ; first the extreme difficulty of marking precisely the boundaries of related languages, which are linked together by a graduated series of dialects. Then, the fact that our dictionaries only dimly represent the real richness of a language, as they are glossaries of the literary, and not the spoken language. Dictionaries may even misrepresent languages to a very serious degree. In Bengal, for example, a Hindustani dictionary, representing the literary language of the North West Provinces, contains probably seventy per cent. of Persian and Arabic words ; while a Bengali dictionary, representing the literary language of the Lower Provinces, probably contains about seventy per cent. of Sanskrit words ; this difference of seventy per cent. of the vocabulary would signify an almost total dissimilarity of speech. Now in reality no such total dissimilarity exists in the spoken languages ; on the contrary, they pass into each other by a series of dialects, so that it is extremely difficult to say where the one language ends, and the other begins. Then numbers of words in common use are not to be found in the dictionaries of either language, because they do not happen to have gained currency in the very artificial literary language. And it is just this local residuum of words expressing peculiar local customs, products, and thoughts, which has the closest relation to race, and of which the dictionaries tell us nothing at all.

The same thing is true in nearly every case which has been cited to prove that language is independent of race. The natives of Goa and Pondicherry mingle native words in their corrupt Portuguese and French ; the Dutch of the East Indies has a strong colouring of Malay ; the English-speaking Maories retain many Polynesian words ; and the Negroes of the West Indies, who use French, Spanish, or English, probably retain a residuum of African speech. I think, therefore, that this branch of our enquiry may be closed by saying that, until the boundaries of living speech, as opposed to literary language, have been far more accurately defined ; and until the insoluble residuum of local words has been much more carefully analysed, we are not in a position to declare, with anything like the rigour of the sentences I have quoted, that language, as far as even its vocabulary is concerned, seems almost independent of race.

But there is another aspect of vocabulary, its scope and quality, which is most intimately connected with ethnical character. To take the case of the West Indian Negroes. They represent a certain definite and limited stage of culture. This stage of culture will correspond to a certain scope and quality of vocabulary ; and it will be found that, whether French, English, or Spanish has been laid under contribution to furnish it, its scope and quality will be very much the same ; will, in fact, be very limited, and chiefly suited to express material objects, and material needs.

Take an opposite case, that of the Brahmans in India, with their elaborate culture and innumerable literary developments, which only a rich and varied vocabulary could express. Before the Brahmans began to use the vernaculars, for example, Bengali and Telugu, these had only limited vocabularies, suited to the simple needs of an agricultural people. But, when the Brahmans began to write in Telugu and Bengali, they at once expanded their vocabularies, by compounding, adapting, and borrowing, till literary Telugu and Bengali have become almost as rich in words as Sanskrit. So that, Brahmanical vocabularies have been formed in these two languages, and of course also in the other Indian tongues, greatly different in scope and quality from the original Telugu and Bengali vocabularies ; and this difference corresponds accurately and exactly to race capacities and race needs.

If linguistic science were richer in precise quantitative analysis, this relation of vocabulary, as regards its scope and quality to race, could be more amply and convincingly illustrated ; I think I have said enough, however, to show how real and intimate the relation is.

To turn now to grammatical structure ; I have tried to show,

in a single concrete case, that of popular Bengali, what a powerful influence race may exercise on grammar.* What took place in Bengali was this. The original races of Bengal had spoken agglutinative languages for centuries, or ages, before they came in contact with the Sanskrit-speaking Brahmans, and adopted a corrupt Sanskrit vocabulary. The habit of linking their words together in the particular way called agglutination remained, even after a vocabulary had been adopted from inflectional Sanskrit; with the result that Bengali is a distinctly agglutinative tongue. The grammatical form which habit had ingrained in the races of Bengal has therefore survived an almost total change of vocabulary; and still lives to tell its tale of the relation of language and race.

What took place in Bengal must take place in some degree whenever one race adopts a vocabulary from another, if their languages are different in grammatical structure. The process may be seen in actual operation to-day, in the formation of China-English or Pidgin; that is, the dialect of English spoken by the Chinese in contact with Englishmen, whether in Hong-Kong, Australia or America. Pidgin English has discarded every distinction of English grammar, and has conformed almost entirely to the grammarless idiom of Chinese. Here, again, we have a case analogous to Bengali; where the influence of race on language is vivid and complete. The same thing is true of the dialects of English spoken in the south of Ireland and the Scotch Highlands; the vocabulary is so largely English that philologists would not hesitate to class both as English speech; but the difference of grammar and idiom is so striking as to lend itself to the purposes of caricature; and the differentiating cause is, in each case, the influence of race. Here, then, we have three dialects, spoken by Chinese, Highlanders, and Irishmen; different from each other, and different from the English from which they are derived; the difference in each case being a race phenomenon; a racial remoulding of the adopted tongue. In the case of the English idiom of Ireland, Dr. Hyde has shown that most of the so-called hibernicisms are actually word for word translations of pure Gaelic idioms; and much the same is true of the Pidgin-English of the Chinese. Other English dialects, due to the same race influence, are the German-English of the United States, the jargon of the Aboriginal Australians, and the Negro-English of the West Indies and Old Slave States. To take another instance; there is convincing evidence to prove that the Romance languages, which were at first neo-Latin dialects, are due to exactly the same remoulding of Latin by the different

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1892.

racés of South-Western Europe. The evidence has been well summed up by Mr. Isaac Taylor, who writes : *

"The Latin speech, when acquired by Ligurians, gave rise to the *Langue d'oc*, by Gauls to the *Langue d'oïl*, by 'Celts' to Castilian, by Iberians to Portuguese, by Celtiberians to Aragonese."

Of the same character is the curious postposition of the article in the neo-Latin Roumanian, a peculiarity shared by the probably Hellenic Albanian, and the Slavonic Bulgarian. It is most probably to be traced to Dacian influence, and marks a racial remoulding which has similarly affected three distinct tongues.

Again, ethnology has shown the close relation between the Britons, the Helvetii, and the inhabitants of Northern Italy, all of whom exhibit the same race type, and a similar stage of civilisation. To this fact closely corresponds the intimate relation between Keltic and Latin, in several phenomena which differentiate both from the other members of the Aryan family. Among these are the formation of a periphrastic perfect, by compounding the stem with the substantive verb; a new form of the future; and a peculiar passive formation. Here, again, we have the same race similarly affecting distinct tongues, Keltic and Latin. Professor Sayce has pointed out the influence of Frankish idiom on neo-Latin French.† "Numberless Teutonic words have found their way into the French dictionary, and French idiom has been largely affected by that of Germany. Thus the French *avenir*, that is, *ad venire*, has been formed after the analogy of the German, *zukunft*, literally 'to come;' *contree*, that is (*terra*) *contrata*, is the result of the association of the German *gend*, 'country,' and *gegen*, 'against,' and *avaler*, from *ad vallem*, is a slavish translation of *zu thal*." The same writer also says that "Latin, as spoken in Gaul, had a strong affection for diminutives, a characteristic which may have been of Keltic origin."‡ Professor Rhys has suggested pre-Keltic influence as an explanation of certain phenomena in Keltic grammar; thus pointing to the short dark race who still survive among the tall, yellow-haired Kelts

These examples will suffice to show how real the operation of racial remoulding is; and what an important part it plays in the formation of dialects, which afterwards become distinct languages. So that we must conclude that grammatical structure, as influenced by racial remoulding, is most intimately connected with race, instead of being almost indepen-

* *Origin of the Aryans*: p. 265.

† *Science of Language*: Vol. II, page 114.

‡ *Ibid*. 115.

dent of it, as the axiom quoted seems to suggest : The process of remoulding can be shown in action in the new English dialects which I have mentioned ; .Negro-English, China-English, and Australian-English, as spoken by the "civilised" aborigines. The steps in the change are as follows :—"The native, whether Chinaman, or Australian, or Negro, when first coming into contact with Englishmen, picks up a number of words which he strings together in the idiom of his own tongue. The result is a jargon, as the Latin spoken by Iberians and Gauls must have been at first ; a jaïgon, which may become first a dialect, and then a language.

Then, the Englishman speaks to the native in the same jargon, but with a difference. As he has no ingrained habit of Chinese, African, or Australian idiom, he will fail to reproduce exactly their effect on the new nascent dialect as spoken by the native. The effect of the failure will appear in its turn in the native's answer ; and this process of give and take will continue until the nascent dialect has gained a certain rigidity and fixedness. The exact extent to which English and the native idiom will contribute to the new *lingua franca* will depend on the tenacity of the native character, and the length of time which his original idiom has been in use ; but in general, as the natives encountered by a colonising race are less enterprising, and less capable of rapid change, than their conquerors, the struggle will probable terminate in favour of their more conservative and less pliable idiom and grammatical form ; while the conquerors, as bringing new needs and new ideas, will most probably contribute more new words to the vocabulary of the nascent dialect. This is the way in which the neo-Aryan languages of India were formed ; and the neo-Latin languages of Europe must have passed through a similar stage.

These results suggest some remarkable considerations on the early days of philology ; it was precisely these two groups, the neo-Aryan tongues of India, and the neo-Latin tongues of Europe, which were constantly pointed to as illustrating the normal development which every language necessarily went through, under the influence of some unexplained "tendency to evolution." But ethnology has shown that, in each and every one of these languages, the development of the daughter from the mother speech, as they were called, really represents an adoption by an alien race, alien in physical characteristics, grammatic habit, and phonetic type. So that these "daughter-languages" are really changelings, and not legitimate children at all ; are really the effect of racial remoulding, and not of normal growth.

From this conclusion we may draw two deductions, the first

of wide general interest, and the second directly applicable to the question of race and language.

The first conclusion is that, if the linguistic changes, for example, from Latin to Spanish, or from Sanskrit to Bengali, which were relied on to illustrate the necessary evolution of language, are demonstrably due to quite another cause, namely, the influence of an alien race, then the case for necessary evolution of languages largely falls to the ground. And we may reasonably question whether a language which has not undergone adoption by an alien race, which has not been subjected to racial remoulding, will show any such marked development at all.

We are all familiar with the peculiar laws under which the fauna and flora of Oceanic islands tend to become practically fixed and permanent; and it may well be that a language similarly isolated will tend to become practically fixed and permanent also; isolation for a language being its retention within the boundaries of a pure unmixed race: such an isolated language is the Icelandic, which, as is well known, has hardly advanced at all beyond the stage it had reached when Iceland was first colonised. Icelandic has, in fact, become practically fixed and permanent, like the flora of an Oceanic island.

Another isolated language is Arabic, which, as Professor Sayce has pointed out, is more archaic in many of its forms than the ancient Assyrian of the cuneiform inscriptions. Arabic, like Icelandic, has been retained within the limits of a pure and well-defined race type; and consequently, being protected from the most potent factor in linguistic change—racial remoulding—, has become practically fixed and permanent.

Lithuanian has been isolated in much the same way as Arabic has, by the natural inaccessibility of the region where it is spoken; for, even at the present day much of Lithuania is covered with impenetrable forests; and consequently we find that Lithuanian retains features more archaic even than Sanskrit; and has become practically fixed and permanent.

Sanskrit itself is another case of an isolated language; though this will not be so readily admitted, perhaps, for Sanskrit is usually considered as dead, or perhaps as retaining only an artificial, unnatural life. This is not strictly true, however, for Sanskrit is still in general use as the common spoken language of the better class of Brahmans, just as it must have been in the old days when they prayed to Indra to protect the Aryan colour against the black-skinned *Dasyus*. Sanskrit is still so far from being a dead language that to know Sanskrit in India means to speak Sanskrit; and lectures and conversations in the tongue of Kālidāsa are still a common occurrence in India. The transmission of Sanskrit

speech from father to son, from teacher to pupil, has been continuous in India among the Brahmans of pure race ever since the days of the Mahabharata War.

Hence the use of Sanskrit in India as a spoken language is not strictly analogous to the use of Latin in mediæval Europe; because Latin was never retained within the limits of the same pure race as Sanskrit was, but was spoken by Kelt and Gaul and Teuton alike.

I should like to see it accepted as an axiom in philology, that no language which is spoken, written, and read is a dead language; and if this be granted, then Sanskrit is certainly a living tongue.

But even if the case of Sanskrit be set aside, the phenomena pointed out in Icelandic, Arabic, and Lithuanian are sufficient to show that a language isolated by retention within the limits of a pure race type may become practically fixed and permanent for centuries and even millenniums. Hence all speculations as to the rate of change of such a language, when compared with the rate of change of a language which can be shown to have undergone racial remoulding, are necessarily misleading. Mother words, to compare the passage of Vedic into classical Sanskrit with the passage of Latin into Spanish, or the passage of classical Sanskrit into Bengali, is to compare two radically different phenomena; and is as fruitless as would be a search for the results of heredity in an adopted child. It will be evident that to draw chronological conclusions from such a false comparison would be a very grave mistake, which could only end in confusion.

It will be evident, I think, that to produce a given amount of change, the former process, the natural growth which produced classical from Vedic Sanskrit will require an enormously longer period than the latter, the forced alienation by racial remoulding, which produced the earlier Spanish or Bengali from classical Latin or Sanskrit. Looking to the practical fixity of languages like Icelandic and Arabic, the latter with forms older than the old Assyrian, we shall be prepared, I think, to admit that such a change as that between the Sanskrit of the Rîg Vedic hymns, and the Sanskrit of Kālidāsa must have required more thousands of years than our European orientalisks, with their early prejudices in favour of the so-called Mosaic Chronology, would be prepared to concede.

It may be noted, in passing, that the fact of our Orientalists having been brought up under the influence of this so-called Mosaic Chronology, which is really nothing more than the result of Rabbinical reasoning applied to utterances in the language of myth and poetry, and therefore gives a false air of science to matters which are not scientific at all,—the

fact of our Orientalists having been brought up under the influence of their false theories of Chronology has done much harm to more than one department of Indian research, harm which to a large extent is still unrectified. But this is a digression. The second conclusion which we can draw from a comparison of isolated languages with languages which have gone through the mill of racial remoulding, is this : If, as we have seen, the adoption of a language by an alien race leaves an indelible effect which we have agreed to call racial remoulding, clearly visible in the grammatical structure of a language, like the agglutination in low Bengali ; if, in fact, change in race means change in grammatical structure, then, conversely, change in grammatical structure must, with certain limitations, point to a change in race. The limitations are, of course, the slow developments of isolated languages like Sanskrit, from the Vedic to the Paninian period ; or the almost unnoticable changes in Icelandic and Lithuanian ; languages, that is, which have remained continuously within the same pure race.

The change in grammatical structure which I have called racial remoulding, is, therefore, as its name implies, entirely a phenomenon of race ; and consequently, as far as this great, but not yet accurately gauged phenomenon is concerned, it will be entirely untrue to say, with the author of the *Origin of the Aryans*, that " language seems almost independent of race ; " the converse will be far nearer the truth ; namely that change of grammatical structure, if the few exceptions I have noted be put aside, is largely, perhaps overwhelmingly, dependent on race. The third and fourth elements of language which I have mentioned, tone and accent, are very difficult to deal with scientifically without using a musical notation ; moreover the two have been greatly confused in linguistic treatises, and to entirely resolve this confusion would demand a separate work. I must therefore be as brief as possible in dealing with tone and accent.

It is difficult, as I say, to illustrate tone in English without a musical notation, for the reason that the English race retained less of tone in its speech than almost any other. This, in itself, I may note in passing, is a proof of the intimate connection between tone and race.

English, as spoken by men of pure English race ; or, to avoid such a questionable phrase as this, I should perhaps say, English as it is spoken by the literate inhabitants of the south of England, is almost entirely devoid of tone ; is, in pronunciation, almost monotonous—of one tone. Exceptions are words like " no," in which one often detects a distinct rise and fall of tone ; but these exceptions are few, and it would

not be incorrect⁶ to say that English, as spoken by the literate class in the south of England, has only one tone.

That this monotony, in the primitive sense of the word, is really a race phenomenon, becomes quite clear when we examine the same English language as spoken in, say, Cork and Fifeshire. Here speech is almost song, tone is fully present and characteristic. Now, large groups of races are even more fully characterised by tone than the inhabitants of Cork and Fifeshire; the Polynesian, and the Siamese may serve as examples. Here tone is really a very strong race characteristic, and in this also it would be quite erroneous to say that "language seems almost independent of race."

Accent is equally connected with race; but here, again, I am met with difficulties of illustration and confusions. As an instance of these latter, I may point to the case of Vedic Sanskrit, which is rich in tone, as any one who has heard the Vedas chanted can tell; and this tone is marked in the Vedic manuscripts by what is really a musical notation. Yet it is customary to speak of this Vedic tone as accent, in reality an entirely different thing; and even the best Sanskrit scholars who are dependent on Western sources for their facts, are apt to fall into this mistake.

Though tone is nearly absent in what we may call the standard pronunciation of English, still accent is particularly well marked there. I may easily illustrate this by picking a dozen words from the preceding paragraph, such as: paragraph, accent, difficult, absent, musical, manuscript, chanted, different, character, primitive, questionable, reasonable.

Every one of these twelve words came to us from the French; now, as pronounced in the literary language, that is, in the dialect of the Isle de France, every one of these words had the accent on the last syllable, it being part of the genius of the French language to clip off every thing after what is called the tonic syllable, which thus remains the last. The word 'tonic' is here of questionable propriety, as this is really a question of accent, not of tone. In the French originals of the dozen words I have given, therefore, the accent is always on the last syllable.

Now, as each one of these words fell under the yoke of the English racial accent, the stress was changed from the last syllable to the first. The course of this change may be illustrated by the historic vicissitudes of the word theatre; though, to do this perfectly, one would require a really phonetic alphabet; such as that of Ellis and Sweet.

When the word theatre was first adopted by Englishmen,—I use the term as rather of race than language,—it was pronounced as nearly according to the French pronunciation

as the English throat conformation would allow, in fact, nearly like 'tayáhtr;' just as the word 'prestige' is still pronounced in England, though not in America. The accent, with which we are now chiefly concerned, was then on the second syllable, as in French.

Then came the first stage of racial remoulding. The vowels became really English sounds. This stage is preserved in some dialects, where a play-house is still called a 'thee-ayter,' with the accent still on the second syllable. The consonants also passed from the French phonetic mould to the English. Then came the final stage, when the accent was thrown back to the first syllable; and 'theatre' became a real English word; a word remoulded by the vocal organs of the English race.

The remoulding of the word theatre brings me naturally to the last part of my subject; the connection between race and that part of language which I have described as its phonetic mould, or phonetic range. This is a subject of vast importance in the study of language; and even more so in the study of race; I cannot therefore pretend to exhaust the subject here. I can only illustrate it by one or two concrete instances in which race of a comparatively simple phonetic mould have adopted words or languages from a race whose phonetic mould is more complicated.

Probably the simplest phonetic mould in the world is that of the Polynesians; and of these the simplest is probably the Rarotongan. The Rarotongan phonetic mould contains only eight elements, a guttural, dental, and labial surd, a guttural, dental, and labial nasal, and a dental and nasal semivowel; that is the surds ka, ta, pa; the nasals na, ua, ma; and the semivowels, ra and va. Maori of New Zealand differs from Rarotongan only in having two breathings, one guttural, h, and the other labial wh.

We may therefore say, for the sake of illustration, leaving minute details for future consideration, that the phonetic mould of the typical Polynesian has only three surds, three nasals, and three semivowels; that is, only three contacts, that of the throat, the teeth, and the lips; and three modifications of each. And we further know that these Polynesian races are remarkably pure; and have been isolated for ages; so that we may presume that through long habit the vocal organs of the Polynesian have become racially incapable of pronouncing sounds outside the vocal mould; that the muscles necessary for pronunciation of say, cerebrals or palatals, have been atrophied by disuse. Or we might say that the Polynesians date back to such an early epoch of the development of language, and have been isolated for so long, that they never acquired any larger vocal range. The latter explanation,

and not atrophy, is, I believe, the true one; but the result is exactly the same in either case; the Polynesian races are incapable of pronouncing correctly any consonants outside their own, phonetic range; and even more markedly, are incapable of pronouncing conjunct consonants; so that, when they learn English, they learn it with this limitation, that it has to be re-cast in the phonetic mould of Polynesian; and hence we get forms like Hamnera for Samuel, Heremaia for Jeremiah, Hohna for Joshua, Hopa for Job, Ihaia for Isiah, Kenehi for Genesis, Hoani for John, Maka for Mark, Raniera for Daniel, Rewhitikua for Leviticus; and so on. It would be curious to obtain a transcript of some really highly-developed language like Sanskrit, of which the phonetic mould is nearly perfect, in Polynesian; we should have the most striking example of phonetic remoulding that the world could give. As a matter of fact, we have a transcript of Sanskrit some twelve centuries old in a language which, though not comparable with Polynesian for phonetics implicitly, yet is much simpler in the phonetic mould than Sanskrit.

This old transcription is due to the famous Buddhist Pilgrim Hiouen Tshang, who left China in the year 628 A. D., on a pilgrimage to India, to seek at the fountain head the pure sources of the Buddhist faith. In India he learned Sanskrit, and he has given his countrymen a specimen, which perhaps represents his own pronunciation, but, at any rate, represents the expression of Sanskrit sounds by the inferior Chinese phonetic mould.

In Hiouen Tshang's transcription, the Sanskrit Vyākaranam becomes Pie-ye-kie-la-nam; and Purusha becomes Pon-lon-cha; bhavāvas and bhavāmas become popohoa and popomo.

I think my readers will at once be struck with the similarity of the process which converted bhavāmas into popomo with that which converted Genesis into Kenehi, or Joshua into Hohna, and to this process I would propose to give the name of racial remoulding of sound; just as we had racial remoulding of grammar.

It is evident, I think, that this process, or something very like it, must have taken place whenever a language has been adopted by an alien race; that, in fact, it is this process that changed optimus into ottimo, pectus into petto; scribere into e'crire, &c.

In phonetic remoulding, therefore, we have a process which is not only connected with race, but is absolutely dependent on it; so that, in respect of phonetic range also, we should have to modify the axiom that "language seems almost independent of race." I think, therefore, that we have arrived

at a partial solution of the relation between race and language, which may be summed-up as follows :

Taking first vocabulary, it appears that, as far as its constituents are concerned, it has very little relation to race, perhaps none at all ; but as far as its scope is concerned ; it is very largely dependent on race. Grammar also seems to be, if not dependent on race, at least liable to great influence from it. Tone and accent seem also dependent on race ; while phonetic mould is overwhelmingly so.

So that five-sixths of language are dependent on race ; while only one-sixth—too often mistaken for the whole—seems practically independent.

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ART. II.—THE TURKS IN EGYPT.

Continued from July 1893, No. 193.

Cairo: Sketches of its History, Monuments and Social Life.
By Stanley Lane Poole. London: J. S. Virtue & Co,
1892.

Merveilles Biographiques et Historiques, ou Chroniques du Shaikh Abdur Rahmán al Jabarti, traduites de l'Arabe par Shafik Mansur Bey, Abdul Aziz Khalil Bey, Gabriel Nicolas Khalil Bey et Iskandar Ammun Effendi. Le Caire. Imprimerie Nationale, 1888.

A View of the Levant, particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Greece and Egypt, in which the Antiquities, Government, Politics, Maxims, Manners, Customs (with many other circumstances and contingencies) are attempted to be described and treated on.
By Charles Perry, M.D. London: 1743.

EGYPT shared in the revival of Ottoman prosperity and energy under the Kúprili administration. Karakash Ali Páshá sent enormous supplies to the Turkish army in Crete, during the twenty-four years' war, for the possession of that island, of men and horses, gunpowder and grain. A fleet of twenty ships was fitted out at Alexandria to cruise against the Venetians. One thousand Mamlúks were serving in the final siege of Candia. A little later the Egyptian contingent of three thousand men served at the siege of Kaminiek in Poland.

Janfoládzáda Husain Páshá sent a great quantity of men and material to the wars in Poland and Germany, and managed at the same time to keep the country quiet, and the people contented; but his successor Ahmad Páshá was not so fortunate. His exactions touched the pockets of the troops, who mutinied and deposed him, a not uncommon occurrence. When the Turkish soldiery were dissatisfied with a Páshá, their officers met in conclave, and if they agreed to depose him, two Básh Cháushes were sent to his palace, which they entered without announcing themselves, and, going straight to the audience-chamber, turned up a corner of the cushion on the Diván or sofa, without speaking a word. This was a sufficient hint to the Páshá, who forthwith left his palace, and went to reside in the town below, while the troops appointed a Káim-mokám, or deputy, to govern till a new Páshá should be sent from Istambúl. The Porte never attempted to dispute the will of the troops and to reinstate a deposed Viceroy.

On the present occasion, Ramzán Bey was appointed Káim-

mokám, but the executive authority was really exercised by Ahmad Kiáyá, of the corps of Azabs, who had been ringleader of the revolt, and who had persuaded all the other Ojáks to act under his orders. The Porte nominated Abdur Rahmán, Páshá of Baghdad, to the Government of Cairo: he arrived there, and assumed the functions of the Viceroy, but he found himself only a cypher; Ahmad Kiáyá continued to be the real governor of the city and the country. The Páshá long meditated means to get rid of this troublesome rival, but was unable to take open measures against him for fear of the soldiery. At last, after many schemes had failed, he elaborated a peculiar piece of treachery. It happened that Ahmad Kiáyá had announced a formal visit to the Páshá to communicate his wishes and convey his orders. That forenoon Abdur Rahmán Páshá asked his servants whether there was one among them who would take a beating of five hundred blows of the stick for a lump sum down (naming the amount) and an augmentation of his pay. One of them volunteered: and the Páshá then instructed him that he was to present a cup of sherbet to Ahmad Kiáyá in the Diván, and in doing so was to pretend to stumble and fall, and so spill the sherbet.

Accordingly, when the Kiáyá had arrived and was in conversation with the Páshá, the latter called for sherbet to be brought: the servant played his part well, managed to trip over the edge of the carpet as he was presenting the goblet to the Kiáyá, fell and broke the glass and spilt the drink: the Páshá flew into a passion, rated him for his awkwardness and ordered the Ferráshes to seize him and give him five hundred blows. The wretch was carried out to undergo the punishment, and the Páshá turning with a smile to Ahmad Kiáyá apologised for the accident, and offered him his own cup of sherbet. The little comedy had been so well acted that Ahmad Kiáyá had no suspicion and drank up the Páshá's sherbet. Four hours afterwards he was a corpse.

This vile piece of treachery was looked upon by the Turks as an admirable stroke of state-craft. Ahmad Kiáyá was by no means a solitary instance of an officer of the Oják making himself master of the government of Egypt. Katamish, the Janissary, Charkas Aghá, and Osmán Kiáyá all in their turn ruled Cairo with despotic power, only to be dethroned by some greater ruffian than themselves. When Bakir Páshá was Governor, Osmán Kiáyá, of the Janissaries, and Yusuf Kiáyá, of the Azabs, shared the supreme power between them. Osmán had got himself continued as Kiáyá in charge of the Janissaries for seven years running, contrary to the usages of the corps: and he exercised the most odious tyranny, filling all the posts

of the administration with his own creatures. He had wronged a Mamlúk Káshif, named Sálík, and this man, to be revenged, went to the Páshá and proposed a plan for getting rid of Osmán. Bakir Páshá jumped at the offer, and it was agreed that the Páshá should summon all the chiefs of the Ojáks to confer about some matters concerning their pay that were under consideration, at the house of the Daftardár. Sálík Káshif and a body of well-armed Mamlúks went under cover of the night to the Daftardár's house, and were concealed in the women's apartments.

Next day the Aghás and Kiáyás, to the number of fourteen, were assembled in the Daftardár's house to listen to the communications from the Páshá. The Daftardár left the conclave on some pretext, and ordered the outer doors to be shut, when the Mamlúks, with Sálík Káshif at their head, burst into the council-room, fired a volley from their carabines and pistols, and then fell on sword in hand. Osmán and Yusuf Kiáyás and twelve of their companions were killed on the spot; one was desperately wounded and died soon afterwards, and one was fortunate enough to escape with but a slight wound. Sálík Káshif cut off the heads of the twelve slain officers, and, wrapping them in a sheet, carried them to the citadel, to Bakir Páshá. But the Páshá pretended ignorance of the matter, and refused to look at the heads, saying to Sálík Káshif: "If you quarrel among yourselves, be it unto you as it happens, but I know nothing of the matter." Then the Mamlúks carried away the heads, and placed them all in a row on a bench before the Mosque of Sultan Hasan, where infinite numbers of people came to look at them. The Páshá secretly sent money to Sálík Káshif to distribute among the seven Ojáks to bribe them to condone the murder of their chiefs, and he afterwards made Sálík Káshif a Bey, "in reward for his good deeds"

There were generally three or four Beyships vacant, the Páshás keeping the appointments open to fill them at their convenience, to their liking; but it was an unwritten law that they must be filled by Mamlúks. We can find only two instances in which Osmánlis were appointed as Beys, instead of Mamlúks, during the whole time of the Turkish rule in Egypt.

A certain Jew, named Yusuf-al-Yahúdí, was Mint Master at Cairo. He was called to Istambúl on business, and, while there, he made some suggestions to the Porte with regard to currency and finance, which were approved, and he was sent back to Egypt with authority to introduce them. But these innovations displeased the Turkish soldiery, who clamoured for the Jew's life. The Páshá, to save him from their fury, threw him into prison, but the Janissaries broke into the prison

took the Jew out and killed him, and cast his body on the place called Rúmiluja : and the populace gathered wood and faggots and burnt the corpse.

When the soldiers were not bullying the Páshá, or baiting Jews and Christians, they were fighting among themselves. A soldier of the Azabs went to the wars in Europe, and was reported missing. He was supposed to be dead, and his name was struck off the rolls. He afterwards returned to Cairo, and, as he could not get his accounts in his old corps settled to his satisfaction, he contrived to enlist in the Mutafarrika. The Azabs resented this, and as he was passing their barracks one day, they turned out and captured him and confined him. The Mutafarrika, when they heard this, attacked the barracks of the Azabs and rescued him by main force. This brought on a feud between the two corps ; but the other five Ojáks all took the part of the Mutafarrika, and the Azabs had to submit. Four of their Kiáyás were banished from Egypt by order of the Páshá, Dámád Hasan.

About this time there was a serious revolt of the Bedouin tribes, and eight thousand Arabs, under the command of a chief named Ibn Wáni, ravaged Upper Egypt. Farári Ahmad Páshá failed to quell the revolt, and was superseded by Ali Páshá ; and, the whole available force of Turks and Mamlúks being directed against the Bedouins, they were driven back into their deserts.

In the eighteenth century the chief power of the State passed out of the hands of the Turkish soldiery, and back into the hands of the Mamlúk Beys. The strength of the troops was gradually declining, for they were recruited from their own children born to them by the women of the country, so that the race continually deteriorated, and the soldiers were half breeds between the Turk and Arab, of inferior physique, and doubtful courage ; and were unable to cope with the Mamlúks, who constantly received fresh drafts from their native Kavkás. Moreover, the discipline and organisation of the troops had gradually deteriorated ; they practised trades and handicrafts, and neglected the exercise of arms : they were no longer subordinate to their own officers, but attached themselves to any one who would hire their services. A Mamlúk Bey would sometimes have fifty or sixty Janissaries in his pay, and always at his orders.

If a European trader could not recover a debt from a native, he sent for a Janissary and confided the commission to him for a percentage : on which the soldier, with some fellow-ruffians, would repair to the debtor and extort the money, or its equivalent, by threats and violence. "These Janissaries," says Dr. Perry, who resided in Cairo during this period, "are honest

gentlemen in their own estimation, but upon proof and experience, the greatest scoundrels and villains in Nature."

When Kosij Khalil Páshá was Viceroy, and Ayúb Bey of the Kásimli faction was Shaikh-al-Balad, much dissatisfaction was caused by their arbitrary exactions. Kaitas Bey Zulfikárlí raised an agitation against them, in which he was supported by six out of the seven Ojáks, the exception being the Janissaries who arranged themselves in support of Ayúb Bey Kásimli, under the command of their detested Kiáyá, Farang Ahmad. Civil war blazed up in Cairo, and raged for days and weeks in the streets and markets of the city. The powerful Ibrahim Bey joined Kaitas Bey. Ayúb Bey's house was stormed and set on fire: Farang Ahmad was killed by a musket-ball: the Kásimlis and Janissaries were beaten: the Páshá was deposed; Kaitas Bey was made Káim-mokám in his place, and Ibráhim Bey was made Shaikh-al-Balad. The Porte, as usual, accepted the situation, and sent Vali Pashá to supersede Kosij Khalil; but the new Viceroy could not get the reins of power out of the hands of Kaitas Bey. Accordingly, Abdi Páshá was sent to make a fresh trial; for no tribute had been received from Egypt for some years: and the Porte was at it's wit's end for money to carry on the Russian war. Abdi Páshá received a visit from Kaitas Bey in the citadel of Cairo, and during the interview he had his visitor seized by his attendants and thrown out of the window; and Kaitas Bey was killed by the fall. His adherents and the Zulfikárlí faction took arms to avenge his death; and again there was civil war; but Abdi Páshá succeeded in restoring tranquillity by a mixture of force, compromise and cajolery. He imprisoned and tortured Kosij Khalil Páshá to make him disgorge the plunder of Egypt which he had kept back from the Porte: and he sent Vali Páshá under arrest to Constantinople, where he was executed in atonement for the failure of his Mission, '*pour encourager les autres.*'

But the real power in Egypt remained in the hands of the Mamlúk Beys. They made grants of villages and lands to the Turkish officers of the Ojáks, who supported their own faction and thus attached them to their own interests. Henceforth the degenerate Turkish Ojáklis ceased to act in their own or in the Páshá's interest, and only followed the lead of the Mamlúks.

Abdi Páshá sent off the Egyptian contingent of three thousand men to the Russian war. Owing to the victories of the Muscovite arms at this time, and the increasing anarchy in the Turkish Empire, the minds of men in Islam became strangely excited: and prophecies were freely circulated of the coming of the Mahdi and the approaching end of the age. One prediction, which obtained great credence in Egypt, fore-

told that Mecca and Medina would be taken by the Russians, and that the body of the Prophet would be brought to Alexandria for safety, and from thence be transported to the holy city of Kairwán : after which event the present dispensation would be closed in the orthodox fashion.

At this time also Wahhábí Missionaries made their first appearance in Egypt, and their preaching greatly scandalised the 'Ulamá and puzzled the people. The Mamlúks, who were not at all inclined to favour Puritan doctrine and practice, put the Wahhábí preachers out of the way, by imprisoning or exiling them on any convenient opportunity : but they did not act with open violence against them, fearing a tumult of the people.

The great traveller Bruce, who passed through Egypt at this time, gives the following emphatic verdict on the rule of the Mamlúk Beys and their Turkish partners. " A more brutal, unjust, tyrannical, oppressive, avaricious set of infernal miscreants there is not on earth than are the members of the Government of Cairo."

The Porte was very anxious to break the power of the Beys, and hoped to do so by encouraging dissensions among them. Rághib Páshá thought that he had discovered a fitting instrument in Ali Bey Abáza, a wily Mamlúk, who pretended to play into his hands. The Páshá made him Shaikh-al-Balad in room of the refractory Khalil Bey : there was the usual civil war : and Ali Bey was expelled from Cairo. Rághib Páshá's successor, Hamza Páshá, was re-called in consequence, and Rahím Muhammad Páshá sent to re-instate Ali. Ali Bey, however, re-instated himself : having recruited an army in Upper Egypt, he descended on the capital, defeated his antagonists in a pitched battle under the walls, and entered Cairo in triumph. He now threw off the mask, proclaimed Egypt independent of the Porte, and coined money in his own name.

He ruled the country with great ability and tyranny for several years, conquered Jidda and the Holy Cities, and made some progress towards the conquest of Syria. He tried to inaugurate a national movement of the Arabs and Egyptians against the Turks in order to strengthen himself, and he opened communications with the Admirals of the Russian fleet, which was then in the Levant, and at his invitation they came to Alexandria and received supplies from him in exchange for arms and ammunition. But on his departure to resume the war in Syria, he left his brother-in-law, a Mamlúk named Muhammad Abu Zahab, in Cairo, as his deputy : and this man, who was as brave a soldier and as astute a politician as Ali himself, was secretly gained over by emissaries of the Porte. He hoisted the Imperial standard and proclaimed Ali

a traitor : and his threats to confiscate the lands and goods, and ill-use the relatives of the soldiery of Ali's army, caused the desertion of most of the latter's troops, and so ensured the defeat of the remainder.

Ali was desperately wounded and taken prisoner, and died a few days later of his wounds, or was murdered by his treacherous brother-in-law, as is variously asserted.

Muhammad Abu Zahab was made Páshá of Egypt by the Porte, as a reward for this service ; he was the second Mamlúk who had held the post, the first being the traitor Kliair Bey : but he did not long enjoy the fruit of his treachery, but died while he was re-conquering Syria for the Porte. His death left Egypt a prey to a chronic civil war between his own and Ali's Mamlúks ; and the old feud of Zulfikárlis and Kásimlis was merged in that of the Muhammadiyas and Alawiyas, as they were called after their respective patrons.

The death of Muhammad Abu Zahab Páshá left Cairo in possession of his favourite Mamlúks, at the head of whom were Múrád Bey and Ibráhim Bey, the latter of whom married the widow of his patron, the sister of the late Ali Bey : he busied himself chiefly with civil affairs, while his colleague Múrád Bey acted as military leader. The favourite Mamlúks of Ali Bey were Ismáil Bey and Hasan Bey Jiddawi, who retired to Upper Egypt. The Porte sent a new Pasha to Cairo, and the Beys received him with the usual honours and allowed him to reside in the citadel : but he could get no share in the administration of the country ; and set himself, as usual, to foment the discords of the rival parties on the common Turkish principle of "Divide et Impera."

Ismáil and Hasan diligently recruited their forces in Upper Egypt, and the discontented and restless, who always formed a majority among the Mamlúks, gradually joined them : they engaged the Bedouin tribes to aid them, and suddenly descended on Cairo. Ibráhim and Múrád were taken by surprise and fled without fighting ; taking the place of their late antagonists in Upper Egypt.

Ismáil Bey now became Shaikh-al-Balad and Hasan Bey Jiddawi, his Military Lieutenant : and the same play was acted over again, only the *rôles* of the actors being changed. The disaffected Mamlúks and the Bedouins now joined Ibráhim and Múrád, and the two Beys, in their turn, descended on Cairo. Ismáil was ready for them, but he tried negotiation first. He made a catspaw of the Páshá : the latter was to act the part of mediator, and to lure Ibráhim and Múrád to a pretended conference, where they were to be set on and murdered. The plot thickened : Múrád and Ibráhim agreed to a reconciliation and a division of power : and all was going on splendidly,

when Hasan Bey Jiddawī secretly revealed the plot to the two threatened Beys in time to save their lives : they again had recourse to arms : and in the battle which followed, Hasan Bey went over to the enemy, and his defection decided the day. Ismāīl escaped, with his family and his treasures, to Gaza, where he embarked for Constantinople, to lay his case before the Porte.

The motive for Hasan Bey's treachery had been jealousy of Ismāīl, who, in his opinion, usurped more than his fair share of the power and profits of Government. But he soon found that he had not bettered himself by his change of sides. There was smothered hostility between his Alawiya followers and the Muhammadiya retainers of the rival Beys. Ibrāhīm and Múrād Bey keenly suspected Hasan of meditating some new treachery, and resolved to forestall him. One day the three Beys and others were watching the martial exercises of their Mamlúks, who were firing at an earthenware jar placed on the ground while passing it at full gallop. One of Múrād Bey's most skilful marksmen took his turn, but his bullet flew so wide of the mark that it passed through Hasan Bey's turban, and just grazed his head. Hasan shouted treachery and drew his sabre ; his Mamlúks flew to arms, and in a moment the mimic warfare was changed to real strife, the parade ground became a battle field, covered with Mamlúks shouting their war-cries, firing, and charging. Hasan Bey's Mamlúks, who were the fewest in number, were discomfited and fled to the city. Here the battle was renewed : streets were barricaded ; houses were stormed and set on fire ; desperate combats were waged in the streets. After several days' fighting the Alawiyas were completely vanquished, and their leaders, Hasan Bey and Rizwan Bey, fled from the city. The latter escaped, but Hasan Bey fell into the hands of some Bedouins, who gave him up to his pursuers. The hostile Mamlúks were escorting him back into Cairo, when, in passing by the house of the respected and venerable Shaikh-al-Damanhuri, the prisoner suddenly broke from his guards and escaped into the house. The Shaikh refused to give him up. The Mamlúks blockaded the house and sent for orders to their chiefs. The orders came back to force the house and re-capture Hasan Bey at all hazards. The Mamlúks broke into the house, but Hasan Bey escaped on to the roof and thence took a flying leap on to the roof of the next one, and so on along the tops of the houses, his pursuers following him in the street below. When Hasan reached the last house in the street, he could go no further : descending by the stairs, he rushed into the street, killed a Mamlúk, who was watching the door, sprang on the dead man's horse and scoured away through the streets of Cairo with a score of

pursuers at his heels. The mad chase swept through the bazaars and streets of Cairo like a fox-hunt, throwing the whole city into an uproar. Hard pressed by the following foes, Hasan Bey darted into the court-yard of the house of his enemy Ibrahim Bey, threw himself from the saddle, burst into the house, overthrew everyone and everything in his way, broke into the Harem, scaring the terrified women, and seized the shirt of the wife of Ibrahim Bey, the widow of Abu Zahab and the sister of Ali. The sanctuary of the Harém must be respected by Mamlúk chivalry, and Ibrahim Bey swore to spare the life of the suppliant: But it was craftily decided to banish Hasan Bey to Jidda, of which city he had been governor under Ali Bey (whence his *sobriquet* of Jiddawi) and where he had made himself so cordially detested by his brutality and rapacity, that it was fully expected and hoped that the people would tear him to pieces directly he appeared among them. He was accordingly despatched under escort by ship from Suez to this agreeable place of exile: but he contrived to corrupt his guards, and they put into the harbour of Cosseir, and connived at his escape to the shore, while they concocted a cock-and-bull story to account for it. Hasan Bey made his way from Cosseir to Upper Egypt, and there hoisted his standard. He again made overtures to Ismáil Bey who forgave his previous treachery, and made his way in disguise from Constantinople to Upper Egypt to rejoin his old friends and comrades of the Alawiya faction.

The mad ride of Hasan Bey hunted through the streets in Cairo, is still a favourite theme of the Cairene story-tellers, in whose mouth a tale never loses in the telling: but we have purposely omitted here the romantic and marvellous incidents with which they have embellished the story.

The turn of the tide soon came again to Ismáil and Hasan. The Russian squadron was still in the Levant, and the Empress Catherina renewed to Ibrahim and Múrád Bey, through M. Thoms, the Russian Consul General at Alexandria, her friendly overtures: her object was to obtain possession of that city and harbour as a shelter and *point d'appuis* for her fleet in the Levant. The English and French Consuls took alarm and warmly opposed M. Thoms' plans: and he, in retaliation, excited Múrád Bey's jealousy and amity to such a pitch against his rivals, that all of them threatened to leave Egypt.

The noise of the quarrel reached Constantinople, where the English and French ambassadors, already jealous of Russia, excited the Porte to action: and, as soon as the Russian war was over, Gházi-Hasan, the Kápitán Páshá, or Lord High Admiral of the Ottoman Empire, was ordered to embark an army

for Alexandria, with full powers to restore the authority of the Porte in Egypt. Gházi Hasan was the ablest military leader that Turkey had seen for the last three centuries: but he was not a true Osmánli, but an Iráni Turk, or Kizzilbásh, by birth. He had enlisted with a recruiting party sent to Asia-Minor by the Dái of Algiers, and had been successively a private Janissary, a Corsair Captain, Commodore of the Algerine Squadron sent to help the Sultan against the Russians in the Levant, and Kápitán Páshá of the Ottoman Fleet. He was a successful commander by sea and land, and a striking exception to the general rule of incompetence which has for three centuries past signalised the Turkish conduct of naval and military operations. He was now entrusted with the command of an army of five thousand men, Janissaries (infantry) and Levends (Marines) which was embarked on board his fleet for Egypt. The cavalry were to proceed by land, and enter Egypt by the Isthmus of Suez, under the command of Abdi Páshá of Halab (Aleppo), who had been expelled from that city by the mutinous Janissaries, and was to be recompensed by the Government of Egypt.

Gházi Hasan Páshá summoned the Mamlúk Beys to meet him at Alexandria; but they refused, and prepared to meet force by force. The Kápitán Páshá did not wait for the junction of the cavalry, but, with his small force, marched on Cairo. Múrád Bey set out to oppose him, and the two armies met on the banks of the Nile. Gházi Hasan drew up his men with much judgment, their front and flanks covered by wet rice-fields, in which the armoured Mamlúk horsemen sank up to their girths, while the Turks shot them down at their leisure. The Mamlúks lost many men, became panic-struck, and fled back to Cairo. Gházi Hasan followed them as fast as he could. Ibráhim and Múrád attempted no further resistance, but fled to Upper Egypt; while Ismáil and Hasan Bey came to welcome the Turkish army.

The ease with which Gházi Hasan's weak and undisciplined army beat the Mamlúks shows how little formidable the latter really were in the field; however individually brave and expert, they were incapable, from lack of organization and skill, of acting collectively. As Napoleon afterwards said, when he had experience of their method of fighting: "One Mameluke would beat two French horsemen: twenty might meet twenty Frenchmen on equal terms: but fifty French Hussars would defeat fifty Mamelukes: and a hundred French would easily rout two hundred Mamelukes."

Gházi Hasan occupied Cairo and awaited the arrival of Abdi Páshá and his horde of cavalry, who advanced through Syria and Palestine like a plague of locusts, "eating up" all the

country they passed through. On their arrival, Abdi Páshá was appointed Viceroy of Egypt, in room of the *fuineant* Muhammad Yegen Páshá, who had for years been only a puppet of the Mamlúk Beys : Ismáil Bey was made Shaikh-al-Balad, and all offices and posts of honour and authority were given to his partisans. All sorts of outrages and excesses were committed by the Turkish soldiery in Cairo, until Gházi Hasan summarily executed some of the offenders, and so succeeded in putting some limit to their license.

Al Jabárti states that, after the army had evacuated Cairo, the bodies of seventy women were found buried in and about the stables of the residence vacated by Hamámji Oghli, a captain of the corps of Levends, who had been kidnapped and outraged, and then murdered by him and his myrmidons.

As for plundering, Gházi Hasan and his officers set a bad example to their men. The Turkish soldiers, who were billeted on the shop-keepers, took charge of the till, and decided the profits of the day's business with the proprietor.

Gházi Hasan and Abdi Páshá pursued Múrád and Ibráhim Bey, and drove them beyond the cataracts of the Nile ; several actions were fought with varying success ; but as the fugitives could not be overtaken nor brought to a stand, Gházi Hasan made a virtue of necessity, and proposed a compromise : an expedient always dear to Turkish diplomacy. A reconciliation was effected between Alawiyas and Muham-madiyas, and the land of Egypt was to be amicably divided between them : Ismáil and Hasan were to keep Cairo and Lower Egypt : Ibráhim and Múrád were to be uncontrolled masters of Upper Egypt. Abdi Páshá was to enjoy the shadow of authority as Viceroy of the Porte in the citadel of Cairo, while Ismáil Bey was to govern the country as Shaikh-al-Balad. This was the best arrangement that Gházi Hasan could make for the peace of Egypt, and after all he left the country very much as he had found it. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

Ismáil Bey, for a Mamlúk, was a good ruler : he respected his engagements with the Porte and with the rival factions, remitted the tribute money regularly, and treated the people fairly and mercifully.

He died in 1792, at Cairo, of a fearful visitation of the plague, which then periodically devastated the city and country : and for long afterwards the people spoke of that particular time as the time of Ismáil Bey's plague. His death was the signal for Ibráhim and Múrád to make a dash at Cairo. Hasan Bey Jiddawi was again defeated and put to flight : and the two parties again reversed their positions.

The Porte was involved in another Russian war and could

not interfere. But the power which Ibráhim and Múrád Bey wielded more vigorously than wisely or well, was overthrown by a blow from an unexpected quarter. The outrages committed in Egypt upon all Europeans and Christians, including French subjects, were no worse now than they had ever been : but the French Directory, happening to want an excuse for seizing Egypt, made them a pretext for the expedition under Napoleon Bonaparte, which it was impudently pretended was sent with the object of re-asserting the authority of the Porte in that country, and delivering it from the tyranny of the Mamlúk Beys.

Al Jabárti relates how the English fleet arrived off Alexandria, searching for the French fleet ; and how Múrád Bey's Káshif, not believing their story, refused them supplies, and they departed.

How, a few days afterwards, the French fleet arrived and disembarked an army to the astonishment, rage, and terror of the inhabitants, who thought the days of the Crusades had returned : and how the infidels ruled in Egypt for five years to the utter confusion of the true believers. The events of the French conquest are too well known to need repetition here. The remnant of the Mamlúks who were not destroyed in the battles of the Pyramids, took refuge in Upper Egypt : two Turkish armies, successively despatched by sea and by land, to effect the reconquest of Egypt were annihilated by the French : two sanguinary insurrections of the inhabitants of Cairo against the hated intruders were repressed with merciless severity : and Egypt lay crushed and palpitating beneath the heel of a Nazarene Conqueror.

Al Jabárti gives a *naïve* and amusing account of the loathing and repugnance with which the pious Muslims viewed the excellent police and sanitary regulations forced upon them by their infidel masters, who did not scruple to interfere with the methods of Providence, and pretended to cheat Azrael of his predestined prey. But he is intelligent enough himself to appreciate the order of the French administration, and the heights to which they had arrived in art and science, in comparison with his own countrymen. He is, as becomes a sober and sedate follower of the Prophet, greatly scandalised at the public *fetes* and revelries which they inaugurated, and in which the Greeks, Copts, and Christians and infidels of all sorts participated in the most shameless manner.

At last, in 1801, the English sent an army which turned the French out of Egypt. Another Anglo-Indian army of soldiers and sepoys under Sir David Baird embarked at Bombay and

landed at Cosseir on the Red Sea coast, where Múrád Bey supplied them with camels and guides for the march across the desert; but they arrived in Cairo after the fun of the fair, for the French had already capitulated to the English under General Hutchinson at Alexandria. The Indian sepoys thronged to the Mosques at Cairo, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants, who could not understand how Musalman soldiers could be serving under infidel banners. Indeed, the Egyptians and Turks had no higher opinion of the English than they had of the French: the Mamlúks alone appear to have shown some gratitude to the English for the deliverance of the country, and to have been really desirous of treating us with friendship and regard.

Ibráhim Bey was now old and feeble, and unable to take much part in public affairs; Múrád Bey had died before the French had evacuated Egypt; and Hasan Bey Jiddwai died of the plague, while serving with the army of the Grand Vazir at Gaza, operating from the side of Syria against the French in Egypt. The chief Beys among the Mamlúks were now Muhammad Bey Alfi, so called because he had been bought for a thousand (Alf) sequins, and Osmán Bey el Bardisi, called after his district or Sanják of Bardis.

The Turks, after many failures, had at length entered large armies into Egypt under cover of the British operations: the Grand Vazir led one army across the isthmus of Suez, while another, under the command of Muhammad Khusrau Páshá, landed from the Ottoman fleet at Alexandria. The Porte had determined to profit by the troubles of Egypt, and not to reinstate the unruly Mamlúk Beys in their powers and dignities. By way of commencing the new policy, the Kápitán Páshá Husain invited the Mamlúk Beys, who were acting as auxiliaries to the English army at Alexandria, to an entertainment on board his flagship, and sent boats to convey them thither. In the boats the Turkish escort picked a quarrel with the Mamlúks, part of a preconcerted plan, and set upon them. All the Beys were killed but one, who was left for dead, but afterwards recovered and was made prisoner. The English commanders, however, were justly indignant at this vile treachery, and threatened hostilities against the Turks unless the prisoners were at once released, which was accordingly done.

This and other similar occurrences caused bad blood between the Turks and the English in Egypt. Several English soldiers at Alexandria were killed by the Turks, and the English General had much difficulty in getting the murderers brought to justice by Khusrau Páshá. At length a threat to expel the Turks from the city, brought about the surrender of two of the murderers, who were Janissaries of Khusrau's army. They

were hung by the English in full view of both armies : on which the Turkish soldiery turned out without orders, and made a tumultuous attack on the English camp. The English General beat to arms, and the Turks were soon beaten back : the English army was then drawn out in order of battle and marched upon the Ottoman camp : the Turks hastily evacuated it, and they were chased outside the city, and were not allowed to re-enter it while the English stayed there.

At Cairo an Irish renegade came into the English camp, and, declaring that he was tired of his life with the Turks, asked to be allowed to enlist in an English regiment : he was received and enrolled, and, soon after, numerous desertions took place. It was at last ascertained that the deserters were entertained by the Páshá as drill instructors. He was desirous of raising a corps of regular troops in imitation of the French and English : and the renegade had been employed by him as a decoy. The renegade escaped back to the Turks before he could be arrested ; but the British Commander had to use threats to the Páshá to make him surrender the deserters. They were at last all given up ; two were shot, and the rest pardoned.

The British evacuated Egypt in March 1803, and Muhammad Bey Alfi accompanied them to England, in the hope of getting the British Government to assist him and his brother Beys against the Turks : for Khusrau Páshá had now commenced a regular war against the Mamlúks, and the latter were sore pressed by the numbers of their enemy. There were about twenty thousand Turkish soldiers under Khusrau Páshá's orders ; and the numbers of the Mamlúks had been greatly reduced, both by the numbers slain in their battles against the French, and by the difficulty of recruiting their ranks, since the conquest of Crimea by the Russians had put an end to the Tartar slave-raids on which they mainly relied for their supply of recruits. However, Osmán el Bardisi with only eight hundred Mamlúk horsemen routed the whole Turkish army, said to have been fourteen thousand strong, at Damanhoor, by a gallant and desperate charge.

The whole country was alternately ravaged and plundered by the combatants, and Egypt was in a complete state of anarchy and disorder. The anarchy was at its height in the two rival camps : the Mamlúk Beys quarrelled and fought with one another, and the Aráut soldiery in the Turkish camp at Cairo mutinied for their arrear of pay. Khusrau Páshá replied to them with artillery : they surprised and seized the citadel, from whence they commanded the Páshá and the town. Khusrau Páshá gave up the conflict and fled to Damiat (Damietta) : and the Arnauts made their chief, Tahir Agha, Páshá in his room. He had not enjoyed his new dignity three

weeks when a fresh mutiny broke out : this time it was the Turks who demanded their arrears of pay from the new Páshá : the Arnaúts supported him : a fresh civil war raged furiously, Turks against Arnaúts : and Tahir Páshá was killed by the former. The Arnaúts elected as his successor one of their Binbáshis (Colonels) named Muhammad Ali, afterwards famous as the regenerator of Egypt, and founder of the Khedivian dynasty. This justly celebrated man was a Turk of Kavalla, in Macedonia, and had come to Egypt as a Buluk-báshi (Captain) in Khusrau Páshá's army. He afterwards gave himself out to be, not of Ottoman, but of Seljukian blood, descended from Turkish bands who settled in Thrace as allies or feudatories of the Byzantine Cæsars before the Ottoman conquest : but this may have been a subterfuge to palliate his subsequent disloyalty to the House of Ottoman. He came to Egypt as a captain, not of Turkish, but of Arnaút soldiers, and all through his life he displayed his favour and partiality to Arnaúts : and his intelligence and energy present such a contrast to the sloth and stupidity of the Turkish character, that we strongly suspect his family to have been originally Arnaút, and so of Aryan blood. He now found himself in a position that called for all his skill and courage : there was open war between the Turks and Arnaúts, and Ahmad Páshá, who had been appointed by the Porte to replace Khusrau had arrived in Egypt. The Arnaúts held the citadel of Cairo and refused to allow Ahmad Páshá to enter it, while Muhammad Ali made overtures of peace to the Mamlúks, and offered to put the citadel into their hands if they would aid him against the Turks. The Beys entered Cairo with great pomp and parade and took possession of the citadel : the Turks were attacked and overpowered by the combined forces : Ahmad Páshá surrendered himself prisoner, and the ringleaders who headed the revolt of the Turkish troops against Tahir Agha, were put to death.

The whole army was now again united under Muhammad Ali, but Khusrau Páshá had gathered to himself a strong following at Damietta. Muhammed Ali and the Mamlúk Beys therefore marched together from Cairo, attacked and stormed Damietta, and sacked the town, and captured Khusrau Páshá.

The Porte had meanwhile despatched Ali Páshá Tarábulúsi (the Tripolitan) with reinforcements to pacify Egypt : and Muhammad Ali and the Beys hurried to oppose him at Alexandria.

The new Páshá at first tried to force his way to Cairo at the sword's point : but the Arnaúts and Mamlúks were too strong for him. He then tried the arts of diplomacy and treachery ; but Muhammad Ali was too strong for him. He

at last consented to come to Cairo alone : but he brought a considerable force with him, and the Mamlúks, declaring that this was an infringement, of the agreement, attacked and dispersed his escort and made the Páshá a prisoner.

The Mamlúk Beys now wished to resume their former status and authority in Egypt : but they were as usual split into rival parties : and the balance of power rested in the hands of Muhammad Ali's formidable army.

Muhammad Ali Bey returned from England, where he had accomplished little beyond dazzling the eyes of the London populace with the martial finery of his Mamlúk trappings at reviews in Hyde Park : his arrival immediately kindled a civil war among the Mamlúks, one party siding with the new comer, the other supporting his rival Osmán Bey el Bardisi. The latter were victorious, and Ali Bey fled to the desert. Osmán Bey now thought to assume the power and state of the old Shaikhs-al-Balad : but the country was in a most wretched state : there had been no regular government since the departure of the French : and there were no funds to pay the officials and troops. Osmán Bey sought to provide them by levying a heavy "benevolence" on the population of Cairo. The inhabitants resisted the tax : and Muhammad Ali now came forward as the popular champion, and refused to permit the imposition. The Mamlúks proceeded to enforce it, the Arnáuts resisted it : there was free fighting in Cairo, and this time it was Turks, Arnáuts and Egyptians against the Mamlúks alone. The latter were badly beaten, and they fled from the city, evacuating the citadel, which they were too weak in numbers to defend.

A new tyrant now appeared on the scene in the person of Khurshid Páshá, who led a fresh Turkish army into Egypt from Syria.

Mahummad Ali having the Mamlúks on his hands, thought it politic to submit to the new comer, and Khurshid was installed as Viceroy at Cairo. He took up the war against the Mamlúks, and the desolated country was again devastated by his soldiery. Their insolence and rapacity made them bitterly hated by the Egyptians, and the witty Cairenes revenged themselves by many a keen jest at the expense of their stupid oppressors. The Turkish Delis (madcaps), a kind of light horsemen, used to wear a very high cap called a "Tartúra" : and the proverbial Arab saying was : "It takes but a slight push to make a Tartúra fall," a sly allusion to the braggart character of the Turkish soldiery. Another saying was : "The filth fell upon the muck" and said to it Markabá, Kardásh ! (Hail, brother !)" the usual salutation of the Turkish soldiers to one another. At length a revolt broke out in Cairo, secretly

fomented by Muhammad Ali. He convened an assembly of the Ulama, the notables of Cairo, and the chief officers of the troops, to consider the best means of allaying the popular discontent, and offered to mediate with the Páshá. The assembly begged him to become their Páshá himself; they desired no better, and would acknowledge no other: the populace unanimously applauded their decision. Muhammad Ali complied, with feigned reluctance; his faithful Arnáuts supported him; and now a desperate and sanguinary struggle began between him and Khurshid for the mastery. The Arnáuts had possession of the citadel, from whence they cannonaded the quarters occupied by Khurshid Páshá's party. Cannons were hauled up to the tops of minarets to command the enemy's positions. The tower was set on fire in many places. Neither side could gain any decided advantage, and the strife was at last put an end to only by a Firmán from the Sultan, appointing Muhammad Ali Páshá of Egypt, agreeably to the wishes of the people, and transferring Khurshid Páshá to another Government. Thus, in 1805, Muhammad Ali became Páshá of Egypt, and Khurshid retired amidst the execrations of the people. He was an able and intelligent man, of unusually strong character for a Turk. He was afterwards Vazir of Bosnia, and subdued and killed the famous Ali Páshá of Yánniná. He died of grief, or, as some say, poisoned himself, others say was poisoned by order of the Sultan, after the failure of the campaign against the Greek insurgents in 1821.

Muhammad Ali's government was soon menaced by a most formidable danger. Ali Bey's request for English aid against the Turks had been unheeded as long as England was at peace with the Porte: but now Turkey was an ally of France and therefore an enemy of England: and the need of the Mamlúks was remembered. Ali Bey and Osmán Bey el Bardísi were both dead, but the war between the Turks and Mamlúks went on in a desultory fashion; and the English government despatched an expedition to Egypt to the aid of the latter, under the command of General Fraser. He took Alexandria easily: but the Mamlúks did not join him. Muhammad Ali hastened to make terms with them, and they joined him instead of joining the English. A British force sent to capture Rosetta got entangled in the narrow streets of the town, fired upon from the houses on all sides, and had to retreat with heavy loss: a larger force sent to retrieve the disaster was attacked in the open, and overwhelmed by the Turkish and Mamlúk Cavalry, and seven hundred Englishmen killed. Their heads were cut off and sent to decorate the avenues of Cairo as trophies of victory. After this disaster the English re-embarked their troops and evacuated the country. The prestige of

Muhammad Ali Páshá was greatly increased by his successful resistance to the English invasion.

He was resolved to make himself complete master of Egypt, and, as soon as the Mamlúks had served his turn against the English, he attacked them again, for pretexts for quarrel were never wanting, and he had made up his mind to get rid of them altogether. The Mamlúks made a daring attempt to surprise Cairo : they reached the city by a forced march and surprised one of the gates, entering by it and parading the streets with kettle-drums beating and ensigns displayed : but they neglected to secure the gate behind them, and the Turks recovered it, and cut off their retreat.

They were assailed by the Turks and Arnaúts in the narrow streets of the city, and were overpowered after a gallant resistance ; some of them abandoned their horses and escaped over the city walls : a remnant fortified themselves in a mosque and defended themselves desperately till starved into surrender : all who were made prisoners were inhumanly treated, tortured, and killed. The total number of the Mamlúks was now reduced to less than a thousand men : they received no fresh recruits from the Caucasus : some of them were killed daily in skirmishes with Muhammad Ali's Turks and Albanians : and it was evident that they could not much longer carry on the unequal struggle.

But Muhammad Ali had conceived a diabolical plan for sweeping them from his path at one blow. He held out the olive branch to them, and declared that he was about to despatch his armies to the Hijaz to rescue the Holy Cities from the Wahábi fanatics in obedience to the orders of the Porte ; and that, in view of such an enterprise, all orthodox believers should be as brothers. He succeeded in completely hoodwinking the Beys, who came to Cairo with all their Mamlúks, some hundreds in number, and were honourably treated and hospitably entertained by the Páshá.

The whole army was to be reviewed in the citadel before its departure for Arabia, and all the Beys, with their Mamlúks, to the number of five hundred, attended the ceremony in all their bravery. The banners were blessed, the salvos were fired, and the army filed out of the citadel. As the Mamlúk corps was descending the long and narrow ramp that led to the plain below, the gates before and behind them were suddenly shut and they were caught like a panther in a trap. The Turkish and Arnaút musketeers manned the walls and parapets that enclosed and overlooked them, and opened a murderous fire. Every Mamlúk was shot down and killed, till five hundred and seventy corpses of men and horses blocked up the steep and narrow way. One Bey alone escaped. Tradition says that he leaped his horse over the low parapet wall which

skirts the precipitous side of the citadel rock, and, though his horse was killed, he escaped unhurt. Modern criticism has discovered that illness or suspicion prevented him from being present at the parade; and he succeeded in escaping on hearing the news of the massacre.

He lived to a good old age, dying during the Crimean War, as also did Khusráw Páshá who was Viceroy of Egypt in 1803.

The houses of the Beys in the city were sacked by the troops, and their women outraged by the Turkish soldiery.

A small remnant of the Mamlúks, among whom was the aged and infirm Ibráhim Bey, fled to Ibrim, an outpost south of Assuán on the frontiers of Nábia. They were chased thence by Muhammad Ali's soldiers and took refuge in the Soudan. Ibráhim Bey died at Dongola in 1816.

There was great rejoicing at the Porte at the news of this horrible massacre; but the bloody grave of the Mamlúks was also the grave of the Turkish dominion in Egypt. Muhammad Ali Páshá, as soon as he had cleared the field of the Beys, put in force the projects that he had already formed for making Egypt an independent State.

He had seen the French and English troops in Egypt, and like Hyder Ali of Mysore, whom he much resembled in mind and character, he set himself to the study of European methods of war. He framed the administration of the country on a European model, and he resolved to possess a regular army. He at first tried to induce his Turks and Arnaúts to learn drill and submit to discipline: but they showed their teeth so significantly that he thought it prudent to desist. His next experiment was with blacks captured or purchased in the Soudan: these made docile soldiers, but a mysterious mutiny broke out among them, and they died in their camps like rotten sheep. Last, he turned to the despised Egyptian Felákin, the bondsmen of the globe, whose race had not worn weapons for two thousand years. In vain they cut off their thumbs or put out their eyes to escape the dreaded conscription. They were remorselessly swept into the net. French officers, renegades and refugees from the wreck of *La Grande Armée* were employed to drill them into the semblance of a machine that fired and charged with automatic regularity. With this instrument he made Egypt again a kingdom, founded a dynasty, and would have overturned the Ottoman Empire, but for the interference of the great powers of Europe to prevent such a catastrophe.

His mutinous Turks and Arnaúts he got rid of by sending them to conquer or die in Nijd and the Soudan; and the greatest part of them perished at Shendy, with his son Ismail, under the spears of Mek Nimr (the Panther King) and the Sennaar

Arabs. All through the long rule of the Turks and the Mamlúk Beys in Egypt, they had never pushed their frontier southward beyond Aßsuoáan, and its outposts Deir and Ibrim in the desert, where their were mud forts mounted with small cannon and garrisoned by Janissaries, who had intermarried with the women of the country and had even forgotten their own language. Latterly, Upper Egypt had become the exclusive appanage of the Mamlúk Beys. But now Muhammad Ali pushed his conquests far to the south, overthrew the Arab Kingdoms of Dongola and Sennaar, and made Khartoum the southern outpost of Egypt. His successors, extended their frontiers to the equator, and made of Egypt almost an Empire : but the late outburst of Musalman fanaticism in the Soudan has again reduced her to her ancient limits under the Turks.

With the accession of Muhammad Ali to power a fresh chapter opens in the history of Egypt. There are still ten thousand Turks in Egypt, descendants for the most part of the Ojáklis of the old seven corps of occupation, or of the soldiery whom Khusrau and Khurshid Páshás led into the country. The ruling class is still Turkish ; the Páshá has become the Khedive (Khadiv : King) ; and all the heads of Departments and general officers of the Army have become Páshás. But the governing classes are by degrees becoming merged in the nation, like the Normans in England, and the Franks in Gaul : and an Egyptian nation which is neither Turk nor Arab, will perhaps some day restore the oldest country known to history to her place among the nations. There can be no better means of accomplishing the regeneration of Egypt than to leave her under the tutelage and guardianship of England, until she is able to walk alone. We have traced her miserable history back through four centuries of Turkish misrule and anarchy : and we can only hope that a new era is dawning for her, and that her people may prove themselves worthy of the blessing of a liberal and enlightened Government.

H. F. TYRRELL, *Major-General.*

ART. III.—THE DEHRÁ DUN.

V.

The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXI, 1858 : Art. IX. 'The Dehra Doon as a seat of European Colonisation in India.

Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon. By G. R. C. Williams. B.A., Bengal Civil Service, Roorkee, Thomason College Press, 1874.

Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces. Vols. X and XI.

Reports on Projects for the proposed Dehra Dún Railway, 1885-87.

Final Report of the Eighth Revision of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dehra Dún District. Allahabad Government Press, 1886.

Reports of the Forest Department.

TEA IN THE DUN.

MR. Baker, in the Settlement Report, said that tea had played such an important part in the history of the Dun that a brief notice of the origin and progress of the industry seemed called for, and he gave a sketch of it, quoted from Mr. Williams' Memoir, which I repeat, as it seems hardly capable of abridgment :—

"Dr. Royle, Superintendent of the Botanical Garden, Saharanpore, first recommended the experiment of tea cultivation in our Himalayan possession to the Indian Government in the year 1827, and again expressed his views in a report (published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, February 1832) to the Governor-General, Lord W. Bentinck, during the latter's visit to Saharanpore in 1831. About the same time Dr. Wallich" (of the Calcutta Garden) "presented a paper to the Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of India, urging the cultivation of tea in the districts of Kumaon, Garhwal and Sirmore. Dr. Royle afterwards recurred to the subject in the introductory chapter to his Illustrations of the Botany of the Himalayan Mountains, in 1833.

"Jurapánee" (Jharipáni, or Jhartipáni) "half-way between Rajpore and Mussooree, was," he contended, "one of the most favourable situations for an experiment of the kind (1834). Meanwhile, Lord W. Bentinck had, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, determined to give tea cultivation a fair trial, and a Committee was appointed to elaborate a plan for carrying out the design. The conclusion arrived at was, that 'the proposed experiments might be made, with great probability of success, in the lower hills and valleys of the Himalayan Range.' To this they were, in a great measure, led by the fact, 'that in the mountain tracts of our northern and eastern frontier, several species of plants are found indigenous, which are also natives of China, and are not met with in other parts of the world.' In 1835, tea plants reared from seeds of the Bohea tea were distributed to the most promising districts, and Dr. Falconer, Dr. Royle's successor, having chosen Gurhwál for the scene of his first experiments, sent intelligence to his predecessor, in May

1838, that some plants, the produce of seeds from the Koth nursery in Gurhwal, were actually growing at Saharanpore itself. That they would flourish in the Dún seemed certain, but Dr. Royle remained constant to his original opinion in favor of Jurápáge.

"Other counsels prevailed, and a Government plantation was started at Kawlageer near Dehra, under the management of Dr. Jameson, in the year 1844. The farm covered 400 acres of good soil composed of clay and vegetable matter, with a slight mixture of sand, resting on the usual shingly subsoil of limestone, sandstone, clay-slate, quartz, &c., &c., found on the surrounding mountains. It was carried on with fluctuating success for twenty-three years. In his report of 1850, Mr. Fortune, a gentleman deputed by Government to visit the various plantations, stated that the plants, generally, did not appear to him to be in that fresh and vigorous condition which he had been accustomed to see in good Chinese plantations. His report of 1856 was much more favourable, and he attributed the improvement to his own suggestions. This elicited a rejoinder from the Superintendent of the Saharanpore gardens, who pointed out that, whereas Mr. Fortune now admitted the plants to be equal to any in China, he had previously condemned the Doon as unfitted for tea cultivation on insufficient data, and with regard to his *suggestions*, the improvement could hardly be attributed to them, because, far from being new, they were all contained in some notes prepared by Dr. Jameson himself, some years before, for the information and guidance of tea-planters. It is impossible here to enter into a history of the controversy, or to do justice to Dr. Jameson's efforts in the cause of tea culture. To them, suffice it to say, tea owes its position as the principal staple commodity of the district. The Kowlageer plantation was eventually sold to the Rájá of Sirmore for £20,000 in 1867. It repays the purchaser, and bids fair to afford handsome profits in process of time."

Kowlageer (or Kaolagarh—Kaulágir on the maps) is a beautiful estate, the land under tea (350 acres in 1885) being on the flat plateau to the west of Dehra, and in a compact block, with a canal from the Tons river running through it. The roads through the tea are lined with pear and peach trees, and numerous graft mango trees have been planted. The property still belongs to the Sirmur Rájá, but the most has not always been made of it, and other tea estates in the Dún soon went ahead of it in respect of the introduction of machinery. Being so close to Dehra, and the soil being good, the estate would always pay well if let for ordinary agricultural purposes. Mr. Williams went on to say:—

"Dr. Jameson's calculations about the tea-bearing capabilities of the Doon in 1857 were:—

No. of acres capable of producing tea	...	...	100,000
Yield per acre	...	...	100
Total yield	...	...	1,000,000

(Besides 10,000 in Jaunsar Bawur)

"But however satisfactory the prospects of tea cultivation may at present be, it is a safe production that the day at which the hypothetical total will be attained, or can possibly be attained, is still very far off.

"In 1863-64 the area under tea was only 1,700 acres, and a return

prepared by the writer, at the request of the Secretary, Board of Revenue, N.-W. Provinces, after careful personal inquiry, two years ago, exhibited results falling very far short of Dr. Jameson's anticipations.

Estimated area under tea cultivation, in acres.			Estimated outturn, in lbs.	Estimated value of annual outturn.
A.	R.	P.		Rs
2,024	2	0	297,828	1,74,865

"This certainly does not show any very striking increase in the area under tea cultivation, but it is satisfactory to observe that the average outturn per acre exceeded even Dr. Jameson's assumed maximum."

"Mr. Fortune was of opinion that a capitalist with Rs. 2,00,000 might bring 1,800 acres of land under tea cultivation in eight years and make a profit of at least Rs. 2,62,388 by the transaction! Dr. Jameson's calculations are even more dazzling. He allows a profit of Rs. 1,67,972 on only 1,000 acres of land in the same period!! Both statisticians, it is true, add that from the gross profits should be deducted 'interest for capital invested, extra carriage, auctioneer's fees,' and so forth, items which would make a serious alteration in the result, without taking accidental contingencies into account."

From the Settlement Report of 1884-86, I find that there were then 33 tea gardens in the Dún belonging to 23 separate estates, and that the total area under tea was then 4,972 acres, of which only 600 acres were in the Eastern Dún. Of the 23 estates, 18 belonged to European individuals or Companies. Dr. Jameson's estimate of area capable of being put under tea was 100,000 acres. The total outturn of tea in 1885 was 928,777 lbs, giving an average of 186 lbs. per acre. The acreage said to be under mature plants was only 3,700, which averages 250 lbs an acre. The yield per acre varied. Very much the best was on Harbanswála, (which garden as stated by my precursor on this subject was started in 1853) namely, 353 lbs. per acre, all from mature plants. Kaulágir,* the oldest garden, yielded only 243 lbs, per acre, all mature: Annfield, another garden, came to full maturity, yielded only 202 lbs. per acre. Ambári, all mature, yielded at the rate of 313 lbs.; while Arcadia, belonging to the owners of Harbanswála, the Dehra Dún Tea Company, Limited, with 107 acres immature out of 507, yielded 313 lbs., the same rate as Ambári did, and the garden of the East Hopetown Tea Company, Limited, which was started only in 1876, and in 1885 had 22 acres of immature plant, out of a total 322, yielded at

(* The spelling on the map is Kaulagir: the estate spelling is Kowlaghur which might be transliterated Cowlaghoor).

the rate of 263 lbs. per acre. Annfield, which belongs to the Sirmur Maharaja, is at the west end of the Western Dún, and is exposed to occasional hot winds from the Punjab, which must tell severely on the spring crop ; and this is also the case with a group of nine gardens in the same neighbourhood, belonging to one proprietorship, which showed a yield in 1885 of only 62 lbs. per acre. In this case, however, 454 acres out of 753 were returned as being immature.

It may be recollected that in a former article I quoted from my fore-writer in this *Review* a calculation of the profits expected from the Harbanswála garden, in which it was stated that bushes five years old were "yielding three or four hundred pounds of tea per acre, which will sell on the spot for five shillings a pound." If this was the yield then, on Harbanswála, these five-year old bushes were then at their best, for 27 years later the rate of yield was still only 353 lbs. In that article I hazarded a doubt whether Colonel "Elwall," named as having started the Harbanswála garden, was not the late Colonel Thelwall, who I knew had been connected with the estate. But I have since been informed (through the Editor, by the writer of the 1858 article, Mr. H. G. Keene, C. I. E.) that Colonel Elwall was Colonel Thelwall's partner, and that he supplied the "rough calculation" which I quoted. This is a strange association of names. Colonel Thelwall was quite as sanguine a man as his partner Colonel Elwall was, and "kindly gave" information to the writer of the Dún Memoir as to a subsequent speculation of his in the Eastern Dún, in the cultivation and manufacture of Rhea fibre. "Last May," (1874 ?) Mr. Williams said "he had 200 acres of land at Luchewála actually under Rhea, 600 cleared, and stock ready for 2,000 more." "His crops are so valuable that it pays to wire fence them." During litigation, which afterwards ensued about that estate, "it was stated in evidence before the High Court, by a gentleman who had been in Colonel Thelwall's employment, that in 1871 there were then only 20 acres under Rhea, and the cultivation was brought to 90 acres only, by 1874, when the enterprise was stopped, only 44 tons of fibre having been turned out, and the market price having fallen from £70 and £90 a ton to £28 and £35. I may say some thing more about the Rhea experiment farther on. The features and conditions of tea planting in the Dún will be seen from the following sketch of the history and present position of the leading Company of the district.

THE DEHRA DUN TEA COMPANY, LIMITED.

I cannot trace the history of the Dehra Dún Tea Company, *Limited*, further back than the year 1863, when, or shortly before, it seems to have been reorganised, new articles of

Association being adopted, and the office removed to Calcutta. At 31st December 1883 the capital account stood at Rs. 8,36,487, while, per contra, the Block Account, Preliminary Expenses, and New Plantations Account aggregated Rs. 8,98,612. It was then resolved to increase the Capital to 9 *lakhs* by the issue of new shares, preferably to the existing shareholders; but only Rs. 41,573 was thus raised, and the Capital Account still remains at Rs. 8,78,000. The Block Account, however, had by 1869 mounted up, by cost of extensions and payment of balance of cost of land, to Rs. 9,76,571. The estate originally comprised three properties, or sections, "Arcadia" (vern. Mithiberi), part, I think, of the old grant of 1838, on which was a two-storeyed house, built in 1839; East Hopetown, (vern. Ambiwála), and Harbanswála, the scene of Colonels Thelwall and Elwall's experiments, for which I find that the Company, or its founders, paid 5 *lakhs* of rupees (!) of which, however, Rs. 2,85,083 were taken in shares. The purchasers probably relied much on Colonel Thelwall's statements of the yield of tea per acre, which I know were afterwards much more rosy than those made to my fore-writer in 1858. Writing in 1866, Colonel Thelwall said: "The old tea in the Dún that I planted over ten years ago, as tea ought to be planted, gave 800 lbs. of made tea an acre last year, though no one believes it." Again writing in 1866 about the mismanagement of an estate in the Eastern Dún in which he was interested, Colonel Thelwall said—"After I left Harbanswála, the same thing happened under——and——; nearly the whole of two years' planting was lost to the Company, or their return would have been very different. The old tea I planted, and (of which I) saw nearly every bush put out with my own eyes, gave last year eight hundred and twenty-two pounds of made tea, and one and all I ever put out will do the same and more, and as to whether I know how tea should be planted, let that answer the question." Again, in 1866, Colonel Thelwall wrote: "The tea Elwall and *myself* planted is producing the greater part of the crop belonging to the D. D. T. Co., in the proportion of lbs. $3\frac{3}{4}$ to lb. 1. There must be something in planting *properly*, and I was a muff for ever selling the place, much as we were supposed to get for it." And, again,—"I hear the Directors of the Dehra Dún Tea Company are about adopting my system on their estates, and if they carry it out honestly, the best spec. I know will be to buy Dehra Dún Tea shares at present prices; 1868 will see them at par, and give you about 400 per cent. on the transaction." The market price must then have been 4 annas per share of 100 rupees nominal value. In April 1871, Colonel Thelwall wrote to the same correspondent,—"I have pulled the Dehra Dún Tea Com-

pany through, and it is as sound as a bell now. I have Rs. 1,60,000 in it, and hope it will begin to pay well shortly." But the Colonel had a very pretty and picturesque way of writing. Concerning a manager whom he ejected from an estate in the Eastern Dún in which he had an interest, he said—"—would have ruined the Garden of Eden had he been in charge of it." Colonels Thelwall and Elwall may, of course, have plucked coarsely. I am told that Bohea (*Bóhi*) used to be made in the Dún, and thus the yield per acre of mature plant might have been proportionally greater than it is now, when quality, tempered by the Commissariat demands, is studied. And I have heard it said that by plucking more leaves and stalk, and not picking out the stalks and old leaf, it would not be impossible to get a yield of 800 lbs. an acre. But it is recognised that this is not desirable.

To return to the history of the Dehra Dún Tea Company :—The Directors and Managers' Reports for the years 1863 to 1870 were printed, or reprinted in 1879, but for the next ten or eleven years from 1879 I have no records to refer to. In 1863, I gather, there were 500 acres yielding tea, and 500 acres more being planted, and though the estimated profits would have allowed a dividend of 10 per cent per annum being declared on the capital of Rs. 8,36,487-10-11, an *ad-interim* dividend of 6 per cent. only was declared. "The average prices of the teas already sold (in London) slightly exceed those of the best Assam sorts." The quantity of tea manufactured in 1863 is not stated. In 1854 the total outturn of tea was 38,134 lbs., and the sales at the factories amounted to 13,225 lbs., sold at an average of 15 annas per lb., chiefly for the Kashmir and Ladákh markets. The Directors reported that their Secretary had visited the Company's estates and found everything progressing most satisfactorily under the able superintendence of the Resident Manager, "who has introduced the English plough and other English agricultural implements, with marked improvement in the cultivation. As to yield of tea on plantations in the Dún, about which we believe there is some misapprehension, it was found that our mature plants yielded last season at the rate of 502 lbs. per acre ; and there is no reason to believe that the whole of our lands under tea will not, in course of time, yield at the same rate." The total area by that time planted was said to be 1,100 acres : now it is 976 acres. At the General Meeting of Shareholders held in February 1865, the question of declaring a dividend was discussed, but it was resolved not to do so until the result of the sales of tea on hand should be ascertained. In August 1865 a special report upon the property of the Company was submitted by the Resident Manager, from which it appears that the landed estate then

measured about 13,000 acres, all in one block. With regard to the yield per acre, the Manager, after saying that the bushes planted out in 1859-60 and 1861-62 had been so much over-plucked that he recommended they should get a holiday of a half or a whole year, to allow them to get to their proper size, said that "with average spring and monsoon rains a steady increase of 10,000 lbs. each year may confidently be calculated on, until our present area of tea lands yield an average outturn of 300 lbs. per acre." "I have placed the tea yield as low as 300 lbs. the acre, but there can, I think, be no good reason why, it should not be ultimately brought up to 500 lbs., if &c. &c." In the annual report for 1865 the Directors said the Secretary had visited the Company's property at the close of the year, and reported very favourably on the state of the plantations. The tea plants were looking healthy, he said "and age alone is now wanting for the production of a large annual yield of leaf. In proof of this, the Resident Manager pointed out to the Secretary a parcel of 10 acres of plants, the yield of which last year gave an average of 822 lbs. of tea per acre, without any extra care having been bestowed either in the cultivation or plucking." Nevertheless, the Directors did not see their way to declare a dividend, as the profits were required to meet unpaid purchase money of East Hopetown and Arcadia, and for working expenses.

In 1866 the true position of the newly-organised Company began to be apparent, on receipt of the account-sale of the crop of 1854 and 1865, which had been shipped to London. Taking exchange at two shillings, the net average price per pound realised was only 9 annas and 6 pies, and 9 annas and 3 pies, while Assam teas of the 1864 crop had realised Re. 1-1-0 to Re. 1-3-0 per pound. The cause of the low prices obtained were attributed by the Directors to defective manufacture, "or, rather, to a process of manufacture well suited to the tastes of local consumers, but not at all adapted to the London market." So soon as this became known the Manager was instructed to make teas of the kind required in London, and the samples he then turned out were pronounced in Calcutta to compare in strength and colour favourably with Assam teas! "Some reduction in the expenditure for establishment has been effected, amounting to between five and six hundred rupees per month"!

The following story relates, I think, to a subsequent period of the history of the Dún tea industry, but it may be dragged in here. The tea made in the Dún had got a bad name among the Calcutta brokers and agents, and, as the planters thought this was undeserved, one of their number divided a sample into two parts, and sent one part to a friend in Darjeel-

ing, who sent it to a certain broker in Calcutta for valuation, without saying where it had been grown : the other part the Dún planter sent direct to the same broker. The broker valued the sample received from Darjeeling at twice the price he put upon the sample received direct from Dehra. The Dún planter then wrote to the broker and asked how it happened that he had valued samples of the same tea at such very different rates. The answer was that he had valued the tea received from Darjeeling as Darjeeling tea, and the sample received from Dehra as Dehra Dún tea, and that, though the tea was the same, yet if it had come from a Darjeeling garden, the price he put upon it would have been got, while if it had come from a Dún garden, only a Dún tea price would have been realised. After that a change was made, and the Dún tea was sold in Calcutta by sample without disclosing the name of the garden it came from, and better prices were got. Later on it came to be the practice to ship the balance of Dún tea, not sold locally or to the Commissariat, to London, Australia and America, and this is still generally done.

To resume the history of the Company. 12,950 lbs. of the crop of 1866, the quality of which was not thought suited to the London market were sold in Calcutta for 6 annas 9 pies per pound, net. The Directors then engaged a "thorough practical planter and tea-maker" from Cachar ; and during the year 1866 made reductions on the Factory expenditure amounting to nearly Rs. 2,000 per month, and expected to make reductions in other directions equal to Rs. 500 more per month ! Evidently, up to 1866, the expenditure of the Company had received more attention than had the receipts. The Directors resolved to confine operations in 1867 to 400 acres of the old tea, keeping the rest simply free of jungle ; but this selected area yielded only 49,198 lbs., instead of 100,000 lbs., as estimated by the Manager, a yield of only 123 lbs. per acre. The Directors followed up the appointment of a practical tea-maker from Cachar to assist the Manager by sending Mr. Minto, of Calcutta, "a gentleman thoroughly conversant with tea-planting in all its branches," to visit the estate and report upon it, and Mr. Minto's report was circulated with the report of the Directors for the first half of the year 1867, who thus spoke of it :—

"There appears to be no doubt whatever that the present, all but bankrupt, condition of the Company is to be attributed solely to want of knowledge of the proper principles of cultivation, and the proper method of manufacturing tea. We do not say this with the intention of casting blame on your Manager, who has probably, done the best to the extent of his knowledge."

Mr. Meyers, the Assistant, had been introducing a good system of manufacture, and a good sound marketable tea was being made. The Directors said :—

"It is now proved that teas of the highest classes can be produced at your factory. The system of cultivation, which appears to have prevailed throughout the Doon, has been conducted on wrong principles. One of the most essential operations, *vis.*, pruning, has been neglected, and the plants have been allowed to form old wood, which will neither yield leaf in quantity nor of the quality necessary to make good tea. The inferior quality of the tea is shown by the low average price of the crop, *vis.* 6 annas per pound, instead of 12 annas, the rate we calculated on realising, making a difference in income of upwards of Rs. 25,000.

"We, being now fully convinced that the unsatisfactory results are owing to want of knowledge of the proper system of cultivation and manufacture, have no alternative in the interests of the Company, but to dispense with the services of the present Manager."

The head-quarters of the Company having been in 1871 removed to the Dún, the dismissed Manager was soon afterwards elected to be a Director of the Company, and continued to fill that responsible post, I believe, until his death, a few years ago. Mr. Minto found that, though the gardens extended to 944 acres, 167 acres were taken up by roads, &c., leaving only 777 under tea, 177 of which was under 5 years of age. Regarding "pruning" he said that unquestionably a great mistake had been committed in allowing the bushes to get into the condition in which he found them, some wanting "cutting-out" while others required trimming, and all wanted the knife and shears. He was given to understand that pruning had not been considered necessary in the Dún, and in fact thought injurious, and thus rebuked the Directors:—"It is to be regretted that a Company of so long standing as the Dehra Doon Company should have allowed its operations to be conducted on other except what they not only *believed*, but *knew* to be good principles." Regarding "manufacture," Mr. Minto said the system generally pursued in the Dún had been different from that pursued in Assam and Cachar, owing to the Chinese tea-makers having introduced "the green-tea making," but the change of system Mr. Meyers had introduced would have satisfactory results. In his estimates of future prospects, Mr. Minto put down a yield of only 2 maunds an acre (say 164 lbs.), but the staff and cultivation was, he said, sufficient for the production of 3 maunds, which yield might be reached after a year of good pruning and hoeing, and with careful plucking. Though he had been told by gentlemen in the Dún of large yields off small areas, he he did not find that any property had obtained over 2 maunds per acre, and very few even that. Still he did not think 200 to 240 lbs. of good tea would be an over-estimate, as it must be remembered that although tea had been long cultivated in the Dún, it was only recently that it had been manufactured with a view to profit. Some general remarks made by Mr. Minto seem worth noting. He said:—

"The Government gardens were formed for the purpose first of introducing and demonstrating the practicability of growing the tea plant, and after that was satisfactorily announced, then the sole object was to provide seed, and a tree allowed to run up for seed will not produce any fair amount of leaf. The results of this have been that planters not practically acquainted with tea have followed to a considerable extent the Government plan, at all events have *not pruned* when it ought to have been done, and left out of account altogether the primary object of Government which has been successfully *accomplished*. After careful personal inquiry, and judging from what I have seen, I see no reason why the cultivation of tea in the Doon should not prove profitable, and be a good paying investment. Always it must be borne in mind, upon *actual* expenditure, not upon an exceptionally heavy block. There are the elements of success—a fair soil, local labour, or labour procurable from the plains at no expense, and an average rate of wages of Rs. 4 to 5 per mensém. There is thus always an immense advantage over the Eastern Districts, which though they may and do yield more, acre per acre, yet are burdened with importing their labour and keeping it up, and this can only be measured by those who know the cost of so doing.

"There is again against the Doon the interval between the first crop and the month of June; of about 5 weeks, when little tea is made which varies according to season, or commencement of the rains; and, after balancing the one against the other I should almost feel inclined to think tea could be cultivated, to be made, if not as productive, still as remunerative, as in Assam, and certainly with more satisfaction to the planter, and more certainty to shareholders."

Mr. Minto who thus reported, was appointed Manager of the Estates and took charge in November 1867. During that year the Directors had been trying to get the shareholders to contribute funds to pay off the "fixed loan" of Rs. 1,50,000 from the East India Land Credit and Finance Company at 7 per cent., and to provide for working capital, but with very little success, and the loan was therefore renewed for a year, and money for working expenses was raised on the security of the crop, as well as on the personal security of several shareholders. But in their report submitted at the tenth half-yearly meeting of the shareholders, held on 31st August 1868, the Directors stated that they had obtained advances on the crop from a Calcutta mercantile firm, but had failed to get a loan for the rest of the money required either from a Bank, as they had hoped, or from Shareholders. They were therefore, "now without the means of providing the requisite expenditure for the remaining portion of the year." And unfortunately, the season up to the end of July had proved unfavourable. On the area of tea, namely, 777 acres, reported by Mr. Minto to exist, he based an estimate for the year 1868 of 96,000 lbs. of tea; but the correct area turned out, on measurement, after leaving out vacancies and useless bushes, to be only 500 acres, of which 130 acres appeared to have been in jungle for some years. He therefore reduced his estimate to 80,000 lbs., but had been since compelled, owing to the

exceptional character of the season, to reduce it to 50,000 lbs. (This reduced estimate appears to have been exceeded by the yield, though the exact amount is not distinctly stated.) The Directors concluded their report of August 1868 by warning the shareholders that, unless they subscribed two and a half lakhs of rupees, to pay off existing liabilities and provide working capital, the Company could not longer be continued. A portion of the crop of that year was made into green tea to meet the demand which had sprung up for the market of Central Asia; 28,000 lbs. were sold at the factory to Cashmerian Merchants, (who, I believe, used to pack the tea in their own sacks, thus saving the cost of chests to the Company.) The financial position of the Company at the end of the year was worse than ever; and to keep the Company from sinking, the Directors collectively advanced Rs. 30,000, and also arranged for advances from others on the hypothecation of the crop, and the personal security of themselves and three other shareholders, the Finance Company agreeing to let the interest on the loan of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs stand over. And the Directors gave up their fees and reduced the Secretary's salary, and ordered reduction of the expenditure in Calcutta and at the factory. But if debentures were not taken up before August 1869, the Company must, they said, inevitably be wound up at the close of the manufacturing season. The debit balance, in Profit and Loss Account, at 31st December 1868 was Rs. 1,10,790.

In 1869 the improved system of cultivation introduced by Mr. Minto, in spite of an unfavourable season, began to bear fruit. Green tea only was made, and 70,000 lbs. were early sold for forward delivery, at Re. 1 per pound, delivered at the factory. In their report for the first half-year the Directors regretted that the shareholders had not evinced any disposition to subscribe to pay off the liabilities of the Company, and they repeated the warning given early in the year. The total crop of 1869 amounted to 1,34,000 lbs., "a very satisfactory increase on the two previous seasons, *viz.*, 75,653 lbs. in 1868, and 49,191 lbs. in 1867, the result of improved cultivation." The Finance Company had consented to the Company carrying on for another year, and the Directors said in their report of 13th February 1870 that they were arranging for funds; but they again urged the shareholders to help themselves. In August 1870 the Directors complained of too heavy rain and want of sunshine. They had thought it advisable to continue the manufacture of green tea, as more profitable than black, but they had to report that, owing to heavy shipments of green teas from China, together with other causes, the demand for that class of tea was by no means so active as in 1869.

The Directors of the Dehra Dún Tea Company convened an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Shareholders for 28th January 1871, at which they proposed that the Company be wound up voluntarily, under the Indian Companies Act, it having been proved that it could not, by reason of its liabilities, continue its business. This motion was not carried, and, on the motion of certain shareholders, it was resolved that the offer made by Mr. Minto, on behalf of the purchasers of the mortgage debt due by the Company to the East India Land Credit and Finance Company, *Limited*, in liquidation, to accept debentures from the Tea Company for the amount paid by them for the mortgage debt and for any additional sum required to pay off existing debts of the Company, be accepted, such debentures being taken in lieu of the mortgage and other debts, and to carry interest at 10 per cent. for five years, with option to the Company of renewal. And an offer from the same persons to provide working capital at Dehra, so long as it might be wanted, was also accepted. "After which the Directors resigned," says the report of the proceedings, and five other gentlemen, including the discarded Manager, who was a large shareholder, were appointed provisionally, until the next ordinary meeting, when a board of four, including him, was appointed.

In a report by Mr. Minto, in March 1871, on the working of the Estate for the previous three years, I find mention made of considerable loss in "drying, sorting and colouring." The "colouring" was I presume part of the process of making green tea for the Kashmir market; but I do not know how it occasioned loss in weight. It is a general boast of the makers and sellers of Indian tea that it is absolutely pure and unadulterated, and probably the black kinds never have been tampered with. Of late, I believe, scarcely any green tea has been made in the Dún; but a few years ago I was sorry to hear that it was proposed to introduce the practice of "colouring," with a view to reviving export to Central Asia, in competition with green tea from China. In the Settlement Report of 1886 quotations are given from Mr. Ross's preliminary rent-rate report, in which it is said that Kábul merchants used to come to the Dún and buy green tea in bulk at 13 annas a pound, (we have seen above that Re. 1 was the rate for a short time) packing it themselves; but with the breaking out of the war with Afghanistan the Kábul and Central Asian trade ceased, and, said Mr. Ross—

"There is no sale for green tea, and so planters are glad to deal with the Commissariat at less than eight annas a pound. It is difficult to foresee what the final result will be. Labour in the Dún is cheap—very cheap as compared with Assam and Darjeeling."

Again—

"If the Central Asian market was only opened and kept open, it would be the making of the Dún planters. The Dún Green Tea is

unsurpassed and is bought up by Kábul dealers as fast as it is made" (Mr. Boss speaks of the past) "so long as the trade route is open, but so long as Kábul and Russia block the way to Central Asia there is no market for it." "One thing is quite clear, and that is that tea is at present a losing concern, and certainly cannot bear a heavier assessment than wheat." "Considering the large amount of capital that has been laid out on tea-planting in the Dún." . . . "I think the Foreign Office might be strenuously urged to take some steps to have the Central Asian tracts opened." "As pointed out to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor by a deputation of tea-planters who waited upon him when he was in Dehra, there are three ways in which it might be possible to help the tea-planters :—

1st.—In trying to have the Central Asian market opened.

2nd.—In having the duty on China tea re-imposed.

3rd.—In trying to encourage tea drinking amongst the natives of the country.

"With reference to the latter, it would certainly be a great thing for the Dún if the people would take to tea instead of to spirits, but they won't. A man will gladly spend his four annas for a glass of spirits who would grudge a pie for a cup of tea."

The third proposed way of fostering the tea industry seems to me beyond the province of Government : the planters ought themselves to take steps for popularising the use of tea by the people of the Dún ; though perhaps, now that Post Masters are to be made to sell packets of quinine (without extra pay so far as I have read) they might be allowed to retail tea in packets for the planters and take remuneration for so doing. Tea of sorts is, however, always to be bought, in the Dehra bazar, loose, at 2 annas and upwards, per pound. The second proposal would of course be a heinous breach of free trade : but if, as I believe is the case, very little China tea is now used in India, and what is imported is passed on to Kábul, something might be said from a fair-trader's point of view in favour of the imposition of an import or transit duty.

The last of the old reports of the Dehra Dún Tea Company, in the reprint of 1879 above referred to, is for the first half-year of 1871, and from this it appears that the Directors intended to sell a portion of the Estates, amounting to about 7,000 acres, which was not required for the efficient working of the tea gardens or for their future extension ; but I do not think this sale was effected until 1873, when it was bought by the American Presbyterian Mission for the purpose of establishing a Native Christian Colony, of which I will presently give some account. The next report I have is for the year 1873, and by that time the tide seems to have turned in favour of the Company. Though the outturn was less than had of late prevailed—115,123 lbs. of tea, against 161,078 lbs. in 1872, 134,761 in 1870, and 134,114 lbs. in 1869—the quality, owing to the improvement in method of pruning and manufacture, was so much better that the average price realised upon the whole crop was Rs. 0-15-2 as against Rs. 0-12-0 the highest previously

obtained, and a dividend of 3 per cent. per annum was declared. I rather think that by that time Mr. Minto had ceased to be manager, and that Mr. Bell and Mr. Nelson, practical Scottish Gardeners, who had been imported by Government for the Saharanpur Botanic Gardens, had been taken on. As the Company's Block and Stock Accounts had got into some confusion, the Directors had the property valued by "a competent appraiser," with the result that an addition was made to "Stock" and "Block" of Rs. 57,766-11-5, which sum the Directors said was in their opinion much below that which should have been charged had no original errors been made in the accounts. The appraisers valuation was, in abstract :—

550 acres (more or less) under tea	...	...	Rs. 4,40,000
500 do. do. forests	...	...	1,00,000
4,450 do. do. uncultivated land	...	...	2,80,344
(by this was meant land not under tea)			
Buildings at Arcadia	...	...	43,894
Do. Harbanswālā	...	...	19,677
Live Stock	...	...	5,355
Dead Stock	...	...	6,184

Total ... " 8,95,454

and these values, Rs. 8,83,915 for "Block," and, with Live and Dead Stock, aggregating Rs. 8,95,454 were adopted by the Directors in preparing the balance sheet for 1873. But the Directors were not satisfied with the valuation, and said :—

"The revaluation brought on our books is in our opinion considerably below the market value of the estate, as such property is usually rated; our own valuation would show a result of between four and five lakhs more to the credit of the Company than that which has been arrived at by the professional appraiser; that is to say, for instance, if we value the tea-yielding land as such lands are usually valued in the Doon, namely, at ten years' purchase, then 550 acres, yielding at an average Rs. 209 per acre, would be worth in the market upwards of eleven lakhs."

There was a slight mistake there, for, on testing the calculation, the yield works out about Rs. 199 per acre and not Rs. 209: 209 was about the yield in lbs. per acre.

The next report I have seen is for 1888, by which year the outturn of tea had risen to 332,775 lbs., manufactured at a cost of As. 4 a pound; but the low prices generally prevailing prevented a higher dividend than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum being paid. The acreage under tea was then about 976, and the yield per acre 341. In 1889 the outturn had increased to 339,578 lbs., costing 4 annas a pound, and the dividend paid was $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which at the market price of the shares then and now prevailing was equivalent to about 10 per cent. The acreage under tea remaining as before, the yield per acre had increased to 349 lbs. This was the average of the two gardens; Harbanswālā, the older, from which Colonel Thelwall got over 800 lbs. per acre, yielded

354, and Arcadia, the younger, 333 lbs. In 1873, I have said above, the yield was about 209 lbs. per acre. 'Along with their separate reports for 1889, the Managers of Harbanswála and Arcadia Gardens, Mr. R. U. Anderson, and Mr. John Stansfield, who in 1884 had replaced Messrs. Bell and Nelson, submitted a jointly written retrospect of the working of the gardens since 1884, suggested by the fact that there had been heavy extra expenditure since 1884, which had then nearly ceased. From this it appeared that the gardens had been fully and newly equipped with withering sheds of good construction, and with the best fittings, and that no additions were likely to be required. These buildings had cost over Rs. 37,000, of which only Rs. 2,998 remained to be wiped out in 1890. A Kinmond tea-dryer, a portable engine, and six Siroccò Dryers had been bought, at a cost of Rs. 17,077, of which only Rs. 2,705 remained to be met from the profits of 1890. Unless the Directors had sanctioned these improvements being taken in hand in 1884, so backward were the gardens then in respect of factory buildings and machinery, that it was impossible that the Company could have gone on working successfully in the face of a steadily falling market. The improvements, the Managers said, "may now be considered to have been satisfactorily concluded, and while the Company has all along paid steady dividends, the cost has, as already shown, with the exception of the Rs. 5,702-6-9 debited against 1890, been borne entirely by the gardens. Throughout this period your gardens have been very highly cultivated and much improved, and are now in far better working order than they were in 1884." During the same time the profit from the *Zamindári* had risen from an apparent amount of Rs. 55-12-2 (*vide* Report for 1884), to nine or ten thousand rupees; but the Accounts had not been at first properly kept.

Then came a bad season, owing to prolonged drought from September 1889 to 8th June 1890, which told severely on the gardens. It not only reduced the spring crop to less than half the usual quantity, but considerably weakened the bushes for the rain-crop pluckings. And the rains, though they reached the average, by heavy falls in July and August, ceased early, only 4.80 inches having fallen in September. The yield was only 119,522 lbs. on Harbanswála, and 117,202 lbs. on Arcadia, total 236,724 lbs., against 339,578 lbs. in 1889, or 243 lbs. per acre; and the consequences were that the Company had to buy tea, at a considerable loss in order to fulfil their contract with the Commissariat Department, and that they were able to pay only 2 per cent. as a dividend for the year. This, however, was equivalent to nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the market value of the shares, and yielded that rate to all recent purchasers. The year 1891 showed a return to the normal rate of production,

though the rainfall was very irregular, and⁶ an extraordinary late and severe frost set in after the middle of March, which kept back the early flush. August, September and October were very good months, and the result was a total outturn of almost 390,000 lbs., the largest on record. The yield per acre was on Harbanswála 435 lbs. and on Arcadia 364, average 399 ; but prices had again fallen, and the dividend declared was the same as in 1889, namely, $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The figures for 1892 are—outturn, Harbanswála, 149,212 lbs., Arcadia, 172,451 lbs., total 321,663 lbs., against an estimate of 330,000 lbs. divided equally between the two gardens. Unfortunately a severe hail storm passed over Harbanswála in the month of May, which spoiled the spring crop, and also so damaged the bark in the young leaf producing shoots that the first flush of the rain crop was considerably delayed. The dividend, however, is not affected, as prices realised have been higher ; and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. remains the rate for 1892.

At the ordinary meeting of the Dehra Dún Tea Company held in August 1890, some discussion took place as to the real position of the Company, looking on the one hand to the increased value of the "Block" and "Stock," owing to increased yield of the land, and the recent additions to the Buildings and Machinery, and on the other to the fact that the return on the nominal amount of Capital remained at or below $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. Original shareholders, and those who had bought in at prices higher than had for a long time prevailed, might be considered to have lost a large part of their share of the Capital ; while recent purchasers at a large discount could not look forward to any very near approximation of the market price to the nominal value of the shares. It might, therefore, be a question whether it was not advisable to reduce the Capital of the Company. The result of the discussion was a resolution to have the property revalued, and this was done at the close of the year. The valuers, in their report, said that the value of a tea garden might, in their opinion, be looked at from three points of view : 1st, that of an investor in shares generally ; 2nd, that of an intending purchaser of such an estate ; and 3rd, from an existing shareholders' point of view. The value that investors put on the Company's property was easily found, as the shares had for a number of years been quoted at Rs. 45 each : this would give for the whole property a value of Rs. 3,95,000. A purchaser of shares as an investment, and not as a speculation, wants a steady dividend ; and that is not to be had from tea shares. An intending purchaser would find that there were other tea gardens in the Dún for sale at prices which, relatively to the original outlay on them, were even lower than the value just stated ; which showed what a purchaser's view of the Company's property

might be. But from an existing shareholder's point of view, and especially from that of a shareholder who knew the property and believed in the future of the Dún, the property was much more valuable. After a long period of depression, the average dividend for the five years previous to 1890, which was a bad year, had been 4·6 per cent. per annum, which was about 10½ per cent. on shares bought at Rs. 45. If 1890 were included in the calculation, the average for the six years was 4½ per cent., and there was good reason to hope, now that the garden had been got into thoroughly good order, and had been equipped with all necessary buildings and machinery—now all but entirely paid for out of profits, that even better results would be attained. It was, therefore, from the shareholders' point of view that the land under tea was valued in 1890; and, taking a certain number of years' purchase of the net average annual profits of the last 5 years, the value of the tea land, without the buildings, was assessed at Rs. 4,75,722, or Rs. 489-4-9 per acre for 976·23 acres,—in round numbers Rs. 480 per acre. The land not under tea, extending to 3,813 acres, and the land under *Sál* forest, about 790 acres, were separately valued, and the following was the General Abstract of the Revaluation of the Company's property, as it stood on 31st December 1890:—

Description.	Area in Acres	Total Area in Acres.	Rate per Acre.	Amount.	Total.
BLOCK.			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Land under Tea ...	.....	976·23	480	.....	4,68,590
II. <i>Zamindári</i> Land					
(1) Leased to Cultivators	2,171·93				
(2) Cultivated by the Company	46·03	2,217·96	98-12-0	1,74,664	
(3) Forest ...	1,093·63				
Deduct for blanks	304·00	789·63	100	78,963	
(4) Arable, out of cultivation	.....	774·27	14-12-3	11,432	
(5) Uncultivable	452·00				
Add forest blanks	304·00	756·00	4-14-9	3,721	
(6) Factory and other Building sites* ...	.....	65·11	39-6-0	2,563	
Total <i>Zamindári</i> Land				.....	2,71,343
III. Buildings	...	...	...	1,07,198	
Deduct, shown in "Suspense Account"	...	...	...	2,998	1,04,200
MOVEABLE PROPERTY.—Plant, Stores, and Live Stock				44,283	
Deduct Stores, shown in "Suspense Account"				8,185	
Total				...	8,80,231

* Strictly speaking, this is not *Zamindári*; and it is questionable whether it ought not to have been valued at the same rate as the tea land.

The following statement was given as contrasting the valuation of 1873 with that made at the end of 1890.

Description.	Valuation.				Differences in Rs.
	1874.		1891.		
	Area in Acres.	Rs.	Area in Acres.	Rs.	
BLOCK.					
I. Land under Tea ...	550'00	4,40,000	976'23	4,68,590	+ 28,590
II. <i>Zamindari</i> Land—					
(1) Cultivated ...)			2217'96	1,74,664	
(2) Arable, but uncultivated ...)			774'27	11,432	
(3) Uncultivable (including forest blanks)			756'00	3,711	
(4) Sites of Buildings)			65'11	2,563	
Total	4,450'00	2,80,344	3,813'34	1,92,380	- 87,964
(5) Forest ...	500	1,00,000	789'63	78,963	- 20,847
III. Buildings		63,571		1,04,200	+ 40,629
MOVEABLE PROPERTY					
Dead stock		6,184	}	36,090	+ 24,559
Live Stock		5,355			
Total		11,539			
Grand Total		8,95,45		8,80,23	- 15,223

The old valuation of the land under tea, namely, Rs 800 per acre was found to be untenable; but, as the acreage yielding tea had greatly increased since 1873, the value of the tea land, at the lower rate of Rs 480 per acre, came to more than by the old valuation. The value of the land not under tea worked out much less than before; and considerably less was put up on the forest, not because its value was not appreciated, but because the best of the *Sal* timber had been sold or used in the construction of the new leafsheds and other buildings, and because the fellings had not been made upon any systematic "watering plan." It was true that for a few years the forest had been strictly conserved by protection from fire and grazing, and that if this were continued their value would gradually increase. It seemed to the revaluers a very moderate estimate to take Rs. 100 per acre as the value of the present crop of trees on the whole area under *Sal* belonging to the Company, which was 789'63 acres, making a total value of Rs. 78,963.

The former valuer had taken the area at only 500 acres, and valued that at Rs. 1,00,000, which gives double the rate per acre taken in 1890. In a previous article, I stated that the value of good *Sdl* forest was estimated in the Settlement Report at Rs. 120 acre, so that while the value put on the Dehra Dún Tea Company's *Sdl* forest in 1873 was greatly in excess, the revaluation, at Rs. 100 per acre, was within the mark. But it was pointed out the value of what was then on the ground was by no means the measure of the value of the forest, for if a professional survey were made and followed,—

"It is believed that a revenue of from three to five rupees an acre, producing from Rs. 2,370 to Rs. 3,950, could be annually derived from it, and the forest would be as good or better at the end of 20 years than it was at the beginning of the period. The Directors should take steps to get professional advice as to the management of the forests with a view to the future, even though good use is now being made of them. The working ought to be systematised and put upon a permanent footing."

The recommendations of the revaluers have borne fruit, for, in his report for the second half of the year 1891, the Manager of the Arcadia Garden said—

"In respect of the Forests, which, since the fellings done in 1883, have not been systematically worked, it has recently been decided to adopt a carefully considered working plan on a long rotation system, which, while providing an annual supply of building materials and firewood, will ultimately improve the condition of the Forest, and consequently enhance its value."

And the Manager of Harbanswála Garden said—

"A scientific as well as practical scheme has been introduced regarding the Forest, and it is now being coppiced. The results of this will be that, while the Forest will be brought under a regular Working Plan, a certain amount of timber will be available for sale."

The reasonableness of the revaluation of the Dehra Dún Tea Company's property may be roughly tested thus:—

976 acres yielding 400 lbs. of tea per acre total ... lbs. 390,400

3,90,400 lbs tea @ 7 annas a pound ... Rs. 170,800

less cost of production @ 5 annas ... ,, 122,000

Net revenue ... ,, 48,800

Net revenue from land not under tea (has already been exceeded) a year ... ,, 8,000

56,800

Value at 15 years purchase ... ,, 8,52,000

Forest, value for 16 years @ Rs. 3,160 a year ... ,, 50,560

Total ... ,, 9,02,560

The late Secretary of the Company disputed the correctness

of the revaluation, and, taking only 12 years' purchase of the average annual profit from the land under tea, including all buildings and moveable property appertaining to it, he put down Rs. 4,06,152, and adding for the land not under tea and the forest, at the revaluer's rates, he brought out a total value of only Rs. 6,77,495, or Rs. 2,02,736 below their valuation. This came to Rs. 77 per share; and during a discussion which ensued at a General Meeting of the Company it emerged that that was the price the late Secretary had paid for his shares. Beyond circulating copies of the revaluation report, and the late Secretary's criticism of it, to the shareholders, nothing has come of the inquiry into the value of the property: the Directors have not altered the Block and Stock Accounts in accordance with it, nor expressed any opinion of their own in the matter. It seems desirable that professional advice should be taken as to the state of the Capital Account.

I have dwelt at length on the history and affairs of the Dehra Dún Tea Company, both because the gallant struggle it has made for existence seems to have general interest, and because a large body of persons, both in India and at Home may like to have the past recalled to memory, and contrasted with the present. There are 139 shareholders, many of whom, now at home, played distinguished parts in India, chiefly by service in the army. I find eighteen Generals on the list, and a good many military officers of lower rank, and the Civil Service and Medical Departments are well represented; and many individuals and families who have permanently settled in India have a considerable stake in the Company. Two obvious morals suggested by the history of the Company hardly require to be pointed. Always be distrustful of the value a seller puts upon his property, and of his statements in regard to its capabilities; and never attempt to work an industry such as tea except by skilled agency. Mr. Ross, in his rent rate report already quoted from, said:—

"In the earlier times the tea-planters had themselves alone to blame for want of success: they were inexperienced, and did not realise that tea-planting required special knowledge. Any body who presented himself was accepted as a manager. In one or two notable instances the managers were old ship captains who had been at sea ever since they were boys, and finding age creeping on them settled down as managers of tea estates. Immense areas were planted out, not properly tended or looked after; and so, although at that time there was a ready sale for tea at two rupees a pound" (the writer in the *Calcutta Review* of 1853 said five shillings a pound)"plantation after plantation came to ruin. At one time 100-rupee shares in a leading Company could be bought for 5 or 6 rupees. This evil after a time righted itself. The sea captains died off or were supplanted; intelligent men, well up to their work, trained agriculturists and botanists" (!) "were alone employed as managers."

The same conditions used to prevail even in Assam. In the "sixties" I was one of the original shareholders of a Company with even a larger capital than that of the Dehra Dún Company, whose "Block" was formed by buying up, at high prices, a number of gardens in Assam which had been recently planted out. I paid up some ninety or more rupees per cent. of the nominal value of the shares, and for a few years enjoyed a dividend of about 2 per cent., I think. The dividends, then ceased: the value of the shares dropped rapidly, until they were quoted at seven rupees each; and after some years they rose to sixty or sixty-five rupees, when I sold out. The Company still struggles on, but pays no dividend; and yet the shares are quoted at forty-five rupees, so I suppose its future is not utterly hopeless. It would be interesting to trace its history, and to ascertain the prices paid for their shares by all the present holders: this investigation might reveal the secret of the Company's prolonged existence.

The only other Joint Stock Company for the production of tea, now existing in the Dún is—THE EAST HOPETOWN ESTATE COMPANY, *Limited*, the land belonging to which is part of the East Hopetown Section of the original Hopetown Grant of 1838, mentioned in a previous article. I cannot trace all the transfers of this property after it was sold by Mr. Lindsay in 1850, but in 1873 it belonged to the Dehra Dún Tea Company, *Limited*, with whose other property it marched, and it was then sold by that Company to the Revd. J. S. Woodside, of the American Presbyterian Mission, Dehra Dún, for the sum of Rs. 200,000. The purpose for which Mr. Woodside bought the property, for the Mission, was to found a Native Christian Colony. Mr. Williams mentions this as an enterprise which "deserves to be signalled on account of its daring, if for no other reason." The area bought was 8,000 acres, and Mr. Woodside's plan was to divide the whole into 1,600 shares of 5 acres each. The value of one acre being a fraction under Rs. 24, a five-acre share would cost Rs. 120, and, said the Prospectus, "parties contributing one share would secure the support of a family." The Colony was to be, in fact, a charitable foundation, whose subscribers had the right of nominating a beneficiary family, so that the money invested would be, Mr. Williams said, a *donation* held in trust by the American Mission. The contributions had reached Rs. 15,595 on the 1st March 1873, but Mr. Woodside took leave to England not long after, and the project then languished.

"In February 1873 three families were located there, and subsequently some others 'calling themselves Christians,' strangers to the Doon, accepted employment. Unfortunately, most of these turned out to be vagrants, and took the first opportunity of absconding. One of the most earnest advocates of the scheme is Mr. Login, C. E., F. R. S. E.,

&c. &c., who has written a very enthusiastic letter on the subject. The marked success of his own experiments in cotton farming renders him sanguine about the future of the Colony, to the practical working of which he generously offers the aid of his own experience. I myself, on the other hand, am of opinion that Mr. Login's engineering and agricultural skill, even when backed up by Mr. Woodside's indomitable energy, can never make such a project succeed, and I should not be surprised to see the land in the market again before long."

Mr. Williams' anticipations were warranted, for the land which had been bought for the Colony was soon afterwards sold, and the purchasers proceeded to form a tea garden, which became the nucleus of the four hundred acres of tea now belonging to the East Hopetown Estate Company, *Limited*. As the East Hopetown Estate for some years belonged to a private firm, and as, though the enterprise is now a Joint Stock Company, *Limited*, it is still essentially a private affair, and the shares are never in the market, it would be out of place to say much about it.

The older tea gardens in the Dún were stocked entirely with the small-leaved China variety, and some managers, after trying Assam Hybrid, say that the China variety best withstands frost. The cost of imported tea seed seems to have been considerable, and is an important consideration in forming a garden at such a distance from the head-quarters of tea. In 1880 Rs. 40 a maund were paid for Assam Hybrid seed from Assam, and Rs. 15 to 20 for good China seed from Darjiling. In 1881 Assam Hybrid seed was imported from Assam and the Dooars at rates varying from Rs. 25 to Rs. 60 a maund; while China seed could be bought from gardens in the Dún at Rs. 10 a maund. In 1882 Assam Hybrid seed was imported at rates varying from Rs. 25 to Rs. 40.

Owing to the very variable rainfall, and the occasional incursion of hot wind from the Punjáb, the yield of tea gardens in the Dún is very uncertain. The yield per acre of the Dehra Dún Tea Company's gardens, as has already been said, varied from 349 lbs in 1889 to 243 lbs in 1890, 399 lbs. in 1891, and 329 lbs. in 1892.

The rainfall registered in the fifteen years, 1877 to 1891, at a station in the Dún a few miles west of Dehra, and in Dehra itself was as under :—

Station.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.
Western Dún ..	36·47	67·43	64·05	62·52	69·57	46·12	48·95	63·10
Dehra ...	41·67	83·62	75·36	84·29	95·29	66·85	61·77	85·58

	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
Western Dún ...	91.32	67.08	53.19	99.05	98.60	56.09	50.29
Dehra ...	119.93	95.82	82.86	87.86	109.46	94.56	54.82

It is difficult to conjecture why the rainfall should have been almost invariably so much less in the Western Dún than on the dividing ridge. In 1888 only was the deficiency the other way. The average rainfall of the above fifteen years for the Western Dún is 64.92 inches, while at Dehra for the same period it was 82.71 inches. In the Settlement Report it is stated that the average of sixteen years previous to 1885 had been at Dehra, 83.71 inches. It is not, however, so much a large annual rainfall that is wanted for tea, as a good distribution of it. Rain is wanted in winter and spring to moisten the ground, and help a flush to come out on the bushes when the weather gets warm. And, in the rainy season very heavy and continued rain is not wanted, but rather good falls with intervals of sunshine, but no prolonged breaks.

As already mentioned, one great drawback to the success of the tea enterprise in the Dún is the occasional incursion of hot wind from the westward, and the reports of the Managers of the Gardens frequently contain lamentations over the disastrous consequences. This drawback the tea-planters of Bengal and Assam have not to contend with. But in the Dún an antidote is applied with some success, though I imagine it was nature that showed the way. Seedlings of the *Shisham* or *Sissu* tree (*Dalbergia Sissoo*) spring up everywhere in the Dún where old trees are found, and the moderate shade they cast was found not to be hurtful to the tea bushes; and probably the bushes under such shade were found to yield better in the hot weather than those in the open. Hence nurseries of this tree have been established, and many thousands of young plants have been planted out, not only along the roads, but out among the tea bushes. They have not yet grown to be large trees, but the thinnings and loppings are already valuable as fuel; and many of the trees will soon yield valuable timber. I have heard it said that a *Sissu* tree thirty years old is in the Dún worth thirty rupees. The action of the *Sissu* trees seems to be two-fold: besides giving a certain amount of shade from the rays of the sun, they intercept the hot wind and cool it.

In a tea *khet*, or field, in the cold weather, when the leaves have all been shed, the multitude of young *Sissu* trees, with their numerous grey-coloured and pendent branches and twigs,

produces an effect as if mist or smoke were hanging over the bushes, like what landscape painters call "atmosphere," but which in many cases, I believe, due to their own defective eyesight. I prefer seeing Nature through my spectacles to seeing her with my unaided and defective eyes; but I can quite see that a purblind painter, with genius, and the capability of producing the general effect of the form and colour he finds before him, (an impressionist, is he not called?), has a much easier time of it, without spectacles, than his fellow-worker who, with good eyesight, can see the details of nature, and is too conscientious to paint "broadly," or to smear the colours on his canvas until the operation results in an indefinite maze. The *Sissu* twig haze over the Dún tea gardens, though natural, is yet beautiful; but I doubt whether an artist could reproduce it faithfully on canvas.

EXPERIMENTAL CULTIVATION OF RHEA.

Rhea.—I have above alluded to experiments in cultivating and manufacturing the Rhea plant made by Colonel Thelwall as having failed nearly twenty years ago. (Mr. Williams says the Rhea plant (*Bhæmeria nivea*), grows wild in the Dún, but this is an error. Colonel Thelwall began his experiments in 1867, on the Markham Grant, in the Eastern Dún, but he failed to induce his partners in that estate to contribute to the outlay. In 1871 he engaged the late M. Nagoua, a mechanical engineer, to look after the machinery already on the estate. M. Nagoua came out to Calcutta in that year for the purpose of competing for the prize of Rs. 50,000 which the Government of India had offered for the production of Rhea fibre in the condition required by manufacturers in Europe. M. Nagoua remained at the Markham Grant as Manager for many years after Colonel Thelwall abandoned his experiments, and probably continued to study the subject of Rhea manufacture, for he was one of the competitors at the renewed trials of inventions which were held by the Government of India at Saharanpur in September 1879; and he supplied a considerable quantity of Rhea stems for the trials, which must have been from a special revival of the cultivation on the Markham Grant. At these trials a machine invented, or exhibited, by M. Nagoua himself, was adjudged to be the best: it fell short of satisfying the requirements fixed by Government, which among others included production at a certain maximum price per ton; but nevertheless it possessed such comparative merits that an award was made to M. Nagoua of Rs. 5,000, instead of the sum of Rs. 50,000 which had been offered. M. Nagoua claimed to have been the first person to "get a machine for the preparation of Rhea fibre invented

in London." But some years after the trials of 1879 he said he had never yet seen a machine that was effectual.

I was present at the Rhea trials held in 1879, at Saharanpur, and then studied the question. What was then wanted by manufacturers in Europe was merely the rough separation of the bark, which contains the fibre, from the wood and pith of the stems of the plant, and sufficient extraction of the gummy sap to permit of the strips of bark being sent home in bales without deterioration of the fibre by fermentation. M. Nagoua and one or two others of the competitors seemed to effect this, but when the committee, which included Mr. Angus Campbell, M. I. C. E., and another Engineer, went into the question, and framed estimates of the cost of preparation of the fibre on a large scale by each process, it was found that the cost would be quite prohibitory. Others of the competitors, notably a Dutchman, who brought a series of elaborate machines all the way from Java, attempted to manufacture the fibre in a state for spinning, and turned out beautifully white silky stuff; but the strength of the fibre seemed to have been great diminished by the chemical process to which it had been submitted. Moreover, the manufacturers at home did not want this, for they wished to keep the profit of preparing the raw material to themselves.

The Rhea plant used at the Saharanpore trials was chiefly grown in the fields attached to the Botanical Garden; but, as I have said, some was raised in the Dún and some was even got up, by passenger train, from the Calcutta Botanical Garden. This latter supply arrived in too dry a state; but it was much the best in quality, having been grown in the climate most suitable to the plant. The plant grown at Saharanpore and in the Dún was pronounced by the competitors to be bad, and I believe the outturn of fibre also proved that it was so. Rhea requires a climate in which the stems can grow rapidly, and unchecked by irregularities of rainfall and alternations of drought such as are liable to happen in the North-Western Provinces; and the supply produced in these parts was found to have grown by fits and starts, and the stems therefore had unequal and generally too short intervals between the nodes, with the consequence that long enough fibres could not be extracted by any of the competing processes. This plant had been grown or matured in the rainy season, and irrigated when necessary, and yet it was bad, a warm and steadily damp climate being necessary for its welfare. After the experience gained in 1879, it would be futile ever again to attempt to grow Rhea in the Dún, even should a machine for the preparation of the fibre ever be invented which would satisfy the requirements of the home market. Yet, in the Report on the last Settlement, Mr. Baker wrote:—

"Rhea cultivation has also been tried in the Eastern Dún. There is no difficulty in growing the plant, but, in spite of the reward of £5,000 offered by the Government of India, machinery has not yet been set up to produce dressed fibre at remunerative rates. Further experiments with Rhea are, I believe, contemplated on the Markham Grant."

I don't think such further experiments ever were tried on the Markham Grant, and I believe none such are now in contemplation.

C. W. HOPE.

ART. IV.—THE ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW OF ITALY.

(Continued from July 1893, No. 193)

THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.

THE Civil Administration is concerned mainly with the limitations which it is necessary to impose on the fundamental rights and liberties of private citizens:—

1. The right of equality.
2. The right of liberty.
 - i. Liberty of action.
 - ii. Liberty of conscience.
 - iii. Liberty of discussion.
3. The Right of property.

It should be explained that equality means equality *in law* and not in point of fact. Men differ in their faculties and in the application thereof: *ergo* there must always be inequality in point of fact. But equality means that all are equal in the eyes of the law; * every man can aspire to Civil and Military posts, can exercise any profession or industry he pleases; there are no privileges or distinctions of classes, and all are subject to the same penalties for the same offences.

The Civil Administration will be described under the following heads:—

- I. Public Health and Sanitary Administration.
- II. Public Security.
- III. Religion, Public Instruction, and the Press.
- IV. Labour, Industries, and Commerce.
- V. Communications and Transport.
- VI. State Supervision of Private Property and Social Institutions.

I. PUBLIC HEALTH AND SANITARY ADMINISTRATION.

The Sanitary Administration.—The Sanitary Administration is under the Minister of the Interior, and is carried on by the Prefects, Sub-Prefects and Sindacs, assisted by Sanitary Boards or Committees for provinces, districts, and municipalities respectively. The Minister is assisted by a central or superior Board. The lowest grade of Committees, namely, those in municipalities, consist of eight members in communes which have a population of 10,000 or more, and of four members in other communes.

* In the Courts in Italy the words "*La legge é eguale per tutti*" are written up above the President's seat.

Exercise of the Professions of Medicine, Surgery, &c.—Doctors, surgeons, phlebotomists, midwives, dentists, and veterinary surgeons are not allowed to practise unless they have obtained a certificate of fitness in one of the universities or special schools of the State, and have been registered in the municipal office of the commune in which they are domiciled. Doctors are bound to inform the Sindac when any illness of an evidently dangerous and contagious nature appears in their commune. The Sindac must inform the Prefect, at the same time taking any measures which the Municipal Committee of Health may consider urgent. The Prefect is bound to inform the Provincial Board of Health and the Minister of the Interior, in case any further measures are required.

Druggists must hold diplomas of fitness, and must also hold a special license from the Prefect. They are bound to keep all poisons in closed receptacles. The Prefect can, whenever he thinks fit, order any druggist's shop to be inspected by a doctor and a druggist, accompanied by the Sindac. Such visits must be suddenly made, and without any previous warning. For the encouragement of sanitation in the smaller communes, the Bank of Deposits and Loans is authorised, by a law of the 14th July 1887, to give loans to communes containing less than 10,000 inhabitants. The loans are repayable in 30 years at the outside, and bear an interest of 3 per cent.; and the State makes up to the Bank any differences between this rate of interest and the market rate.

The Employment of Children.—With the object of removing obstacles to the full development of the physical and intellectual powers of children, their employment under the age of nine is absolutely forbidden*; if employed in caves or mines, they must be at least ten. Children over nine and under fifteen cannot be employed unless they have been certified to be fit for the particular employment by doctors deputed by the District Boards of Health. Special restrictions are laid down and special precautions taken in the case of children under fifteen employed in certain dangerous and unhealthy occupations, such as the manufacture of gunpowder and the grinding and refinement of sulphur. Children over nine, but under twelve years of age, cannot be employed for more than eight hours a day. A fine of from 50 to 100 lira (and double in case of a second offence) may be imposed for each child illegally employed. It is punishable with imprisonment as well as fine to make over to or take from others children under the age of eighteen, for the purpose of their being employed in wandering (*giovaghe*) occupations.

* In India the age used to be seven, but has been raised to nine by Act XI of 1891, which amends Act XV of 1881.

Dangerous or Inconvenient Industries.—As regards industries, such as the manufacture of gunpowder, dynamite, fireworks, and matches, and occupations causing a considerable noise, it is provided that the Provincial Deputation may, at the request of the municipal body, or of any private interested person, declare what manufactures, workshops or store-houses shall be considered unhealthy, dangerous, or inconvenient; and from the date of such declaration, if approved by the Prefect, such manufactures, workshops, or store-houses are forbidden. In Milan not more than 300 litres of petroleum, or 60 litres of other inflammable liquids, can be stored in one place. Such liquids must be kept in metal receptacles, and cannot be carried about before sunset or after dawn.

Duties of Local Sanitary Authorities.—With the exception of the few laws above referred to, and others relating to quarantine and other precautions for preventing the spread of epidemic diseases, and the law of the 15th January 1885, dealing with the sanitation of communes, the State leaves the direct supervision of the public health to the local authority, as being the most nearly interested and acquainted with the best means of applying remedies. The Government for the most part restricts itself to giving advice and seeing that the local authority frames and enforces suitable sanitary regulations. The Municipal Boards of Health are bound to look after the cleaning and lighting of the roads, and the cleansing of wells and drains, and to keep a vigilant eye on food and drink, habitations, theatres, and other places of amusement, wandering dogs, burials and cemeteries. There is a rule that houses must be constructed so as to let in light and air: and newly-built or restored houses cannot be occupied until the Municipality, after hearing the local Sanitary Committee, declares them to be habitable. There are vigorous rules for the supervision of slaughter-houses, and the destruction of fruit which is rotten or unhealthy from unripeness, the meat of animals which have died of disease, adulterated grain, rotten vegetables, and food or drink mixed with heterogeneous or injurious substances.

No body can be buried or autopsy performed, unless death has been certified by the Sanitary Official deputed for that purpose by the municipal authority.* Every commune must have its own cemetery at a distance of at least 200 metres

* There is no law in India prohibiting the immediate burning of a dead body. The bodies of murdered persons are often so burnt, and that in spite of the prohibition of the Chowkidar. The murder itself must be proved before a person can be convicted of causing disappearance of evidence under Section 201 Penal Code. The burning of the body often prevents proof of the murder by destroying the principal evidence of it.

from any group of dwellings containing more than 200 persons, and in such a situation that the prevailing wind does not blow towards the houses. No new cemetery can be established without the permission of the Prefect, who may also permit sepulture in private chapels in the country. After hearing the Provincial Board of Health, he may also for exceptional reasons permit other methods of burying, preserving, or destroying bodies, including cremation.

The Pellagra.—The *Pellagra* is an endemic malady, similar to the malaria of Bengal. It is principally prevalent in the valley of the Lower Po. It seems to have been imported from Spain in the middle of the 18th century along with the cultivation of maize, and the disease steadily extended as this cultivation extended: the geography of the one is the geography of the other. Only the Neapolitan Provinces, Sicily and Sardinia are free from this scourge. As regards the etiology of the disease, it is attributed to the bad and insufficient food of the peasantry, and the consumption of maize which has become bad, or is not well matured and dried. By a decree of the 23rd March 1884, the Government urged municipalities, agrarian committees, and other public bodies to start economical drying ovens for the artificial ripening of the maize, at the same time requiring them to meet half the expenses. The Government also gives special grants for cheap kitchens established for the benefit of the agricultural classes, and also for other institutions intended to remove the causes of the *Pellagra*. Applications for grants are made through the Prefects of Provinces to the Minister of Industry, Agriculture, and Commerce.

II. PUBLIC SECURITY.

Scope and Methods of the Administration.—The laws and rules under this head have for their object the maintenance of public order and the protection of citizens and their property. The Penal Code and judicial repression are now substituted for the arbitrary rules formerly in vogue, and it is considered by the best modern jurists that the protection of the rights of the individual should be sought not so much in suppression as in a well-planned *preventive* system. The true principle for observance is that the liberty and the property of the citizen must not be restricted or attacked, except where either the one or the other is really dangerous to the liberty and property of others, or to the public order, which itself is the safeguard of each man's liberty and property. The administration of public security is called on to repress only when it cannot prevent, and its agents are considered deserving of credit whenever they succeed in preventing any particular offence.

The Administrative Body.—The direction of the Public Security is carried on by the Prefects, Sub-Prefects, Quæstors, Inspectors and Delegates, and the whole department is under the Minister of the Interior. There are Quæstors only in those towns which have more than 60,000 inhabitants. In communes where there is not a separate official, the Sindaco performs the duties under the direction of the Prefect or Sub-Prefect. The active service connected with this department is performed by a body of guards on foot: in Sicily there are mounted guards also. Their special duty is to supervise meetings and assemblages, the manufacture and sale of arms and munitions of war, places of amusement, inns, cafés, taverns and similar establishments, and to keep an eye on idlers, vagrants, mendicants, and previously convicted persons.

Meetings and Assemblages.—Meetings (*riunioni*) are a consequence of the right of association, and are convened for the discussion of common interests; an assemblage (*l'assembramento*) is also a meeting, but it is of a more accidental character, and not bound by any special interest. The right of meeting peaceably and without arms is one of the guaranteed rights of the Statute of the Constitution. But the Government is empowered to make rules to prevent these meetings from becoming a source of danger to the security of the State or the citizens, and it is the duty of the agents of Public Security to see that these rules are observed. This qualification leaves the administration quite unhampered, as they are the judges, without appeal, of the necessity for enforcing the rules. Meetings and assemblages cannot be dispersed except after three formal warnings, each preceded by beat of drum or trumpet sound; but this formality is dispensed with in cases of revolt or opposition.

Manufacture, Sale and Carrying of Arms.—Any person wishing to possess or collect arms must inform the local political authority, while the Prefect's consent is necessary for manufacture or importation from other countries. Treacherous (*insidiosa*) arms are absolutely forbidden, and they cannot be either manufactured or imported from abroad, without a special licence from the Minister of the Interior. Those arms are called "insidious," which are easily concealed, such as daggers, poignards, rapier-sticks, and revolvers.

Citizens are forbidden to go armed, because in a well-constituted society arms are useless to the person carrying them and dangerous to others. If in special cases arms are required as a measure of precaution, the necessary permission can be obtained from the political authority of the district; this permission lasts for a year, but can at any time be revoked

by the Prefect on grounds of public security. It cannot be accorded to persons under 16, nor to those who cannot get a certificate of good conduct from the Sindac. The manufacture and transport of explosive powders is regulated by a Regulation of the 18th May 1865.

Places of Amusement, Inns, Cafés, &c.—Such places cannot be opened without a special license, and they are under the supervision of the Agents of Public Security. Licenses are granted by the political authority of the district, that is, the Sub-Prefect or Quæstor, after hearing the opinion of the Municipal Committee; in case of refusal, there is an appeal to the Prefect. Licenses are in force for a year, and must be presented for renewal in the month of December. Licenses are always personal, and are not transferable. These places are considered public, and may at any time be entered by the Agents of Public Security.

Keepers of hotels, inns, and lodging-houses must, within 24 hours, inform the local official of public security of the arrival or departure of their inmates.

Dangerous Persons—At the request of the authority of Public Health, the Prætor may summon before him persons said to be idlers and vagrants or suspected to be cheats or rogues. If he finds the allegation correct, he warns them to take to some regular employment under threat of prosecution under the Penal Code. The Prefect or the Minister of the Interior can fix the domicile in the case of those convicted. Persons convicted of certain offences, especially those against public security, robbery, and unlawful associations, can be compelled to live in a certain place for three years from the date of their release. They cannot change their residence without the consent of the political authority of the district; they must show their card of identity when called for by the carabinieri or officers of Public Health, and they must obey orders as to not appearing in certain places, not going out at certain hours, not carrying arms or sticks, not associating with certain persons, and other rules of a similar nature.

The authorities of Public Security also supervise those persons who gain a living by peripatetic occupations, and must see that they do not keep with them, in the exercise of such occupations, the children of others under 18 years of age.

Emigration and Immigration.—Emigration is of two kinds, *proper or permanent*, and *temporary*. In 1888 the number of permanent emigrants from Italy was 85,355, while that of temporary emigrants was 82,474. The provinces from which there is most temporary emigration are Venice, Piedmont, and Upper Lombardy. Permanent emigration principally takes place from Liguria, Campobasso, Cosenza, Potenza and

Salerno. There is scarcely any emigration from Tuscany, and none from Rome.

Liberty to Emigrate.—In former times, economic prejudices and incorrect notions of public law induced States to place obstacles in the way of emigration. But the maxim *nemo potest exuere patriam* is no longer in force in its entirety. The economists of the 18th century looked upon the population as one of the principal factors of the national wealth. So it was that unauthorized emigration was severely punished, and as late as 1832 a law was promulgated, which threatened with the confiscation of their property all who emigrated without permission.

It is now a well-established principle in the public law of civilised nations that every man may go wherever he thinks there is the best opening for his activity and talents. But to this principle there are some exceptions :—

1. A man may not emigrate *in fraud of* military service. This of course applies to countries in which there is some sort of compulsory service. A circular of the Minister of War directs that permission to emigrate shall not be given to those who have not yet performed their quota of military service, except for grave reasons of family, study, commerce, or profession.
2. A man may not emigrate, if he is "wanted" for any offence.
3. In Northern Italy it is considered that unpaid debts and the unfulfilled contractual or customary engagements of the peasantry with their landlords constitute a sufficient reason for refusing passports and the certificate of "*nulla osta*." (no obstacle).
4. The sanitary officials of ports can prevent sick persons, or women in an advanced state of pregnancy, from embarking.

But, of course, there is nothing to prevent clandestine emigration.

As regards the protection afforded to emigrants, art. 64 of the law of Public Security provides that no emigration agency can be opened without a license from the political authority of the district; and such licenses can only be given to persons of good character. Apart from this vigilance over agencies, the Government cannot directly interfere; but they can and do interfere if they think the emigrants are not aware of the real life they are going to lead. In 1880, owing to the dark and foul incidents attending the colonization of Port Briton, the Government altogether prohibited the giving of passports for that destination.

There is very little permanent immigration. There is some from Switzerland and Germany for purposes of commerce, and there is some immigration for political causes from the Italian provinces subject to Austria.

III. RELIGION, PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, AND THE PRESS.

The State must respect liberty of conscience, and has no business to decide what is the best or most convenient religion for its citizens. The religious sentiment is increased, and the purity of religion preserved, when one religion can watch another with rival and jealous eyes. Moreover, experience shows that, in those countries where the greatest liberty is accorded, the various sects live in the greatest harmony; whereas, when a privileged position is given to one religion, as in Russia, persecutions of the heterodox are frequent. The absence of religious sentiment in a State is considered to be an evil, as tending to anarchy and socialism; the masses, thrust out from the prospect of Paradise and eternal happiness, think that they must enjoy during their lives their share of the good things of this world.

The Catholic Church.—The Statute declares that the Catholic religion is the only religion of the State; but this portion of the Statute has become a dead letter. It is, nevertheless, the religion professed by the large majority of Italians.

The kingdom of Italy is divided into 46 arch-dioceses, not counting the Holy Chair, with an arch-bishop at the head of each. There are 153 bishops, and under them are rectories or vicarages (*parochie o vicarie*). Under the law of the 13th May 1871, the Supreme Pontiff can freely correspond with the episcopate and with the whole Catholic world, without any interference on the part of Government, and for such purpose can establish postal and telegraph offices in his own residence. His person is as sacred and inviolable as that of the king, and his palaces enjoy an immunity from the jurisdiction of the Public Force. His envoys enjoy all the prerogatives and immunities assured by international law to ambassadors. Other states have an interest in the Roman Pontiff not being dependent on one particular state; so that his privileged position does not really contradict the general principle of the equality of all religions before the State.

Public Instruction.—The law of the 13th November 1859 is still the basis of public instruction, though parts of it have not been extended to the whole kingdom. According to this law, instruction is divided into the following classes:—

1. Elementary or primary, *i.e.*, reading, writing, and arithmetic;
2. Middle or Secondary, which is subdivided into
 - a. Technical or Professional, imparted in technical

and professional schools and technical institutes to those who wish to devote themselves to certain departments of the public service, industries, commerce, and the conduct of agricultural matters ;

- 6. Classical, which is given in gymnasia and lycea, and prepares youths for the superior instruction.
- 3. Superior, for the cultivation of science and letters, and for the preparation of students for certain public offices and special professions ;
- 4. Normal or Teaching, for the training of teachers.

Elementary Instruction Compulsory and Free.—Elementary instruction is of two kinds, inferior and superior, each of which is completed in two years. The law makes popular instruction obligatory in the common interests, for it is the interest of civil society that every citizen should draw the greatest profit from the intellectual forces which nature has given him, and thereby increase the total production and the national wealth. Ignorance is an evil not only to the individual, but to society as well. It is, then, the duty of the State to promote popular instruction as a means of social defence. Children who have completed their sixth year must be sent to the communal schools under penalty of a fine of from 50 centimes to 10 lira ; but parents have the option of sending them to private schools or giving them private instruction at home. Fines are credited to the commune and constitute a fund for rewards and aid to deserving pupils.

It is just that society should pay for elementary instruction in countries governed by popular suffrage, as any citizen may be called to the political functions of electors, jurors, administrators of communes and religious institutions. It is also argued that education diminishes offences, especially those against property, so that owners of property should not be reluctant to bear their share of the expense. But the validity of this reasoning is not free from doubt, since criminality depends on a complexity of elements ; and mere instruction, unaccompanied by education in the proper sense of the term, probably does not better popular morality. Communes are bound to maintain schools in proportion to their means and the number of inhabitants. The State restricts itself to giving assistance to the poorer communes. The Bank of Deposits and Loans is authorized to lend money to communes at a small rate of interest, the State making good to the Bank the difference between such rate and the normal rate.

There are educational boards, whose duty it is to see that municipalities do their duty in instituting and maintaining schools ; and, attached to the Ministry of Public Instruction, is

a consultative commission for the decision of disputes between the educational boards and the communes or the teachers.

The masters of elementary schools are entitled to a pension after 25 years' service in the public schools of any commune. The pension is fixed on the mean of the minimum stipends attaching to the offices held by the teacher during the last five years of his service.

MIDDLE OR SECONDARY INSTRUCTION.

As such instruction, and more so superior instruction) enables youths to enter lucrative professions, it is only just that those who profit by it should bear at any rate a portion of the expense. But there are always some free posts and scholarships for clever youths, who happen to be poor.

Superior Instruction.—The professors of superior institutions are either *ordinary* or *extraordinary*. The former are nominated by the king on the ground of their examinations or degrees; but the king is also at liberty to give preference to those who have gained a reputation for great merit by their works, discoveries, or teaching in the subjects which they will have to teach. The extraordinary professors are nominated by the Minister on either ground. In order to guarantee the liberty of instruction and to favour the progress of science, the ordinary professors enjoy a quasi-immovability; that is, they cannot be suspended or removed, except for fixed causes and by a special procedure.

Normal Schools.—Normal schools, for the training of teachers, are of two grades, superior and inferior, according to the diploma wished for. The provinces are obliged to give a certain minimum sum in the shape of grants for the support of these schools. It is considered by many that these grants do a distinct injury to industry and commerce by drawing away men who might otherwise go in for those pursuits, and that they moreover create a class of misplaced and discontented men.

The administration of Public Instruction.—The centre of the educational administration is the Minister of Public Instruction. He is assisted by—

1. A superior Council of Public Instruction, composed of 32 members, of whom 16 are chosen by the Minister, while the remainder are chosen by the ordinary and extraordinary professors of the universities and superior schools:
2. By a central State Inspectorate for middle and elementary instruction.

As regards the local administration, there are rectors for each University; for middle, classical, technical, normal, and elementary schools, a State Inspector and a provincial educational

council, composed of 12 members, including the Inspector and the Prefect ; and for technical and nautical institutions there is a committee of vigilance. For elementary and popular schools there is also in each capital of a district an inspector, and in each mandament one or more scholastic delegates.

The Press.—Next to schools, the press is the most powerful medium of instruction, and especially the periodical press ; hence the necessity for vigilance on the part of government. The liberty of the press is sanctioned by statute, but special laws prevent this liberty from degenerating into abuse. No person can exercise the typographical or lithographical art, without having made a previous declaration to the local authority of Public Security, and no printed or written paper, except only such as refer to commerce and notices of sales, &c., can be affixed in any public place without the permission of the same authority. Every publication must show the place and year of publication, and the name of the printer. In the case of defamation, the author is primarily the object of prosecution, and subsidiarily the editor and the printer. As regards daily papers, the law exacts that every paper must have a responsible manager, who is compelled to sign the minutes of the first copy, and to send it to the Procurator of the King at the time of publication. It is, therefore, impossible for the manager to evade his responsibility by any juggling chicanery. The manager is the scapegoat of offences imputed to the paper, and the writers do not share the punishment, unless they have signed their articles. The managers are also bound to insert gratuitously, and not later than the second publication, the answers of persons criticized by name in their papers, provided the answers do not exceed twice the length of the articles to which they refer.*

They are also bound to insert gratuitously sentences of condemnation pronounced against them for violation of the press laws, and also, on payment, anything communicated by the authorities.

Theatres.—Theatres are a two-edged weapon. They may do good by inspiring noble sentiments, and they may do harm by painting vice in attractive colours. No one can give any public spectacle without having first obtained a proper license from the local authority of Public Health ; which license is only given if the building be secure and so constructed that the spectators can easily escape in case of fire, and also subject to the condition that the credulity of the spectators is not abused,

* Such a provision would be very wholesome in India. Native editors, who insert defamatory articles from corrupt or malicious notices, often refuse to insert answers or corrections of mis-statements. Such refusal is in Italy a penal offence.

and that no object is exposed which can offend modesty or good manners, or cause disgust.

If the press requires supervision, *a fortiori* it is necessary to subject dramatic and coreographic representations to preventive censorship. Written books are directed only to the intelligence of a few select readers ; while theatrical representations appeal to the intelligence and senses of masses of spectators (many very ignorant), collected in one place, easily fascinated by the eloquence of the language, and carried away by the ardour of the acting. In Italy no piece can be played, unless it has first been approved and passed by the Prefect.

The supervision of theatrical performances is the province of the local authority of Public Security. He is entitled to a box just as the Prefect and Sub-Prefect ; in case of tumult or disorder, he can suspend the performance and clear the theatre ; and if the disorder has had its origin in any non-fulfilment of promises on the part of the manager, he is empowered to order the return of the entrance money.

IV. LABOUR, INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

The liberty of work is the pivot on which hangs the economic legislation of civilized peoples, and the national governments in Italy have never opposed any obstacles to such liberty. Some privileged corporations were introduced after Italy became the prey of foreigners, but they have all disappeared, the last, that of the porters (*jachhini*) of the Port of Genoa, having been suppressed in 1879.

It is the duty of the administration to remove all obstacles to the development of industry and commerce, to make communications, to establish or promote special schools, to guard the public confidence, the security and health of the citizens, and the public finances. As regards the public confidence, it will be seen later that the manufacture of weights and measures is subject to certain conditions ; as regards security the restrictions on the manufacture of arms, &c., have been pointed out ; as regards health, the rules regarding unhealthy or dangerous manufactures have been referred to ; and it has also been seen that in the interests of the revenue, the Government has reserved certain monopolies to itself, such as the sale of salt and tabacco, and places some other industries under the permanent vigilance of its agents of finance, such as the manufacture of beer, gaseous waters, spirits, and indigenous sugar.

Workmen.—Every workman was formerly bound to keep a book (provided by the authorities of Public Security), which was a sort of running history of his life and services as a workman ; but now such a book need not be kept, except at the request of the workman or of employers. It is, however, obliga-

tory on all large employers to send to the authorities of Public Security, within the first five days of each month, a list of the workmen who have either entered or left their service.

Combinations.—The Penal Code punishes combinations of masters or workmen; in the former case, if they tend to an unjust and abusive diminution of wages, and in the latter, if they aim at suspending, impeding or preventing work without reasonable cause. But, as a matter of fact, such combinations are not brought before the Courts, if their originators are quiet and do not have recourse to intimidation or violence

INDUSTRIES.

Industries may be divided into four classes :—

1. Extractive.
2. Agrarian or Rural.
3. Manufacturing.
4. Commercial.

I. EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY.

Extractive industry comprises hunting, fishing, and mining. By the chase and by fishing, we bring under our subjection savage animals, that is, those which by instinct live far from man, and do not suffer servitude; and also, by way of exception, tame or domesticated animals, which have left their masters, and are not found by him within two days, in the case of apes, or within twenty days, in the case of other animals.* Game belongs to the man who takes it even on the land of another, if such land be unwallled or unfenced. The proprietor can forbid ingress, and claim compensation for damage, but he cannot claim any right to wild animals, which run about on his land, and which another person has taken.

The administration must exercise a continuous vigilance over both sport and fishing, as the gross ignorance of the littoral population induces them to take before maturity the natural riches of our waters, and the indiscriminate destruction of insectivorous birds is one of the chief causes of bad agriculture.

Legislation regarding fishing.—The principal law which regulates fisheries is that of the 4th March 1877. This law was made more specific and amplified by the regulations of the 13th November 1882, relating to sea fishing, of the 15th March 1884 dealing with lake and river fishing, of the 19th September 1884 referring to fisheries in the waters which bathe the Italian and Swiss territories, and lastly by the convention with Austria-Hungary of the 9th August 1883, ratified on the 23rd January 1885, which relates to fishing in the Lago di Garda. The

* Cod. Civ. 713.

effect of these laws is that in public waters, (national, provincial, or communal), and also in private waters which have a direct communication with public waters, it is forbidden to fish with dynamite or other explosive materials, or to throw into the water any substances likely to stupefy or kill fish and other aquatic animals. There is also a general prohibition against fishing for or selling spawn, new fish and other aquatic animals which have not arrived at certain dimensions. Finally, to favour the multiplication of fish, fishing in general, or for certain sorts of fish, is forbidden in some months of the year.

The person who discovers a coral bank in the waters of the State will, if he duly informs the local maritime authority, and attends to the cultivation, have the exclusive right to enjoy it up to the end of the second season following that in which he has made the discovery. When, among several claimants, it cannot be ascertained who first discovered the reef, he who has first given notice is, for administrative purposes, considered to be the discoverer.

River and Lake Fisheries.—In public waters (not subject to private rights or to regular fishery grants) the first occupant of any particular post for fishing* has the right to maintain it exclusively for all time (that he fishes), and for such space as is necessary for the enjoyment and full development of the means of fishing.

But where a post for fishing already exists in any basin or course of water, another post cannot be established within a lesser distance than twice the length of the former. Any hedge, net, or other fixed or moveable apparatus for fishing must not extend to more than half the width of the river, measured at right angles from the banks; and in any case there must always remain between the two extremities of any such apparatus a space of not less than one metre for the free passage of fish. In some rivers the space fixed is larger: ex. gr. in the river Adda, in the Province of Sondrio, the width to be left is fixed at $5\frac{1}{2}$ metres. It is forbidden to pull up, by fishing, grasses or roots, or to disturb the bottom of the water; and consequently dragging nets, which might do so, are prohibited. Moreover, no one can introduce a new kind of fish into any lake or course of water without first getting the permission of the Prefect.

When an extraordinary mortality affects some particular

* There can be no doubt that the fishing villages (called *kholas* in Eastern Bengal) along the banks of large navigable rivers enjoy fishery easements and have a right to remain at the posts they have occupied from generations. Some zemindars attempt to treat these fishermen as if they had not even a right of occupancy, and lease the posts to outsiders if illegal demands for enhanced rent are not complied with.

kind of fish or other aquatic animal, the Prefect, after hearing the Provincial Deputation and Chamber, of Commerce, can prohibit the fishery for such time as he thinks fit.

There are certain close seasons. For instance, the taking and sale of shell-fish is forbidden from the 1st November to the 31st March. In the Lago di Como *agoni* may not be fished for in the months of May and June, except from an hour after sunset on Tuesday up to dawn on Saturday.

In private waters the fishery belongs to the proprietors.

Laws regarding Game, &c.—There is no uniform law on this subject for the whole kingdom. But under various laws, and art. 712 of the Civil Code, it is forbidden to enter another's land, against his consent, in pursuit of game. Prohibition is always presumed in the case of growing crops, and lands enclosed with walls, hedges or fences of any sort, and also when a notice is posted up declaring the shooting "reserved" ("*caccia riservata*").

Licenses to shoot or pursue game with nets and in other ways are given by the Prefect, the former costing 10 lira and the latter from 6 to 100 lira. Licenses are personal, are valid for the whole kingdom for the period of one year, and are only given to persons of well-known good character, provided they are over 16 years of age.

During close seasons it is forbidden to expose for sale, buy, or carry about any sort of game. The pursuit of game is forbidden from one hour after sunset up to one hour before sunrise; and guns may not be fired off at a lesser distance than 50 metres from any human habitation, and never on the roads or the hedges which border them.

Contraventions of fishery and game laws.—Contraventions of fishery and game laws are punishable with fines up to 500 and 200 lira respectively. But, as regards fishery offences, there is a provision that the offender, if not a recidivist, can demand to be dealt with in an administrative way by the captain or officer of the Port (in the case of sea fisheries), or by the Prefect (in the case of river and lake fisheries).

Mine Legislation.—There is no uniformity of legislation on this subject, and the laws differ for different Provinces. There is diversity not merely in details, but in fundamental principles. In the legislation of the Southern Provinces, and still more in the Tuscan legislation, the principle prevails that the owner of the upper soil is also owner of the sub-soil, whereas, in the Provinces of Venice, Modena, Parma and Rome, the principle prevails that mines are crown property.

Law of the 20th November 1859.—The law of the 20th November 1859 is in force in the ancient Provinces, Lombardy, the Papal Provinces, Umbria, and the Marches. Its two funda-

mental principles are that the ownership of the upper soil is separate from that of the subsoil, and that mines are *res nullius*, the finder of them having the right to work them. Mineral substances are divided into two classes; the first comprises metals properly so called, sulphur, bitumens, and lignite; the second consists of turf, stones and sand. Common salt and saltpetre are not affected by the law.

Mines of the former class can be worked only by virtue of a concession from the Crown from the date on which the mine becomes a separate property from that of the superficial soil. The working of a mine without a concession is punished with a fine of from 50 to 100 lira, apart from the confiscation of the minerals extracted and indemnity to the person having the right.

Any person wishing to obtain permission to search for minerals must present an application to the Prefect, who directs its publication in the commune, within the limits of which the land referred to is situate, and at the same time fixes a period of not less than ten days for objections. On the expiry of this period, he gives or refuses permission, but an appeal lies to the Minister of Public Works. The owner of *open* lands cannot object to the search for mines made with the permission of the Prefect of the Province, but they are entitled to compensation for any loss inflicted on them. However, no one can make borings even on his own land, nor open pits or subterraneous passages, except at a distance not less than 100 metres from human dwellings, and ten metres from other places enclosed with walls.

The person to whom any concession is given must pay annually to Government a tax of 50 centimes for every hectare of superficial area comprised in the concession, provided that the amount paid be not less than 20 lira, in addition to the tax on moveable property.

Turf-cutting, and quarrying of stone and sand, can only be carried on by the proprietor of the soil or with his consent, but previous information must be given to the Prefect or Sub-Prefect, to enable them to prescribe such conditions as they may deem necessary in the interests of the public security and health.

Sanitary Precautions.—Those who carry on mining industries are bound to conform to such rules as may be prescribed by the Government engineers of mines and the Prefect, with a view to guaranteeing the security of persons, buildings, and roads. They must entertain a surgeon at their own expense, and must always have ready such means of succour as are necessary by reason of the number of workmen, the nature and extension of the works and their situation. It is forbidden

to employ underground children under ten, and from ten to fifteen they can be so employed only if it be specially certified by the District Doctor that they are healthy and fit for the work. Contraventions are punishable with a fine of from 50 to 100 lira for each child illegally employed.

2. RURAL INDUSTRY.

Rural industry comprises principally forests, improvements, rice cultivation, irrigation, and the institutions for promoting the progress of such industry.

Forest Legislation.—The actual area of forest in Italy is calculated to be 4 125,000 hectares, or 14 per cent. of the area of the whole kingdom. By the law of the 20th June 1877, and the regulation of the 10th February 1878, there is in every province a committee composed of the Prefect, who presides, of the forest inspector and sub-inspector, of an engineer appointed by the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, and of three members appointed by the provincial council. The council of each commune in the province elects another member, who sits with the committee whenever the subjects under discussion refer to his own commune.

There is a Forest Council also at the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, composed of three superior inspectors of the forest administration, of a legal adviser and of the Director-General of Agriculture, who presides. To these authorities are specially entrusted the preservation of the forests and the observance of the laws.

Scope of the Forest Regulations.—Forestal administration is not only concerned with forests, but also with lands which have been denuded of timber trees on the tops and slopes of hills up to the highest limit of the zone, in which the chestnut-tree grows in its natural state, and lands which by their quality and situation may, owing to felling or ploughing, cause avalanches, snow-slips, crumbling away or breaking of earth, and disturb the course of streams to the public loss, or alter the consistency of the soil, or injure local hygienic conditions. On the other hand, lands properly cultivated or maintained in terraces are exempt from the operations of the Forest Department, as also lands planted with vines, olives, or other trees (fruit-bearing or otherwise), whenever sufficient precautions are taken to prevent the dangers above-mentioned.

Cuttings and Clearings.—On lands within the Forest ambit cuttings and clearings are forbidden without the special permission of the Forest Committee of the Province, except where the land has already been reduced to cultivation. The list of forests and lands subject to the Forest regulations is compiled by the same committee and published for 15 days

in each commune; and this committee has the power of excluding lands for sufficient reasons. But they are not permitted to exclude trees which intervene between a marsh or stagnant piece of water and some inhabited centre. There is a rooted belief that such trees serve as a filter to purify the air from the miasmal exhalations brought by the winds, and the Government, not wishing to combat the popular idea, either believes it or pretends to do so. Requests to bring under cultivation lands within the forestal area are made to the Syndac of the commune, in which the land is situated. The Syndac, after taking the vote of the communal body, sends on the request to the Forest Committee, who must give orders on it within six months, an appeal lying to the Council of State.

The uprooting of trees bordering on rivers and torrents, and which support their banks, is absolutely forbidden up to a distance of nine metres from the water.

Reboisement.—The Forest laws contain some useful rules on the subject of reboisement. In cases where planting is clearly profitable to all the proprietors, if four-fifths of them agree, they are empowered to acquire the lands of the remainder. Where the proprietors do not apply themselves to re-planting or bringing under cultivation in such a way as to fulfil the scope of the law, the State, Provinces and Communes are empowered to acquire the land on the ground of public utility.

A law was passed in 1875 which ordered all communes within five years to plant all uncultivated lands falling within the ambit of the Forest Regulations, under penalty of having to alienate or lease them. But in 1882 the Minister of Agriculture was empowered to extend the term for another five years, and finally in 1886 for a further period not exceeding ten years. At the same time hilly lands were declared not subject to the law of 1875, provided they were solid, did not present any danger of breaks, landslips, or avalanches, and planting were not required in order to regulate the course of streams.

Contraventions.—Contraventions of the forest law, when they do not amount to offences under the Penal Code, are punishable with fine up to 250 lira for each hectare* of land, or imprisonment in default of fine. The offender is also compelled to make the land solid and wooded within the period of 18 months. In the case of corporate bodies the administrators are responsible.

Rights of User.—Perpetual easements (such as rights of

* A hectare = 2½ acres.

grazing, taking grass or wood, do serious injury to the preservation of forests; and the law has wisely provided that, while no new easements shall be acquired, it shall be lawful for the State, or any commune or other corporate body, or even for private persons to free the soil from any servitude whatever by paying money compensation, or by granting to the easement-holder such a portion of the land as shall be equivalent in value to the abolished easement.

At the same time, in order to reconcile public interests with private rights, the law enacts that whenever a right of pasturage or other easement is acknowledged to be necessary, in whole or in part, to the population in the vicinity, the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce may, after hearing the Communal Council, the Forest Committee, and the Council of State, suspend the right of acquisition for as long as he deems proper, and may regulate the exercise of the easement.

Rice cultivation.—The cultivation of rice was introduced into Italy at the end of the 14th century. According to official statistics, there are in Italy 7,63,000 hectares of marshy and swampy land for the most part capable of bearing rice only, the average produce of which is estimated to be 73,000 hectolitres of rice. The Government has been compelled to bring the cultivation of rice under some regulations and restrictions, as serious injury is caused to the public health by the corruption of stagnant water and the consequent malarial miasma.

Owing to diverse topographical, hydrographical, and climatological conditions, there cannot be one uniform law for all Provinces. The law of the 12th June 1866 (not yet extended to the Provinces of Rome, Mantua and Venice) directs that rice fields must be at a certain distance from groups of houses, and leaves it to the local authorities, that is, the Provincial Councils, to fix such distance and to regulate other conditions called for by the public health. Under this law the Provincial Council of Milan framed a regulation which was approved by a Royal Decree of the 2nd March 1879.

Under this regulation rice-cultivation is only allowed at the following distances:—

From the outer walls of the city of Milan	...	...	5,000 metres.
From places having a population of 15,000 or more	...	...	2,000 "
From places having not less than 6,000 inhabitants	...	...	500 "
From places having a population under 6,000 but not less than 2,000...	...	...	200 "
Ditto under 2,000 but not less than 300	...	...	100 "
Ditto under 300 but more than 30	...	...	30 "

These distances are measured in a direct line from the outermost houses. But cultivation is permitted within the prohibited area on lands acknowledged to be marshy by the

Provincial Sanitary Council, so that they may be kept in such state. Rice-cultivation is only permitted on lands provided with a sufficient quantity of water, and so situated that they may readily and quickly dry up, and leave no stagnant water. There must also be an artesian well or at least a masonry well of portable water sufficiently deep for the water to issue from sandy and hard gravel soil. The rooms of the houses must be dry, well aired, with an upper storey, and duly repaired; and those on the ground floor must have the plinth of brick or similar material, with a sufficient substratum of thick gravel, and raised at least 15 centimetres above the level of the surrounding lands, and 30 centimetres in the case of new houses. Within eight days from the reaping of the crop the rice lands must be thoroughly drained and dried up by the opening of suitable outlets at the corners of the surrounding banks of earth. Manure-pits must be at least 15 metres distant from any habitation, well, or source of drinking water.* It will be seen that the Italian Government takes elaborate measures to prevent its citizens dying from preventible causes.

Applications to cultivate rice must be made to the Prefect. Rice cultivated within the prohibited limits, or against the order of the administrative authorities can be destroyed at the expense of the offender, who is also liable to a pecuniary penalty up to 200 lira for every hectare illegally cultivated. It should be added that the rule as to distances from inhabited centres has not been strictly enforced.

Irrigation.—The Italian Civil Code favours irrigation by imposing on the owners of streams the obligation not to divert them to the loss of owners lower down. But what is especially favourable to the welfare of agriculture is the servitude of compulsory channels for the passage of water (*servitù dell'acquedotto coattivo*). Thanks to this very useful servitude, every proprietor is obliged to allow water to be passed over his land by those persons who have a permanent or even temporary right to use the water for agrarian or industrial purposes, or for the necessities of life. But the servitude is subject to certain conditions and restrictions: (a) the person who wants to make use of the channel must show that the water is sufficient for the use for which it is destined; (b) that the particular channel is the most convenient and the least injurious for the owner of the servient tenement; (c) before constructing the channel he must pay one-fifth over and above the value of the land to be occupied by it, without deducting the imposts and other burdens on the land,

* There is little or no drainage in the rice swamps of Bengal, while manure pits and heaps are found on the homesteads and in close contiguity to wells and sleeping rooms.

which remain at the charge of the owner ; and only half the aforesaid value, if the water-channel be required for a period of not more than nine years. The proprietor who wishes to get rid of an excess of water, with a view to render his lands dry and healthy, can also avail himself of the *acquedotto coattivo*.

Committees of Landlords.—These committees (*consorzi*) are associations of landed proprietors formed with the object of protecting their lands by common measures from rivers and torrents, or for the purposes of reforestation, irrigation, reclamation or general improvement. They are termed *voluntary* when constituted with the consent of all persons interested, and *obligatory* when appointed by administrative or judicial authority.

Associations can be made obligatory by administrative authority in cases where the public interest is concerned ; that is, whenever they have for their object the protection of property from streams and torrents, which jeopardize the interests of many persons, or when they tend to improve the climate, to reclaim lands with great benefit to agriculture or to hygienic surroundings, or to open communal roads, or to preserve mines. The State, Provinces, and Communes can contribute towards the necessary expenses.

Associations can be made obligatory by judicial authority, when they affect private interests, and have no special hygienic advantages, or when the majority of proprietors interested wish to undertake some scheme of irrigation or re-forestation, with liberty, however, to those who are unwilling to join the association, to sell their lands to it. The associations appoint administrative councils from among their numbers to carry out their objects, such councils being approved by judicial authority, when the association has been made obligatory by such authority, and by the Prefect in other cases.

Reclamations.—To the Government is entrusted in the last instance the supervision and inspection of works for the reclamation of lakes, marshes, and marshy lands. Under the laws in force reclamations are divided into two classes : those which are likely to result in great sanitary benefits, or in great agricultural improvements, combined with hygienic advantages ; those which do not present any of these characteristics. Both classes of projects must be generally approved by the Prefect, after hearing the civil engineer ; and when he has approved, the works acquire the character and enjoy all the advantages of works of public utility.

The State contributes half the cost of works of the first class ; the other half being paid as follows, one-eighth by the Province interested, another eighth by the communes similarly interested, and a quarter by the association of the proprietors of the lands reclaimed.

Details regarding the execution of the works, the ways and means of obtaining funds, the grant of loans, &c, belong to the special department" of rural legislation, of which there is a considerable amount in Italy.

In order to encourage works of reclamation and irrigation by means of Committees, it is enacted that the increase in the rental of an estate, which is due to reclamation, shall be exempt from the land-tax for 20 years, and that due to irrigation for 30 years, unless in the latter case the expense has been shared by the State. Moreover, rewards are offered to corporate bodies, voluntary committees, and even to private proprietors or tenants who, in the interests of agriculture and without any direct or indirect contribution from the Treasury, carry out agrarian works of importance.

Land and Agricultural Loans.—The facilities for taking loans from the State are very great. Ordinarily the amount is restricted to half the value of the lands or buildings hypothecated, but the loan may extend to three-fifths of such value, when the money is exclusively intended to free the agricultural property from the residuary price of purchase, or from the burden of a mortgage; and the same favour is extended to committees of reclamation and to communes, which desire to undertake sanitary works. Loans are given either by the State, or by Agricultural Loan Banks authorized by the State. The stamp, succession and mortgage duties, and the fees of the conservators of mortgages and of notaries for all operations of agrarian credit are generally reduced to half the amount fixed by the law. The memoranda of registration and the corresponding certificates given by the conservator are on plain paper.

Corn Banks.—These institutions (*monti frumentari*) are a sort of loan banks, in which the repayments are made in kind, being restricted, however, to wheat, barley and Indian corn. In 1878 there were 1,065 such banks in Italy, with an aggregate capital of 15,000,000 lira. They were a great help to small cultivators, as they advanced seed for the year's sowing, whence they were also called "*monti di pietà dell' agricoltura*." Grain borrowed at sowing-time in a level measure was repaid at harvest time in a measure heaped up with as much as it could hold. The number of these banks rose to 1,600, but towards the middle of the 18th century they were so badly administered that they began to disappear, and only existed on paper, whence they were ironically called paper banks (*monti cartolari*). They no longer answer the requirements of the times, and a law of the 27th January 1887 gives the king power to convert them into Agricultural Loan Banks.

Schools of Agriculture.—It is only in recent times that an impetus is being given to the teaching of agriculture. Schools,

for learning agriculture, vine-culture and forestry, and establishments for cheese-making and cattle-breeding are now founded by the State with the help of communes and provinces. The superior schools of agriculture have attached to them rural farms for the chemical examination of arable lands and experiments connected therewith; for the chemical examination and experimental determination of the relative value of different fertilizing substances; for experimental research regarding the rearing of animals and the nutritive properties of different kinds of forage; for the microscopic examination of silk-worms and their eggs; for ascertaining the relative merits of agricultural implements and machines; and for the diffusion of the results obtained by means of writings and conferences. There are also stud-farms in various parts of the kingdom for improving the indigenous breeds of domestic animals.

There are agrarian committees, whose scope it is to promote everything which can help the progress of agriculture. They exist in every district, and they correspond with the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce through the Prefects and Sub-Prefects. The funds provided by the members are supplemented by State, Provincial, and Communal grants.

(To be continued.)

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

ART. V.—THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH.

IF the enterprising citizens who first formed 'the Company of merchants of London trading into the East Indies,' could have foreseen the particular complications and problems they were preparing for well-intentioned Englishmen of the middle class, and for the great British democracy in the 19th century, perhaps, they would have turned their energy and daring into other channels. If those liberal-minded and philanthropic gentlemen, who rested not till they had given a mighty impetus to the spread of English education in India, and even founded Universities at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere, could have anticipated the curious and remarkable products that blossom forth to-day as a result of this English graft on Indian soil—it might have given them pause. But whether they would have dared or shrunk from the undertaking—whether we, with our fuller knowledge of effects and causes, would dare to-day, had we a free hand—is now a matter of the idlest speculation : we have to face and meet definite problems of no trivial nature, and much will turn on the way in which we are meeting and shall continue to meet them.

The one great problem with which all concerned with English education in India,—and more especially the Universities—have, first and foremost, to grapple to-day is the problem of *English* : no lofty problem of literature, philosophy, morality and social custom, but the simple and elementary problem of plain English speech,—the correct and rational speaking and writing of the English tongue itself. For, by universal consent, without possibility of controversy, whatever else the Universities have achieved, or not achieved, there has been a great and lamentable, a hugely grotesque failure in this respect—a failure to move inextinguishable Olympian laughter, to broaden Tartarus with a grin—a failure to make angels—and philologists weep. It stands as a gigantically ludicrous fact to-day, that the supreme powers in the Indian Empire, having undertaken to introduce the science and literature of the West into India through the medium of the English language, have failed to evolve any considerable number of trained scholars who may be trusted to speak and write the English language with even tolerable correctness and intelligence. This would be no great reproach if they turned out nothing else, but, unfortunately, the Universities send out yearly hundreds of youths, duly signed and sealed with degrees and certificates, equipped with a modicum of crudely mastered knowledge, and—what is much more serious—addicted to a very vile habit of writing and speaking

English. There is no need to reproduce here the poor jest of Babu English. The fact of its universality,* and the fact that this and no other, with some honourable exceptions, is what the Universities produce, is in itself notorious. It is abundantly attested by the writing-tables of Educational officers, by the experience of every Anglo-Indian official, by advertisements in newspapers, whole reams of examination papers, and shoals of letters and petitions.

The causes of this tremendous failure, no doubt, lie partly in the difficult nature of the task; but it may reasonably be questioned whether there can be any essential inability in the average Indian student to acquire a moderately perfect command of English. There are causes more within the scope of human forethought and contrivance. There is at all events one great and evident cause of the disappointing character of the University results—a cause that might have been prevented and may still be remedied. It is after all a simple and obvious matter. The Universities have tried to build without laying the foundation; they have tried to impart teaching in English without taking sufficient precautions to ensure that English should first be taught. They have busied themselves about the superstructure when they ought to have been digging foundations. There is nothing original in this discovery, nor is much wit required to make it. Nevertheless it is a momentous discovery, and it needs to be proclaimed with all possible urgency at this particular hour and every other, until such time as the whole educational apparatus is set on a better basis.

But what is there that can be done in face of this singular, unprecedented, curious, yet veritably perplexing and alarming state of things: that is the real question. Some people seem to think that the difficulties of the case are best met by a course of action which may ensure that the education, which already is moderately bad, shall have the fullest scope to become indefinitely worse. This method of procedure is dignified by the name of the settled policy of Government to withdraw gradually from the direction of higher education: as if, forsooth, that admirable and beneficent abstraction, having set the brave scheme of indoctrinating the East with Western knowledge fairly on the way toward ideal perfection, and discharged every reasonable obligation in the rôle of enlightened and philanthropic despotism, had nothing left to do but to fold its hands and pronounce a. 'Nunc dimittis! This seems about as wise and intelligent a method of procedure as to lighten a distressed ship by cutting away the rudder and throwing the pilot overboard, or to secure a shaky edifice by taking away the buttresses.

Another method, sharp, summary and effective enough—but which no one seems to have the courage deliberately to contemplate as yet—would be to acknowledge frankly, once and for all, that English education in India is a failure; that Universities have been prematurely and injudiciously established; in short, that the whole scheme has been, from beginning to end, a mistake, an anachronism, a piece of quixotic obtuseness. ‘The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children’s teeth have been set on edge.’ An earlier generation has enjoyed the glow of conscious worth and benevolent hopefulness, when English schools and colleges were first founded. We to-day are haunted and beset by Babu English, enlightened discontent, and the insolence of University degrees. But, having purchased wisdom by sharp experience, we may at least have the courage of our opinions. Government once for all washes its hands of education English or un-English, and there is still some faint hope of a return, by degrees, of the state of primitive simplicity and peace which prevailed before education—*walas*, classes, examinations, certificates and the other University-bred inconveniences were known.

But, if neither is this alternative altogether satisfactory—or if, however, salutary and effectual, there are sensibly felt and practical obstacles to its adoption at this date,—it surely behoves us to consider, whether there remain no possible means of grappling with the situation between these extremes of violence and inaction. Can nothing be done towards succouring the afflicted English speech, towards remedying the evils that menace it, and have, indeed, in part, already come to a head. No conclusion of practical value can be formed without duly weighing beforehand the immense difficulty of the task to which the Government of India has put its hand, in establishing an English University system in India.

English and Continental Universities are the slow growth of time. They have developed gradually, in conformity with the needs of national life. They are an integral part of the social system. There is a natural adaptation between their constitution, and (in England more especially) even their anomalies also, and the habits and ideas of all classes of the community. In England, for instance, Oxford and Cambridge occupy a unique, but well-understood and highly-esteemed place in the social fabric. An Oxford and Cambridge degree ensures, with very small exception, that its holder shall possess some modicum of classical learning, or other more or less useful knowledge, and shall be, in essentials, a man of fair education and good manners: and, in return, it ensures to him a certain amount of social consideration, the claim to be considered a gentleman, and a higher rate of value in most of

the professions. Institutions of a more modern type, like the London University, have sprung up in response to some clearly perceived need and fulfil their own proper purpose:

In India, Universities on English models—even if the model be of the less ambitious modern type—are necessarily an excrescence and a somewhat clumsy counterfeit. Constituted in accordance with the ideas of modern liberalism, they are out of harmony both with the theory of benevolent despotism, and with the tastes, habits, and modes of thought of the Indian peoples. They are, in their essence, as incompatible with the instincts and rooted habitudes of the land, as juries or manhood suffrage. There was no natural and appropriate setting into which, at their institution, they might readily fit; no field which called for the University lecturer as needing the tillage which he could give. It is true that there was, in a certain sense, a demand for English education, as any one who consults the history of education in India may readily see; a practical commonsense demand for English as an instrument and an investment, as a short cut to success in life; perhaps also some intellectual curiosity about this new learning; but that is a long way from being a demand for an English University system, with all its concomitants of examinations and degrees. It is only by sheer continuance as hard facts that in process of time an appropriate environment has been created, and that, in point of numbers, activity and organisation, the English University has become—as it certainly has become—a distinctly popular institution. The University did not come into being as the result of a national demand, conscious or unconscious, but as the outcome of the good intentions and more or less intelligent ratiocination of well-meaning gentlemen, pondering problems of India's future. Events have, in many respects, justified the importers of English education: but the circumstances under which it arose have inevitably left the harmonious adjustment of relations incomplete, and involve a deep and lasting taint of artificiality and anomaly. Such adjustment as has taken place has come about in accordance with social and economic conditions and the human nature of the Indian student. The notion of English education once set agoing, the shrewder sort were not long in discovering the practical advantages of falling in with the fashion of the day. A smattering of English was found to be a fair road to the safe and peaceful career of Government service, and to be useful in divers ways in other callings. A young man's chances of "getting on" were distinctly bettered by passing through a Government College, or other institution which taught English. Nay more—if report is not untruthful—there were other and less special concomitant advantages:

an University certificate or degree brought a distinct enhancement of a young man's value in the marriage market. He could count on winning a maiden of more unimpeachable lineage or more ample dowry. This is a graceful tribute to learning which deserves a wider recognition. How fortunate for the hard-pressed youth of England, if well-dowered spinsters, and still more their parents and guardians, could be induced to take this view of matters ! The general result of these influences—together, no doubt, with the slow diffusion of modern ideas, gradually quickening a genuine movement in quest of knowledge—for there have been better influences at work throughout, and this ought never to be forgotten—has been, in the end, the crowding of Government schools and colleges, and the upspringing all over the land of aided colleges and private institutions in which English is similarly taught.

Now, although the whole movement may appropriately be spoken of as one, there is a momentous turning-point in its history, which divides the whole into two periods, and makes a new beginning—the Incorporation of Universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in the year 1857. So long as schools and colleges instituted by Government were merely affording an opportunity for learning English and acquiring some acquaintance with Western letters and modes of thought, there was no great call for stringency in the standard set up. These institutions were merely tentatively carrying on good work in the right direction, with some ultimate hope of good results. But the founding of Universities altered the whole situation. It was at once a claim and a challenge. It was a claim that the State-given education had reached a stage of efficiency which warranted the conferring of degrees by a professedly learned body. It was a challenge of comparison with the universities of Britain, of Europe, of America and Australasia. If the University could not maintain a certain dignity, if the holder of its degrees did not reach a certain standard of excellence, its pretensions must inevitably become ridiculous. This would not matter, perhaps, in the case of some small State, unallied to the greatness of the British Empire ; but, with all the prestige of the Indian Government in the background, it was certainly expedient to take care that there should be no danger of Indian Universities becoming a jest and a by-word. Can it be said that there is no such danger to-day ? If there is, as I fear, it is due most of all to the reason I have already given,—the outrage done to the English language.

The beginnings of the teaching of English in India were exceeding small, as was illustrated in the *Calcutta Review* of

April, in last year. It is obvious that it was long quite out of the question to insist with any great rigidity upon the sort of English acquired. It was wonderful, if any English were acquired at all, even though of a somewhat indifferent type. Now, this leniency, which was perfectly excusable and, indeed, inevitable at first, takes quite a different complexion as soon as an English University is solemnly founded, in which English is to be the medium of instruction. The laxity which was natural enough before, now becomes intolerable. And the reason is obvious. No one can expect that a difficult foreign tongue, of an alien genius, shall be rapidly and perfectly mastered by a large number of youths of average ability: but then, there is no necessity to found a University as the sign and test of their proficiency. The founding of the Universities ought to have meant the complete conquest of that vast initial difficulty of language. It said, in effect; the youth of India having mastered the rudiments of English speech, are competent to make that their adopted language, to learn in it and by it to give expression to their knowledge. If we judge by this test, I fear it must be confessed, that the Universities were founded too soon.

Yet I do not count the mere incorporation of a University, or Universities, the gravest error that has been committed in this matter. The founding of the University was perfectly harmless, even laudable, as an aspiration and a hope, provided only due care was taken to keep the standard thereof sufficiently high. It was necessary to secure that only those should be admitted, who were qualified by their knowledge of English to profit by the course of study prescribed, and to reflect credit upon the institution to which they belonged. In other words, some severity was required in the test of admission. I know the contrary has been laid down on high authority, and with some plausibility—"Extend the advantages your College training gives to as many as possible, and therefore open wide the entrance-gates of your University: be chary of degrees and honours, if you will; for on this depends the credit of the University with the outside world." And, economically, the policy seems sound; for crowded classes in the colleges mean a larger revenue from fees. Yet more are the coffers of the University swelled by the number of candidates who enter for examinations with little or no prospect of passing them. But I maintain, notwithstanding, that educationally, the principle is vicious, and that the policy which seems at first warranted by expediency, turn out to be short-sighted and unsound when looked at a little more closely.

The principle is educationally vicious, because the first condition of learning is the ability to understand what is taught.

Now it has been determined, beforehand, that our University teaching is to take place wholly through the medium of English. The text books are to be English, the lectures are to be delivered in English, the examination questions are set in English, and the candidates are to use English in answering them. Surely we cannot overstate the necessity of a thorough grounding in the English language for any young man who is to undergo a course of instruction under these conditions. Is it not our duty to take care that the students admitted to our colleges have a reasonable chance of profiting by the method of teaching employed? Is it not indispensable, that, before we allow a young man to embark upon the University Course, we should receive some adequate assurance that he can understand English readily and express himself correctly and with some facility in that language? But have we done so? I appeal to the experience of every lecturer in the Colleges of Bengal (and I have no reason to suppose it is otherwise in other parts of India) whether I am not well within the mark in asserting that not half the students in our College classes are really fitted by their knowledge of English properly to benefit by the books that are put into their hands to study and the lectures they are invited to listen to. The consequence cannot but be a lamentable waste of time and energy for teacher and taught. With half the number of students, twice the work might often be done, and done more satisfactorily. The better students—who, after all, are only, as a rule, up to what should be the average standard—are sacrificed to the worse. Only those who have felt the sort of despair that comes over the teacher in trying to make clear to an ordinary College class a page in some English book, of moderate difficulty both as to matter and style, but bristling with perplexing turns of phrase and mysteries of allusion for them, can properly appreciate the true force of my protest.

As to policy, I would say this. It may be a temporary advantage to College and University to be thronged and popular; but the ultimate issues, if we follow them, are less satisfactory. What is the meaning of the cry of excess of higher education, on the one hand, and, on the other, the complaint of want of proper outlets for the abilities of the graduates of our Universities and the still larger crowd of the ungraduated, but not less importunate? The supply of men educated after the received pattern exceeds the present demand. Is this not really a disadvantage to all concerned; increasing competition for the better and preparing disappointment for the worse? Does not this throwing wide the portals of the University attract effort into unprofitable channels, and inevitably provide for a large and growing class of the discontented? It is

undesirable in other ways also. Instead of failure to obtain a degree being the exception, it becomes the rule, when about one in three of the candidates in the ordinary examinations is successful. The result is that curious phenomenon, the 'failed student,' with his portentous claim to public and private consideration. There must certainly be a deficiency of the sense of humour somewhere in the nature of our Indian fellow-subjects. Otherwise, how is it that failure to pass a moderately difficult examination is so constantly put forward as a claim to preferment? Perhaps, however, the astute policy from which I venture to dissent, is partly responsible. A false standard has gone abroad and received currency. Attainment being rare and difficult, a factitious worth is given to non-attainment. The value of the degree, or certificate, as a test of efficiency, is correspondingly depreciated. I maintain, then, on these grounds, that, in spite of the solid considerations which favour the present laxer system, greater stringency is required as to the English exacted at the examinations preliminary to admission to the University. Any change in this direction would be, I can well believe unpopular; but I am considering, not what is or is not popular, but what is right in the best interests of education. Nevertheless, I have little doubt that what is proved by experience to be best for education, will be found in the long run best for India and best even for those who would cry out loudest against any change. For 'it seems to me that it would have been better for English education in India to have been good and sound, rather than to have been widely diffused. The popularisation—and I am sorry to be compelled to say the degradation—of English education has already gone to pretty extensive lengths. But by judicious treatment something might even now be done. Those who have real ability, have nothing to lose by the narrowing of competition and the heightening of the prestige of Indian University training. Those who have not that ability and who are doomed to failure and disappointment in the end under the present system, despite its specious semblance of leniency, would also really gain by being saved the mortification of wasted effort, and by having their energies turned into more suitable channels. I therefore contend that greater severity would, in the best sense, benefit those whom it excluded, as well as those to whom it ensured a fuller opportunity of improvement. The desired result might, I think, practically be brought about by *gradually raising the standard of English in the so-called Entrance Examination.*

We have not, however, in my view, yet got to the root of the mischief. The greatest and least excusable defect of the system I take to be, as I said to begin with, the extremely.

insufficient provision for the teaching of English in the first instance. It is readily apparent that here we have the crux of the whole matter. If English is well taught, to begin with, and our students are well-grounded therein, tests become a matter of secondary importance. If English is badly taught, and our students are ill-grounded, what hope is there of any test, easy or difficult? what hope remains of our whole system? For here we reach the foundation on which the whole building depends. Our Colleges, as we have seen, do not profess to teach English—only to teach in, by, or through English. It is plainly a matter of no little moment how English has been originally acquired by the students admitted to College classes. The question, then, reduces itself to this: how have the young men who crowd into our Colleges learnt English? If we look into this matter a little critically, we must at once see why there is so much difficulty about the standard of English at University examinations, and the marvel will be, not that the admitted standard is so painfully low, but that a decent proficiency is reached by any of the candidates at all.

Now, private and home teaching may be dismissed as practically out of the question in the case of natives of India learning English; for the opportunities of such are so limited and confined to so extremely few, that they scarcely need be taken into account. We must look for the English teaching in the schools, and mainly in schools managed or assisted by Government. The University is theoretically the crown and head of an extensive system of education, beginning with the merest elements and leading up by degrees to the advanced teaching of the Colleges. There are primary schools teaching in the vernacular, middle schools, and high schools, and grades and varieties among these. I am here concerned only with the higher English schools, which profess to prepare pupils for the University Entrance Examination; and, among these, again, I shall confine myself to those directly administered by Government and connected with Government Colleges. This will suffice for two reasons. The opportunities for learning English are certainly at their highest in these schools, and secondly, I am thinking mainly of the responsibility in the matter of the several Education Departments under Government. Whatever holds good of Government schools, holds good *a fortiori* of all others, so far as pertains to imperfect teaching of English.

Here, again, the facts are sufficiently simple and beyond the reach of controversy. The only difficulty is to acknowledge the facts as they are, and draw logical conclusions from them. The teachers of English in these schools are almost entirely native masters—an intelligent and deserving class of men, no doubt,

many of them with University degrees, but nevertheless men with a very imperfect mastery of English idiom. Any one who doubts it, has but to talk for five minutes with one or two, or obtain the privilege of seeing some of the correspondence which passes between them and their superior officers. In some few cases the Headmaster is English, or practically of English birth. But even then the subordinates, by whom the bulk of the teaching must be done, are natives of India who speak and write English very imperfectly. Does the matter admit of any discussion? How can we hope anything much of the English of our scholars, when their teachers are incapable of teaching it properly? There is probably—I speak under correction, yet not altogether at random—not a single school in the whole of India where there is a reasonable chance that English will be correctly and idiomatically taught to the Indian school-boy. A vicious habit of expression is acquired by our scholars from the first, and it comparatively rarely leaves them. The marvel, under the circumstances is that the average English of the University Examination is not even worse: it is infinitely to the credit of the better sort of students that they so frequently overcome the difficulties and impediments with which their path is beset, and, in not a few cases, reach a standard which, though falling very short of perfection, is, all things considered, a high one.

If English parents wish their sons to learn French or German, they send them to France or Germany, either to a school, or to live in a private family. Even then we know how rare it is for a foreign language to be acquired with anything approaching perfection. From the nature of the circumstances, these best methods are denied to the youth of India. But it is manifest what a formidable task we have set ourselves in undertaking to indoctrinate the students of our colleges with the most exact knowledge the times afford, through the medium of English.

We are now brought face to face certainly with a difficulty of sufficient magnitude. We are spreading English education though the length and breadth of these lands, on a system which it is scarcely too harsh to call *rotten*! But what is there that can be done at this stage? How can we possibly provide that English shall be better taught in our schools—if “better” means, “by Englishmen” or at least by men who thoroughly understand English? Where are the teachers to come from? Still more, how are we to find the salaries to pay them? If we must needs take thought for all the schools that already exist, the problem would be indeed gigantic, and might be given up at once as insoluble. But because we cannot do all that would be desirable, why should we not do what little we can? Why

should we not make a beginning? We cannot afford five hundred schools, or even fifty—but why should we not attempt one? One if possible, in every Presidency—and if not, then one at least in all India? Let us, at all events, have one school in which English is taught from the beginning by Englishmen, thoroughly, systematically, soundly. Let us have this one school—and more when possible—to serve as a type and a model, to show how and by what means things must be done, to be well done. Such a school would give an education as perfect as we can make it to a favoured few. There would be no injustice in this, if we take care that the favoured few shall be deserving. We can do this last in two ways. We can charge fees proportionately high to the general public—and lest, at this rate, our model school be altogether empty, we can establish a limited number of scholarships, which shall give an opportunity of a first-class education, free of cost, to youths of real ability, without distinction of race or caste. In this respect our system would be analogous to the public school system in England. I maintain that this one school would be worth more than all the schools already existing; that the money spent upon it would be better laid out than an equal sum expended on schools of the present type; and that it would be well to establish a school, or schools, of this sort, even if it were impossible, or inexpedient, to increase the education grant by a single penny. For, amid conflicting views about the duty of the State towards education in India, and the rival claims of Primary and Secondary, Literary and Technical, Vernacular, Oriental, and English education, this much at all events seems to me to be clear. It is obligatory now upon Government to lead and guide English education in India for some time to come; and it can best discharge this function by keeping up the fewest possible schools of the best type.

I do not mean that Government and the Education Department should altogether lose touch with schools of a lower type. Let the present system be kept up in the main, subject only to such slight and gradual changes as may promise improvement: let the present policy be pursued, so far as substituting aided schools for departmental, and fostering private enterprise and self-help is concerned. But let not the necessity of setting up a high standard in this most delicate business, and keeping it set up, be left out of view. I do mean that something better is wanted than anything we yet have. I mean also, that it is far more important that English education should be good, than that it should be widely diffused. A few men who should have thoroughly assimilated English ideas, and been trained by the personal influence of English

gentlemen, would hardly fail to be useful to their countrymen and the Empire. Of the ultimate tendencies of English education under existing conditions it is possible, to be reasonably dubious. It would be an immense gain to have some work going on, however limited in extent, on thoroughly sound lines. For the rest, things must now take their course. I incline to believe that the accepted educational policy, if it may be so called, already in course of being carried out, which transfers Government Schools and Colleges to the management of Municipalities and Local Boards, is, on the whole, reasonable and justified on a balance of all considerations, these being many and various. The most relevant consideration I take to be this: It seems impossible to keep up a large number of Colleges in a high state of efficiency, and it is therefore wiser to concentrate the somewhat restricted resources of the Education Department upon a few important centres, than to diffuse them over a wider field, with a proportionate sacrifice of effective strength. It is all a question of the best expenditure of our inexpansive total of strength. It is not arrogant, however, I hope, to suppose that every school or college so transferred loses something. I should be very glad to believe that the controlling influence of Englishmen is no longer needed to keep these institutions up to the standard of regularity and good order, which, I suppose, every one would concede, was due to that influence originally. But goodwill cannot alter facts; and, so far as my experience goes, there is little probability as yet that such will prove to be the case. The education that is to endow the children of this land with full manhood, complete in reason, in breadth of vision, and in self-control, is only just begun. It is rash to assume that it is already finished: still more rash to act as if it were finished, without in the smallest degree believing this to be so.

I should be sorry if it were supposed that any word here set down, was written in a spirit of unfriendliness to the cause of English education in India, or in wilful depreciation of what has been accomplished by the labourers, English or Indian, who have during the last sixty years worked in this field. On the contrary, I hold that the work is a great and noble one; and that what has been achieved already is in itself wonderful and honourable to all concerned. But that must not blind us to the stern truth, that the much that has been done is but little compared with all that remains to do. We have but made a beginning; we must not indulge in the pleasing delusion that we are approaching an end. There is a tendency in all great movements for the first impulse to die away and the first purposes to become obscure. Enthusiasm is swallowed up in routine. The goal is on some far-off summit, and

there is danger of settling down on some comfortable level on the way thither, to whose limitations custom makes us insensible. It then becomes necessary to rouse ourselves from the sloth of self-complacency and to survey the realities of our situation in the dry light of reason. So it is, I think, in this case. It cannot seriously be disputed that the English receiving currency through our educational system is anything but satisfactory. Let us face the fact fairly. It may be thought that I have somewhat overstated the case. To the best of my judgment, this is not so. Nor do I think it can be denied that I rightly assign the cause, so far as comes within the scope of the art educational—*viz.*, that English is not properly taught in the schools, and under present conditions cannot be expected to be properly taught. It is something to recognise this resolutely. We are then fairly on the way to look for a remedy. I do not disguise from myself the extreme difficulty of the whole business. But I see that the immense importance and delicacy of the undertaking on which we find ourselves embarked—whether from the narrowly linguistic, or the wider ethical and intellectual point of view—does not allow the toleration of any but the best work. I see that, if this work is not to be well done to the very utmost of our ability, it had better have been left alone altogether. I suggest two remedies which come measurably within the range of the immediately practicable:—

1. Improved schools for teaching English.
2. A higher standard of English at the Entrance Examination.

The schools might either be entirely new schools of a higher type, or the best of the existing schools raised to the required standard. The teachers must be English. In order to be entirely practical, I would further suggest that these teachers might be found at the training colleges for English Board School masters, and that the article need not be prohibitively dear. The Entrance standard might, of course, be raised gradually. No doubt, some would be excluded who would otherwise become college students. I do not think that would be a loss, but a gain, both to the Colleges and themselves. But if this measure seem too harsh, I would be content with a special examination of the required kind before admission to Government Colleges.

I wish to make myself quite clear. I do not say that the average English of the Universities is utterly and hopelessly bad. I do not deny that, considering all the difficulties of the case, it is often remarkably good. But I do say that it is not good enough for a self-respecting University; I do say that we ought to set up a higher ideal and strain every effort to approach it. We ought, all of us—students, graduates,

professors and higher powers—to keep ourselves acutely conscious of certain deficiencies, and not rest content while any means of putting ourselves and our system above the reach of the most obvious criticism are left untried. If, when all is said and done, whatever be the extenuating circumstances, our English is often absurd, still more often lamentably faulty—there is no use in shirking facts.

I am sorry if I run a risk of wounding the susceptibilities of educated natives of India, or seem wanting in sympathy with men who have acquired the best knowledge of English open to them, at the cost of so much pains. I really sympathise deeply with the difficulties, and the too often hard lives of Indian students, and I do not think this plainness of speech ought to be an offence to them. I even look for the sympathy of the more thinking among them. For we all owe homage to excellence and truth. And this matter touches them nearly, through the honour and dignity of their Universities. It behoves them to be exacting as to what manner of English they learn, and what figure they make in the eyes of Englishmen and of educated men everywhere. They will not surely be content to allow a strange caricature of English to pass current in their land, or ask for the tolerance which is conceded to Pigeon English or the dialect of Uncle Remus. If they have any just pride, any sensitiveness to ridicule—they will be the first to insist on a high standard of English at the Universities, and will recognise that the best help is to be found in having their children taught English early and taught soundly from the beginning.

But I am not thinking first and foremost of India and Indian students—so much I frankly admit. I am thinking of the English language, and I am appealing to Englishmen. I am convinced that this question of English is of great and pressing importance—that it needs and merits attention, even the utmost thought and care that we can give to it. We, at all events, are warranted in looking jealously into this matter. That which is in question is the purity and dignity of our own language. We owe a debt to the English language and to ourselves which we neglect at our peril. We have to take care lest, through any unseasonable zeal of ours, or of those who went before us, in however good a cause,—irremediable hurt should befall this English language, the speech whose sound we love; the tongue spoken by a great multitude whose names we reverence and cherish; the language whose literature is our glorious inheritance, and one of the most precious possessions in the whole world of thought.

H. R. J.

ART VI.—THE CENSUS AND THE DECLINE OF BENGAL.

THE Census Superintendent tells us that the population of the whole of Bengal proper, except in parts of two districts, is in a decaying or stationary condition. The tract thus declining includes the following well-known districts, the chief seats of Hindu civilisation before we came on the scene; Nadia, Western Jessore, Burdwan, Birbhum, Eastern Bankura, Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Western Pabna, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Kuch Behar and Cis-Tistan Julpaiguri. To these parts also may be added South Behar, where the population shows only an increase of 6; and it is thus in Eastern Bengal only that there has been a marked increase. There is also a relative increase of Mahomedans, and of castes of Dravidian extraction, compared with the better Hindu castes, which means that people of a lower civilisation are being substituted for those of a higher.

I am astonished to find Mr O'Donnell, the Census Superintendent, attributing this decay and stagnation only to physical causes, fever, cholera and floods. I would suggest that the first two are secondary causes only, and that floods have a very temporary effect in a healthy agricultural system. At the same time I admit that most District officers hold the same opinion as Mr. O'Donnell. The Magistrate of Rangpur, while pointing out that that District was apparently more populous and prosperous before the present century, says the district is now more unhealthy—why, it is not stated. Dinajpur has suffered for the same reasons as Rangpur. Two great thannahs in Maldah have lost 3 per cent. of their inhabitants since the last census, "the effect of four years of exceptional mortality." (I fear the exception here may become the rule). The Magistrate of Rajshahi attributes decrease to the extreme unhealthiness of the district in recent years. In 1882 he says, "the spectacle of whole villages depopulated by a brooding mortality was almost universal." Then, "the medical authorities declare that suitable drinking water is hardly to be obtained over the greater part of the district." The cause of the decay of the West of Pubna is similarly described. The District Magistrate wrote of certain parts: "Many villages are relapsing into complete jungle," owing to unhealthiness due to changes in the courses of the rivers.

Then we come to Jessore and Nadia, metropolitan districts, formerly the most prosperous districts in Bengal, filled with law Courts, and in every way favoured administratively. In Jessore, if we except four thannahs, the other 16 have decreased in population 6 per cent. In Nadia, three of its four subdivisions show

decreases of 7·2, 4·6, and 1·2. Of the 4½ millions of population spreading out like a fan from Calcutta Mr. O'Donnell says they have been practically decimated in the past 10 years. Fever, cholera, and floods, are the chief assigned causes ; but decay of local industries, and of the indigo system, is also referred to. Mr. Gupta, the District Magistrate, makes the remark : " Almost all the older settlements bear unmistakeable signs of decay,—rank vegetation, ruined houses, dried up tanks, and abandoned homesteads." Murshidabad district, once the garden of Bengal, is faring no better. Burdwan showed a decrease in spite of the increase in the Raniganj Subdivision, owing, of course, to the coal and pottery industries. The whole of the centre of the important district of Midnapur is also in a declining state.

Shortly stated, the condition of Bengal proper is that all the old parts are in a state of more or less decay, while prosperity and improvement are found only in the rich alluvial Eastern districts; and in the parts of the Western districts where new land is being broken up. Calcutta and its suburbs also show an increase of population. Compared with Central Bengal, North Behar is quite prosperous ; and yet it is about the latter province that most anxiety has hitherto been shown.

Another curious proof of the declining state of Bengal is the steady decrease of works of public utility, as shown in the returns of the Bengal Government. From Rs. 4,70,000 so spent in 1885, the amount has steadily dwindled, till 1891 showed only Rs. 2,64,000. There are other districts, too—other than those mentioned—,where the old settled parts show similar decline. I can instance from my own observation, which is confirmed by the census figures, some of the North of Furreedpore district, and the Satkhira subdivision of Khulna. The villages in such parts look slovenly, decaying, and dilapidated.

For the last 20 years and more I have been constantly in and about Bengal villages, and their state has to me been nearly always suggestive of decline, compared with the past. Here and there a successful pleader, or a trader, is building himself a new house, and even digs a tank ; but more often it is ruined buildings, and silted up tanks, and dilapidated gháts, that meet the eye. Then there are evident signs of a withdrawal of capital from the land ;—embankments, water-courses, and tanks are all in disrepair. Villages are chiefly owned in coparcenary, and the sharers are generally absentees, where formerly there was either one resident proprietor, spending his money on the spot, and interesting himself in maintaining the agriculture, or a body of cultivating owners. I see that an officer of the Agricultural Department, in a note on the management of Agricultural Shows in Bengal, writes as follows :—

"Broadly speaking, there are at present two divisions of the "community—the one composed of the educated gentry, "imbued with literary instincts, and having no knowledge of, or "taste for, rural affairs (although many of them derive a large "income from land; and the other composed of the bulk of "the rural population, generally illiterate, conservative, and "suspicious."

The few zemindars who still live on their estates have little education; but it is to be feared that, as the sharers increase, and their interests are necessarily transferred from the management of the land to the management of law suits, their descendants will enter the literary proletariat.

As I have remarked, North Behar may be considered to be in a far more flourishing condition than Bengal proper. And I think that the economic differences in land management will account for this. When the English took over the internal management of Bengal, rather over a century ago, they found the country parcelled out amongst rajahs and zemindars, many of whom, again, were almost feudatories. Their essential character, however, was that they were officers of Government, and their right to "rent" was only the delegated right of the State to take a fixed proportion of the produce of all land. Owing to the unsettled condition of affairs, many held, as we are told in Hunter's Gazetteer, "scraps of proprietary right, which had naturally developed out of the hereditary character of their office." But that they were *essentially* and practically only officers or agents of the State, is shown both by the fewness of their number, and by all the discussion as to the terms on which settlements should be made with them. In many districts there were only scores of zemindars, where there are now thousands. Again, till after the Permanent Settlement no zemindar could give permanent leases. This, of course, was a necessary corollary of his being only an agent himself. There were, it is true, what were called village zemindars, amongst whom the law of Hindu inheritance obtained, but they, again, were more like English farmers, and many were actual cultivators. Hence, both in law and *practice*, the present custom of estates being managed by a body of sharers was unknown. Nor was it possible; for the Hindu law of the joint family clearly applied only to private property, and could not affect the land, which belonged to the State. But immediately that the Permanent Settlement was concluded, the incongruity of the new idea of the "proprietorship" of the zemindars became apparent. The large zemindars had been not only rent collectors for the State, but they were clothed with almost its whole "*persona*;" for they also performed the duties of police officers and magistrates. And, moreover, which is more important economically, they

represented the State as the universal capitalist. Immediately, therefore, that the unity of the State's officer was broken in upon, things began to go wrong. The whole history of Bengal, in its rural arrangements, would seem to have been the result of Englishmen, who only had ideas of private ownership of land and of private capital, having to re-organise the government of a country, where the land and the capital with which it was worked, belonged to the State. Partly ignorance, and partly necessity, induced Lord Cornwallis to alienate the proprietorship of the land of the country. The recent famines, the disorganisation and corruption of the officers of the late Native Government, the comparatively slender resources of the English, and their inability to completely understand an economical system so essentially different from what they were accustomed to, all conspired to make Lord Cornwallis and his advisers give the zemindars the rights of English landlords.

The vanity of the hopes with which this measure was undertaken soon became evident. The fact that among Hindus private property, when inherited, must be held in coparcenary, and cannot be devised, seems not to have received sufficient attention; for in 1812 provision had to be made for the appointment of a manager to collect the rents, discharge the public revenue, and *provide for the cultivation and future improvement of the estate*. Thus the evil of a number of sharers managing land was early acknowledged. In the discussion, we find it stated that many of the most extensive zemindaries were, on financial grounds, not subject to division; and in a letter of 1808, from the Board of Commerce to the Governor-General, it is said that the change to allowing divisions had superseded a long established usage in favour of primogeniture, and had, they thought, been attended with many disadvantages, "showing the *impolicy of hasty innovation*." The Mahomedan Government, they add, in regulating the succession to zemindaries, were in the practice of conferring the inheritance on a single individual of the family; and, in establishing a usage adverse to the principles of their law, they were, no doubt, influenced by the motive of public expediency.

But the remedy provided by the British Government utterly failed of effect for two reasons: (1) No administrative machinery was provided to take the place of the removed co-sharers; and (2) the English lawyers soon got to work to provide the only system for the management of land, as well as other property, which they knew of. All private property must be managed through the law courts, is the only system that typical Englishmen would introduce. The Regulation of 1812 and all subsequent provisions of the same nature have, therefore, remained almost inoperative; for the management of landed property demands undivided attention on the part of those

engaging in it, and no such body of public servants has ever been appointed in Bengal to take the place of zemindars, as they gradually evaded their duties. Formerly all over the country each village had its public accountant, and headman. The latter performed executive duties, saw that the village constable did his work, aided in the collection of the revenue (or rent, as it became after the Permanent Settlement) and generally helped to protect the interests of the villagers under him. Over them, again, were the canungoes, who supervised accounts, and the pergannah zemindar, who regulated the affairs between village and village. But when the zemindars had only a fixed demand to pay, they very soon found it convenient to again fix the demand they had to receive. In fact, the more estates became the property of a number of sharers, the more urgent became the need of fixed cash rents. Leases, sub-leases, and any number of subordinate ones have now become the rule, and the consequence is that most zemindars, and they now number thousands in each district, have become mere annuitants. Their lessees are often the same. And we, therefore, have the thoroughly unsatisfactory result, that most of the land of Bengal proper is owned by a vast number of fractional landlords, who have no interest in the land except a pecuniary one, and who have no voice in its management. If you ask who is the owner of any village, you will perhaps be told that one-fourth belongs to one person, another fourth to five or six sharers, one-eighth to so many others; and so on. These are generally groups of families, joint as regards their landed property only. Then one group mortgages its share, another sells it, and perhaps a third lives on the spot, and is in deadly enmity with the rent collectors appointed by the other groups. This is going on all over the country, and this is what is causing the enormous and yearly increasing amount of litigation. Some of the biggest zemindars often hold only one or two estates in entirety, the rest of their property being fractional shares.

The consequence of this is, that all the energies of the zemindars are absorbed in rent collection. Ill-will, fraud of any kind, and all the evil passions which so plentifully grow in the human heart, are artificially stimulated to a degree unknown in other countries. It was well said by a late distinguished district officer, that litigation is so much the favourite pastime of the people, that a Bengali schoolboy boasts of his first case in court, as an English boy over his first cricket match.

Under such a system, of course, the whole fabric of native economy soon went to pieces. As has been pointed out, the State had formerly a net-work of officers dealing with the management of the land, and the principle at the base of it was the right of the State to a proportion of the produce of

each field. The zemindar had necessarily to be a man of some capacity, or he could not discharge his duties. It was such a system that sustained Indian rural society for hundreds of years, and surely that is a guarantee that it was one suitable to the people. In the North-West Provinces and the rest of India such a system more or less still prevails. Its fabric is still standing in Behár and Orissa, and I have been trying to demonstrate how its abolition in Bengal proper has tended to ruin the country. In Behár, the present survey and record of rights has only one meaning—the restoration of the old system on a scientific basis; and I take it upon myself to prophesy, that before many years are out, there will be a very general return to the system of fixing rent in a proportion of the crops. This has been the practice at all times, and it has been the change to fixed money rents that has caused the decline of agriculture in Bengal. Let us examine this question a little closer.

Most of the staple crops of India are grown on large plains, where the outturn is affected by only two conditions—the favourableness or unfavourableness of the season, and the joint action of the villagers in dealing with a large water supply. In nine cases out of ten, after the ploughing, and the sowing and weeding are done, individual action will not affect the outturn. Therefore, for such agriculture to be prosperous, joint action must be assured. There is only one person who has the necessary prudence and capacity, and that is the landlord. Between raiyat and raiyat, village and village, there are endless contentions. These must be settled by just assertion or compromise. There *must* be some controlling authority somewhere. Formerly there was such an authority, and there was complete organisation. Each village was a unit; the zemindar had the strongest interest in its prosperity, and if by his neglect or his oppression he ruined it, he felt the consequences in a lessened income, and he soon had to give way to a more able or just successor. Of course, such an idea as a zemindar composed of such fractions as now exist, would have been impossible 100 years ago. Management by a number of joint sharers would have been suppressed by the logic of circumstances.

But the landlord not only supplied administrative energy and intelligence, but, directly or indirectly, he was the capitalist. In Behár, where the Indigo planter is the zemindar's representative, this is still the practice to some extent. In Bengal, on the other hand, where generally there are a number of sharers collecting, the agricultural banking is almost entirely done by outsiders. So that now the landlord, who can only justly exist for a useful purpose, has lost all his usefulness, except as a tax collector; and you have now a banker, or money lender,

preying upon the necessities of the cultivator and restrained by no self-interest, while there is no one so connected with the land, that he has both the power and the interest to provide works of agricultural improvement. However light may be the rent taken by the zemindar, you are bound to have the cultivators plunged in debt, and the great agricultural works of the country neglected. A system in an Eastern country, which has no self-adjustment for saving from the plentiful harvests to supply the deficiency of the years of scarcity and famine, and which places no one in authority to provide the necessary combination to carry out agricultural works of improvement and safeguard, is self-condemned—and such is the system in Bengal proper. Every necessity of life almost, and certainly any convenience in a Bengal village, requires combination and the use of authority. But for utter disregard of all the laws of order, decency, and sanitation, commend me to a Bengali village; and the pity of it is, that there is no one who has any power to interfere. There is only one authority in the land, and that is the law courts, and they have shattered every vestige of other authority. Unless a case can be brought, no one can be restrained from any act however mischievous. (Of course, I omit matters of a social nature, which are still under the caste system). Whenever zemindars do happen to be living on the spot, their divisions prevent the least interference with people's actions. The most unconstrained license therefore prevails, and we have effectually destroyed all the order and method which distinguish civilisation from barbarism.

I shall never forget a number of villagers coming to me in one district, complaining against certain Brahmins who were ruining their water supply. The place was a mile or two from the station, and there, in a *khal* (or dead stream), these Brahmins were throwing partially cremated human bodies. This is the sort of thing that is going on all over Bengal proper. Is it a wonder that there is a decrease of population, and an evident sense of decay and dilapidation in the land? To this it may be replied, that decay and dissolution of society are necessary before there can be growth and reformation. But, to be contented with a dissolution, one must be satisfied that it is being brought about by healthy forces, which will themselves cause a reformation. But the disorganisation of rural economy in Bengal is caused by the want of the two requisites without which no agricultural system can be successful, namely, capital, and intelligence leading to combination. Under the present system of large groups of proprietors, separated among themselves into other groups, fighting and litigating, and with no idea, much less power, of assisting their tenantry, there cannot be prosperous agriculture. For a time, the ruin of Bengal was

staved off by very many of these groups of contentious sharers giving over their estates to English capitalists, or planters ; and hence we find Bengal highly prosperous till the last 20 or 30 years. Unfortunately abuses crept in, the cultivators rose *en masse*, and the planters, with their capital and intelligent management, disappeared from the scene. Since then nothing but ruin and deterioration has seemed to be destiny of the once prosperous province.

Now suppose, as I fear is not very unlikely, that the great sustaining institutions of Behár should disappear, I mean the Opium department and the Indigo planters. North Behár, like Bengal, is under a multitudinous body of zemindars, living in coparcenary, except in the case of three or four big rajas, in whose families primogeniture has been allowed to determine succession. If the enormous capital yearly put in circulation by the Opium department and the Indigo planters, and if, moreover, the controlling influence they now exercise in agriculture, were withdrawn, there can be little doubt that we should see a most fearful decline in agriculture. Litigation in North Behár is now most inconsiderable, for the reasons I have touched upon ; and whatever abuses exist, at least there is some unity in land management, and capital is also invested. But if Opium and Indigo disappeared, a decline would set in of which the immediate cause would no doubt be fever, cholera and other epidemics, general unhealthiness in fact ; but the determining cause would be deterioration in agriculture, owing to the withdrawal and squandering of capital.

In the great discussions, during the early years of the century, about the rival merits of zemindari and raiyatwari settlement, the advocates of the latter must be held to have made out the strongest case logically, but the defenders of the Permanent Settlement were always supposed to have a crushing argument in being able to point to the prosperity of Bengal, and they have always been allowed the benefit of this supposition. But surely Lord Cornwallis himself would disown the caricature of improving landlords presented by the present litigating swarm of annuitants. Since the time of the Permanent Settlement, nearly every civilised country has revised its land laws, in the direction of enforcing the principle that the land of a country exists for the good of the inhabitants generally ;—and now that it is evident that most parts of Bengal are being ruined, because statesmen are afraid to deal with the interests of the zemindars, something may be done. A law has been passed, it is true, regulating the relations of landlord and tenant ; but another one is now wanted to regulate those between the State and the landlord.

The Hindus are very communistic, and the essence of com-

munism is that land and capital belong to the State. The old big pergunnah zemindars were merely representatives of the State, and through them the State financed the whole agricultural system. They, directly, or indirectly, were responsible for the works of public utility and improvement. That they were generally corrupt, cruel, and oppressive at the time of the decay of the Mogul Empire, we very well know. But it is evident that, for hundreds of years, there had been a more or less perfect system of control, and under it the country had been thriving and prosperous: in fact, very different from the present wretched state of much of Bengal. Here I may quote an extract from a Revenue letter of the Board of Directors (1812). "We find that the sovereigns of India have long been in the practice not only of advancing money to the cultivators and weavers, but of fencing the country against sudden inundation, constructing and upholding tanks, and reservoirs, &c." It then proceeds to say, that under a Permanent Settlement, either the advantages are all ceded to the zemindar, or there is the temptation to Government to relax its zeal. The idea of no one *undertaking* such necessary works, it will be seen, never enters the writer's head.

The ancient practice, then, of the State protecting the agriculture of the country, and the present involved and distracted condition of the Bengal landlords, are sufficient to explain why, in all the old seats of civilisation in Bengal, nothing is seen but confusion, decay, and depopulation. As one reads the records of the time succeeding the Permanent Settlement, and listens to the arguments for and against that measure, it is plainly seen that its advocates never for one moment contemplated that land was to be owned and managed by a large number of undivided sharers, often non-resident, or at any rate not concerned in agriculture. A condition of things such as that described by the Bengali gentleman of the Agricultural Department before referred to, in which all the educated classes of the country, though often drawing an income from the land, should take no interest in it, never suggested itself to them. There is no doubt that the universal practice of leasing lands to Indigo planters which was so very prevalent all over Central Bengal 40 or 50 years ago was brought about chiefly by the evils of divided proprietorship. The fearful amount of disturbance, accompanied by bloodshed and violence, was likewise so caused. Shares were bought with the avowed object of getting a foothold in an enemy's country, and the authorities for long were quite unequal to the task of ensuring peace and quiet with such excitant causes at work. But now has come the reaction. The law for the most part has fully asserted itself; the second race of zemindars, dating from the beginning of the century, have all been ruined by their

own dissensions ; the old tanks, the watercourses the protective works have not been renewed, and there remains only an exhausted country. Such, I believe, is the true history of the cause of the decline of the chief districts of Bengal.

Now, it was fondly hoped by the advocates of the Permanent Settlement that there would quickly ensue a great extension of cultivation ; that, with the larger margin of rent so left to the zemindars, wealth and trade would be developed ; and that henceforward new means of taxation could easily be devised to re-imburse the State for what it had given away. No one can, I think, deny that these hopes have been frustrated. More than a century has passed, and yet there is no large class of rich men in Bengal, and consequently no luxuries are consumed, such as could be easily taxed. The fountains of the great deep of originality and genius have not been tapped, for the Bengalis show no more originality or desire to investigate the secrets of nature than they did then ; in fact, I doubt if so much. What is the reason of this ? The reason, I think, is to be sought in their ineradicable communism. To give communists the private ownership of land was absurd, for as soon as possible the private ownership, and thereby all the supposed advantages of private ownership, were immediately cancelled, with fresh disadvantages added. For admittedly one of the chief advantages of private ownership is that the possessor shall be induced to improve the land, as the results of the improvement will all accrue to him alone. But immediately you have a numerous body of sharers, all of whom cannot possibly manage, and all of whom are very unlikely to agree to save from the receipts (and there is no other method of acquiring capital), you lose this great advantage of private ownership : and, over and above, you lose the advantages of unity of management. There are therefore the fatal evils of great scarcity of capital and of a spendthrift proprietary ; and when you have this, as Sir Henry Main points out, there is much to be said in favour of the fiscal rights of the State, as against private ownership. In the whole course of my twenty years service in India, I have hardly met a zemindar who had any idea of applying capital to the land. I have discussed the subject of improvements with many, but the objection, as far as I can remember, always resolved itself into the joint ownership of land, or the fact that the jealousy of a neighbouring proprietor would induce him to raise objections and thus produce disastrous litigation. As Collector, and therefore as representing the State, I had no authority at all to intervene, because the State control over landed proprietors has been in practice entirely withdrawn, and the sections of the old Regulation requiring some such control have entirely lost their force.

Under the present land system of Bengal, one of two positions must be taken up by those who support it—either that agriculture does not require the application of capital and intelligence, or that proprietorship by men owning fractional shares, mostly absentees and generally under no bond of union, but more often in declared disunion, can supply these wants. Both positions, of course, are untenable, and, indeed, absurd. When it was proposed, in 1808, to rescind Regulation XI of 1793, by which the Hindu law of succession was allowed to obtain in regard to estates, and to enact a law by which estates not exceeding Rs 7,500 per annum should descend to the eldest son, it seems to have been rejected because Mr. Colebrook was of opinion that the evils arising from the law of succession, as it then stood (and now stands), could be effectually removed by other means. No doubt, the means referred to by him were those embodied in the Regulation of 1812 already referred to, for the appointment of managers. At the same time, though he was not in favour of rescinding the law of 1793, Mr. Colebrook states that he would without hesitation vote against it, if it had been a question of first introducing it, *for at its first introduction it interfered with established usage.*

From the above I think that I have made it clear that the present custom of having zemindars owning abstract shares, except where they were merely village or petty ones cultivating their shares, is entirely modern; and I have quoted the opinion of the highest revenue authority of Bengal, in 1808, that it was a hasty innovation. But even then it was felt that there was no retreat. It may be said that, when the policy of the alterations was then considered, it was being judged from the fiscal, and not from the general point of view. No doubt this was so, but it was also seen that the Hindu law of succession, as applied to zemindars, interfered with the prosperity and improvement of estates, for the Regulation of 1812 distinctly speaks of their cultivation and future improvement. Moreover, that the statesmen of those times clearly understood that it was essential to the prosperity of the country that the landholders should be men in active management of their estates, and not mere rent collectors, is evident in the legislation and correspondence of the time. They never anticipated such a state of things as is now seen in Bengal. Our forefathers, on the contrary, were very keen observers of agriculture and ardent disciples of Adam Smith, whose great work had not been long published. For instance, the Board of Commissioners wished large taluqdars to be settled with, because they were considered to be men of capital. They deprecated tehsildars being degraded into mere receivers of revenue without responsibility, and without any direct interest in the prosperity of the country, as they apprehended.

"that the obstacles which at present retard the progress of agriculture will operate hereafter with increased force." I think it must make these worthies turn in their graves to know what the Bengal zemindars have come to. The system which obtained so largely in Ireland, of encumbering estates by jointures for wives and portions for younger sons, and so beggaring the actual possessor of the land, has always been strongly condemned. But conceive the result, if all the widows, daughters, and younger sons had not only had their right to receive portions from the heir, but been *actual possessors* with him, all helping (?) to manage the estate, each having a right to demand his share of the rent from each tenant, and each entitled to be consulted before the least concession could be made to a tenant, a servant entertained, or a penny spent in improvement. Yet, incredible as it may seem, such is the system in most parts of Bengal.

Here is an instance of how it prevents all proper management. Lately, when in camp, a number of cultivators came to me to have a large embankment, placed across a valley, slightly raised, by which means it was clear that a much larger area could be irrigated. I sent for the alleged owner of the estate, and he immediately admitted the advantage of the proposal. But he said he owned only half of the estate; the other half belonged to a female who would contribute nothing. Here is another instance: the largest resident landowners in the Bankura district are a family consisting of seven brothers and cousins, and two widows. The latter have a life interest in half of the property. There was a very laudable attempt to divide the property, so that each might have separate estates to manage. But in the end nothing but confusion has ensued, and these ladies, though carefully collecting their half share of the rents, refuse to pay a stiver to the superior landlord. To make good the deficiency so caused, the remaining sharers had to consent to a mortgage on the property, and, owing to these dissensions, an enormous debt was contracted, and all are more or less ruined. Almost invariably, wherever there are sharers, this kind of dissension in the management is proceeding. Any agreement to spend and invest money for the good of the land is altogether out of the question: for even sufficient agreement is often not obtained to collect the rents. Thus the land system seldom gives any landowner complete authority over his land. Brothers, cousins, uncles, aunts must all agree before any thing can be done. The law Courts are the only means for operating on an estate, and there is no other field of action for the ambitious and energetic. The lawyers, rich and powerful, and representing the only flourishing section of the community;

the country poor, a prey to decimating disease, and in parts relapsing into jungle, as described in the Census Report, are the result. And all because we have created a communistic race of landlords, a monstrous and unnatural brood, such as exist nowhere else in the world. Left alone, things must go from bad to worse, for there is no internal corrective process at work, and there can be none externally as long as the State stands aloof. Successful lawyers and money lenders are, it is true, continually buying up estates, but their families are quickly ruined by the same dissensions and want of unity in managing property.

The only possible remedy is for the State to go back to first principles. The Hindu joint family system is founded on the common sense principle, that it has a head—a "karta," or doer. He acts for the family in its foreign relations, and manages its property. Let the landowners of Bengal then be forced back on their own principle, and only allowed to manage their estates through one member. Against his acts let them have the civil and criminal Courts. From their quarrels and want of all union the whole country is now suffering. The poor cultivator does his duty, but, over him, he has a squabbling and distracted proprietary : and, though the State very properly has passed laws to regulate the demand of rent, it has hitherto passed no effective law to enable, and when necessary, to compel, landlords to do their duty. Owing to defective registration even in estates, their true owners are not known. But in all tenures under estates, including those known as Patnis, registration of owners is entirely wanting. I am aware that the Bengal Tenancy Act provides for the registration of all successions to permanent tenures in the Collector's office. But as the only penalty for non-registration is that a tenant, on being sued, may refuse to pay to an unregistered owner, the law is a dead letter.

In the meantime, owing to this complete confusion in rural affairs, crime is increasing, and the executive is asking for greater powers to be given to the police. But I would submit that no Eastern country has ever been ruled without the executive depending more or less on the landholding classes. Without their help no amount of power that can be given to the police will avail. I speak from experience when I say that when the landowners freely harbour robbers and dacoits, it is impossible to eradicate these scourges. Our criminal law acknowledges this ; but, with a divided proprietary, where no authority can be exercised, the real responsibility rests nowhere, and it is being found impossible to enforce it. Under the present system, therefore, the very foundations of civilisation are being sapped. Crimes of violence are also increasing in some

districts, and the only attempted remedy is binding down thousands of persons.

In justice and equity, as well as for good policy, some measures should be taken to enforce the performance by the landlords of their duties. To this end a law might be passed to the effect that for all estates and tenures the name of one owner should be registered, who alone should have power to sue for rent, grant receipts, and manage the property generally, and who alone should be held responsible for the performance of duties required by the State. No suit to be maintainable till a certificate of registration was produced. Of course, this principle, though simple, would mean a great deal. Where the sharers could not agree as to who should be the manager, the State would have to select. Rules might easily be formulated, and in practice there would be little difficulty in making a selection. I believe that in nine cases out of ten the selection of a managing proprietor for each estate would entail no difficulty. In the abstract, the zemindar class admit the fearful evils of the present divided management, and on a succession, before quarrels had arisen, a willing agreement to such an arrangement would be given. At present such arrangements are not made, because there is no machinery to bring them about; and official influence is not brought to bear to induce parties to consent. The State would have to aid in enforcing the keeping up of some accounts. And this, I believe, with interested sharers looking on, would not be difficult. Formerly the accounts kept by the village accountants were intended solely as a check on the zemindars, and for the interest of the State and the cultivators. But under a system much as that proposed, the accounts would be under the active scrutiny of interested sharers, and, as the State would not be interested in them pecuniarily, there would be no object in falsifying them on the part of the proprietors as a whole.

Another measure to improve agriculture would be for the State actively to promote partition of estates, where such would not interfere with good husbandry. At present to effect a division of any kind is a most difficult and expensive operation. No one supervises the work, and each case is fought out like an ordinary civil suit. But another attitude should be taken up by the State with regard to the land. It by no means follows, because the whole of the unearned increment, beyond the fixed revenue, has been handed over to the zemindars, that the State should not interfere at all with the proprietors. The State is bound to see that these proprietors do not, by their internecine quarrels ruin their estates; and yet this is what most of them have been allowed to do. From the one extreme of State communism, they have been allowed to rush into the

anarchy of completely uncontrolled individualism ; that is, we have communists masquerading as individualists, and so ruining themselves and the community. The present generation of educated Bengalis are in consequence utterly wanting in subordination to authority. Amongst themselves obedience to authority is a virtue little practised, and the faith and reverence which are the distinguishing virtues of Hinduism, have well nigh disappeared ; a result, I think, chiefly due to the utter relaxation of all control over their land affairs by the State. If once again the custom is introduced of there being one master in each estate, some of the lost order and obedience may be regained. Each petty sharer, instead of fomenting disputes and assuming the airs of a landlord, will be obliged to content himself with the pecuniary value to be derived from his property. He might even be found as a salaried servant under the managing proprietor, and so become a really useful member of society. The possession of complete authority over property, being a possibility, will be sought after, and small shares will be bought up for this purpose, while the owners of them will naturally only regard them for their pecuniary value, and so be willing to sell.

Such a reform as that above proposed would certainly reduce litigation, and with it there would be a diminution of the public revenue derived from Court fee stamps. But this is a very small consideration compared with a flourishing agriculture. Moreover, some succession fee might be charged on changes of the managing proprietors. There would also be much more work for the Collector. The position, resumed by the State, that it must actively provide for the best management of the estates, that all changes both in proprietorship and in tenure-holding must be carefully registered, and that accounts must be kept, would require a whole time officer for Collector. There is now a demand for the separation of judicial and executive functions, so that such revenue arrangements would fall in with this demand. The registration of the names of all landholders should be made easy by decentralisation. At present each holder of a tenure, as well as of an estate, is supposed, and even legally required, to register his name in the Collector's office at the Sudder. I say "supposed" advisedly, for I have reason to believe that even the latter seldom register, whereas the former hardly ever do so. For instance, in the district of Bankura there are calculated to be some 25,000 tenures, and yet, since the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act in 1885, there have been registered only 10 transfers by succession!! Each police station should have a registration office, as it has now one for the registration of ordinary deeds. The Sub-Registrar could, of course, easily perform both functions, and we should not have the scandal of a law entirely evaded.

I will now recapitulate :

1. The Census shows that population is stationary, or declining, in nearly the whole of Bengal proper. There is also a decline in the number of works of public utility by private persons as shown by Government returns. General observation suggests deterioration in agriculture, as there appears to be less capital invested in productive works, and less power of combination to carry out such works. Villages are more jungly, and buildings more dilapidated. Tanks are generally in disrepair, and the rural population consequently have fewer of the ordinary conveniences of life.

2. The tenure and management of land now is very different from what it was under Native Governments. The present system of allowing joint management, and of the State's recognition of such, judicially and fiscally, is an innovation. The land system of no country in the world (as far as the writer is aware) permits such joint and uncontrolled management, and there is no presumption in India in its favour. It has none of the advantages of private ownership, or of State communism, and has many of the disadvantages of both.

3. The caste people of India are essentially communists, and, therefore, to allow them unrestricted private ownership of land, without any State control, inevitably causes the dissipation of agricultural capital, and the entire disappearance of all the necessary subordination resting on a rational rural system.

4. Government, in an Eastern country, must be carried on partly through the landlords (or those managing the land). In Bengal, on account of the infinite number of landlords and their disunited state, Government now receives no help from them. Responsibility cannot be fixed, and many of them are notoriously in league with, and protectors of, the criminal classes. They are also in constant litigation among themselves, and their quarrels prevent them alike from performing their public duties, and from doing justice to their charges.

5. The State has allowed the now acknowledged principle, that the land of a country belongs to the people of the country, and that the proprietors must give an account of their stewardship, to be lost sight of. Neither land, nor any other business, can be managed by a body of men under no authority. If two people ride one horse, one must ride behind. Therefore the State should insist on each estate or tenure having one managing owner, to whom the State can look for the performance of public duties, and over whom the co-owners must receive the value of their shares.

6. As a corrective for these evils I would have the State insist on the registration of a managing owner, who should have full control from each estate and tenure. The functions

of the State in its revenue Courts should be again developed ; and they should actively superintend the division of landed property, and decide all questions relating to the management of land, apart from personal rights. Disputes amongst co-owners should no longer be regarded as merely of private interest, but as intimately concerning the welfare of the State.

7. I base the above arguments on the incontrovertible fact of the fearful confusion and disorganisation now prevailing in Bengal, by which not only is a proper system of agriculture prevented, but all order and subordination in society are overthrown. The oppression of the Mahomedan Government which we supplanted, was bad enough ; but it is doubtful whether the license and anarchy under our system is not equally detrimental to the true interests of the country. The moral as well as the physical welfare of the country demands that the present rural disorganisation and immense amount of useless litigation should cease.

August 1893.

F. H. BARROW.

P.S.—Since writing the above I see that the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces has declared his opinion, that the payment of rent through the Post Office will “tend to break up the village organisation, and to sever still more the ties which naturally connect landlord and tenant : “Every step that is taken to break up rural society into a “number of disconnected units, renders the Government of “this country more and more difficult.” But has not our revenue system already effectually shattered all the units of which rural society should consist ? The payment of rent though the Post Office is merely making the best of a bad job.

F. H. B.

Addendum.

The evils following from divided ownership are well known to the zemindars of Bengal, witness the terms of the will of the late millionaire, Prosanno Kumar Tagore, made in 1868, by which he vainly sought to set aside the Hindu law of joint succession in his family. The reasons he gave were as follows : “And whereas the frequent division and subdivision of estates “in Bengal is injurious alike to the families of zemindars and “to the raiyats, who are in consequence oppressed by numerous “and needy landlords having conflicting interests, whence “arise disputes and litigations ; and whereas I have bestowed “much time and money on the improvement of my estates, “and of the raiyats and tenants thereof, and I am desirous “that such improvements should continue to go on, and should “not be interrupted by any division of the said estates or “disputes concerning the same.” Again, in some of the properties

of the country, so fearfully and inextricably are the interests of various individuals mixed and combined, that the law of partition cannot possibly reach them. Here is the abstract of a case concerning such a one, published in the I. L. R. of May 1893, though I fear the brain of most readers will reel as they try to follow the mazes :

"The plaintiffs were proprietors of a 12 anna share, and "dur-talukdars of the other 4 anna share of taluk A, which consisted of a $7\frac{1}{2}$ share of so much of the land of three villages "D, B, and T, as appertained to an estate in the Collectorate "No. 23. Estate No. 23 with three other estates represented "fractional shares in three pergunnahs comprising about 500 "villages. No partition had been made of these pergunnahs, "but by private arrangement certain lands in a village had "been assigned to one estate, and certain other lands to another, some lands being kept joint and common to all four "estates. In estate No. 23 there was another permanent "tenure S, a taluk consisting of lands not only in the three "villages D, B, and T, but in nine others : of this taluk a 2 anna "share belonged to L, one of the zemindars of estate No. 23, "and a $7\frac{1}{2}$ anna of the remaining 14 anna share, was held under "the plaintiff. In a suit against L for partition of such of the "lands of taluk A, as appertained to estate No. 23 and were "separate from the other estates to which the other zemindars "of estate No. 23 were made parties ; *Held*, assuming the parties "were entitled to partition at all, that the suit would lie as "regards the lands specified as belonging to estate No. 23, "without reference to the lands held in common as belonging "to all the four estates."

No wonder the owner of the taluk A complained, that in consequence of the lands being held jointly, there were constant disputes. I contend, therefore, that the revenue authorities should be enabled to interfere in all such cases of confusion of interest, and *in every case* to say which party should be entitled solely to manage any parcel of property used for agricultural purposes. The present system is ruinous alike to the country as a whole, and to the individual owners of property. It is the interest of the State that quarrels should cease, says the honoured maxim, and yet we maintain a system which has the effect of fostering them in a way that no other device could possibly do. A Government pleader lately told me that he could have bought up, in Court sales, a great part of the district, but he knew the litigation that would follow, and he had bought none. All his savings, I believe, and they are not small, are in Government Securities. In this way capital is kept away from the soil, Bengal is raising a paradise for lawyers, and a pandemonium for every one else.

F. H. B.

ART VII.—HINDU CIVILISATION UNDER THE MOSLEM RULE.*

II.

THE Mahomedan period, taken as a whole, is not quite the dark period in Hindu history which it is usually represented to be. It was during that period that such great reformers as Kabir, Chaitanya and Nának arose and gave new religious life to a large portion of the mass of the people. They all protested against caste, and preached the equality of all men. They exerted all their strength to pull down the artificial barriers which Hinduism had set up between man and man, and to a certain extent, succeeded in doing so. Their success is not to be measured by the number of followers they have left, though that number is large. They must have indirectly influenced the lives of many who still continued to follow the banner of orthodox Hinduism.

It was during the Mahomedan period that the vernacular literatures of India sprang up ; and these literatures must have more than compensated the loss which the Sanscrit literature sustained. If the Hindus lost their Kálidása and Bhababhuti, they gained such writers as Sridhar, and Tukárám in Maháráshtra, and Mukundarám Chakravarti and Rámprasád Sen in Bengal. The loss was felt only by a few cultivated Brahmans, the gain was shared in by the great mass of the people. The Rámáyana, the Mahábhárata and the Puránas were now translated into the vernacular dialects, and could be read, or at least understood, by the people.

The Kshatriyas (including the Rajputs) fell. But in their place arose the Sikhs and the Mahrattas. The Guikwar, the Holkar and the Bhonslá who formed powerful States, all sprung from low castes. At one time they appeared as if they were going to occupy the place which had been filled by the Kshatriya in Pre-Mahomedan India. As in religion, the doctrines preached by Kabir, Chaitanya and Nának were protests against Bháhman exclusiveness, as in literature, the works of such writers as Tukárám, Dádu and Rámprasád Sen were protests against the predominance of Sanscrit, so in politics the Sikh and the Mahratta powers were protests against Kshatriya ascendancy.

Revolutions similar to what we have briefly sketched above, took place in Budhist India centuries before the Christian era.

* Continued from the *Calcutta Review*, January 1893. The title of the essay has been slightly changed in order to give the writer greater freedom of treatment.

Buddhism disregarded caste, and adopted Pali, instead of Sanscrit as its literary language. It spread most under a powerful dynasty of Sudra kings. But just before the Mahomedan settlement, caste-ridden Hinduism had triumphed over Buddhism. It is possible that the revolution we have alluded to above would have taken place even if the Mahomedans had not set foot in India. But there can be scarcely any doubt that it was facilitated by the practice and preachings of Mahomedanism, and by the downfall of the Kshatriyas and of the Brahmans caused by the establishment of the Mahomedan empire.

The charge of intolerance against the Mahomedan rulers of India has but a slight foundation in fact. Invaders like Mahmud of Ghazni, who had no permanent interest in the country, might plunder and destroy. But the policy of those who, after Mahomed Ghorî, settled and ruled in India, was different. They compare very favourably, indeed, with the contemporary Christian monarchs of Europe.

The persecution of Jews by Christians, of one Christian sect by another, of the Protestants by the Roman Catholics, of the Roman Catholics by the Protestants, of one section of the Protestants by another in Christian Europe, was on the whole severer than that of the persecution of the Hindus by their Mussulman rulers in heathen India. The horrors of the Inquisition were here unknown, except, perhaps, in a small territory ruled by the Roman Catholics. Khafî Khan, himself a bigot, was shocked by the intolerant conduct of the Europeans of his day in India, (commencement of the 18th century). Speaking of those settled at Hughli, he says : "Of all their odious practices this was the worst:—In the port which they occupied on the sea-coast, they offered no injury either to the property or person of either Mahomedans or Hindus who dwelt under their rule ; but, if one of those inhabitants died leaving children of tender age, they took both the children and the property under their charge, and whether these young children were *Sayids*, or whether they were Brahmans, they made them Christians and slaves (*Mamluks*.)

"In the parts of the Konkan, in the Dakhin, and on the sea coast, wherever they had forts and exercised authority, this was the custom of that insolent people. . . . They allowed no religious mendicants (*fakirs*) to come into their bounds. When one found his way unawares, if he were a Hindu, he was subjected to such tortures as made his escape with life very doubtful ; and if he were a Musalman, he was imprisoned and worried for some days, and then set at liberty." *

It is doubtful whether the cruelties perpetrated by the Portuguese at Salsette were equalled by the most fanatical and

* Sir H. M. Elliott's "History of India," Vol. VII, p. 211.

insensate Moslem that ever ruled in any part of India. A Portuguese armament landed at Salsette when least expected, and "carrying all before them, destroyed 1200 temples with all their images."* A new expedition was fitted out soon after, which landed as before, "and not only destroyed the temples, but set fire to the cities, villages and all the habitations, and in a few hours reduced the whole island to ashes. The affrighted inhabitants fled almost naked from their houses and sought shelter on the shore of the neighbouring continent; and this fair scene of culture and crowded population, was converted at once into a smoking desert. Father Berno followed the troops, wielding a huge club, with which he beat down all the idols and brayed them in pieces."†

The *Jezia* (a kind of capitation tax) was the most serious grievance of the Hindus during the Mahomedan *regime*, and it was abolished by Akbar. The bigoted Aurungzeb re-imposed it. The Hindus were forbidden by him to ride in palanquins without permission. They were called upon to pay heavier duties than the Mahomedans. But the opposition which these measures evoked shook the foundations of the empire which had been built up by the enlightened and tolerant policy of his predecessors. The Hindus all round Delhi assembled in vast numbers to pray for the recall of the *Jezia*. But the Emperor would not heed their complaints. One day, when he went to public prayer at the great mosque on the sabbath, a vast multitude of Hindus thronged the road from the palace to the mosque, with the object of seeking relief. All kinds of shopkeepers from the Urdubázár, and mechanics and workmen left off work and pressed into the way. "The infidel inhabitants of the city and the country round" says the orthodox Khafi Khan, "made great opposition to the payment of the *jezya*. There was not a district where the people, with the help of *Faujdar*s, did not make disturbances and resistance"‡

The Hindus did not sink into political nonentity even in those parts which directly owned Mahomedan sway. They were admitted into situations of trust and responsibility. They commanded armies, governed kingdoms, and acted as ministers under Mahomedan kings. Ibrahim the fourth king of Golconda, had Jogadeo, a Hindu for his prime minister. Mahomed Shah Sur Adi', who occupied the throne of Delhi about the middle of the sixteenth century, committed the conduct of his Government to one "Hemu, a Hindu who had once kept a retail shop, and whose appearance is said to have been meaner than his origin. Yet with all these external

* "Discoveries and Travels in Asia," By H. Murray, p. 77.

† H. Murray. *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

‡ Khafi Khan. Sir H. M. Elliotts' History, Vol. VII. p.p. 296-310.

disadvantages, Hemu had abilities and force of mind sufficient to maintain his ascendancy amidst a proud and martial nobility, and to prevent the dissolution of the Government, weighed down as it was by the follies and iniquities of its head."*

During the reigns of the Emperors Feroksir, Rafi-ud-Darjât Rafi-ud-Doula, and part of the reign of Mahomed Shah, Rattan Chand, formerly a retail shopkeeper, enjoyed uncontrolled influence all over Hindustan. He was Deputy to Abdulla Khan, Vizier of the Empire. It was through his influence and that of Raja Ajit, that the poll tax upon the Hindus re-established by Aurungzeb, was abolished. "He interfered," complains the Mahomedan historian, "even in judicial and religious concerns, in a way that reduced the crown officers to the condition of ciphers. It was impossible to become a Kazi of any city, without the consent of this Hindu being previously taken."†

When Alivardi Khan became prime minister of Shúja Khan, he called to his councils Raja Aalem Chánd and Jagot Set, the former of whom, says Golam Hussein Khan, "possessed great merit, and deserved all the confidence reposed in him." When Alivardi Khan became Governor of Bengal, he appointed as his prime minister Jánakíram, who was a man of merit, and figured among the trustiest and most zealous of the Viceroy's friends."

Mohanlála was the minister of Surája-ud-Dowla, Governor of Bengal; amongst his other officers who held positions of trust, were Durlavarám and Rámnaráyan.

The Ain-i-Akbari gives a complete list of the high officers during the reign of Akbar.‡ The following is the number of Hindus amongst them:—

I. Commanders of Five Thousand—3.

1. Raja Bihari Mall.
2. Raja Bhagwan Das (son of Raja Bihari Mall.)
3. Raja Man Sing (son of Raja Bhagwan Das) He was for some time Governor of Bengal. Akbar promoted him to a full command of seven thousand; hitherto Five Thousand had been the limit of promotion. It is noticeable that Akbar in raising Man Sing to a command of seven Thousand, placed a Hindu above every Mahomedan officer.

II. Commanders of Four Thousand—2.

4. Raja Todar Mall. Though often accused of headstrongness and bigotry by contemporaneous historians, Todar Mall's fame as general and financier has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar's grandees; together with Abul Fazl and Man Sing, he is best known to the people of India at the present day. One of the most important reforms associated with Todar Mall's name is, the substitution of Persian for Hindi as the Court language.

* Elphinstone's History of India. Cowell's Ed.—p.p. 460-3.

† *Siar ul-Mutakharin* (Briggs' Translation), p.p. 89, &c.

‡ *Ain-i Akbari* (Blochmann's translation) p.p. 308-526.

5. Rai Rai Sing. He was promoted by Jehangir to be a commander of Five Thousand.

III. Commander of Three Thousand—Jagannath.

IV. Commanders of Two Thousand.

Raja Bir Bal, An entirely self made man. He was very poor when he came to Akbar's court. Akbar conferred on him the title of Rai Kabi (or Poet Laureate) and had him constantly near himself.

8. Raja Ram Chand Baghela.

9. Rai Kalyan Mall.

10. Rai Surjan Hadda.

V. Commanders of One Thousand and five hundred.—2

VI. Commanders of Twelve Hundred and fifty.—1

VII. Commander of One Thousand.—3

VIII. Commanders of Nine Hundred—3.

IX. Commanders of Eight Hundred—2.

X. Commanders of Five Hundred—12.

XI. Commanders of Four Hundred—5.

XII. Commanders of Three Hundred—6.

XIII. Commanders of Two Hundred—8.

The total number of Commanders in the various grades from Seven Thousand to Two Hundred was 415, so that the Hindus filled twelve per cent. of the most responsible political posts under Akbar. The Commanders named above all saw active service. Several governed important provinces; one (Todar Mall) occupied the high post of Vizier or Minister of Finance; and one (Man Sing) was raised to a distinction, which up to his time had been reserved only for Princes of the Royal blood.

Mahomedan princes sometimes took Hindu wives, and several of the Emperors of Delhi were descended from Hindu mothers. The rigidity of caste must have considerably slackened to have tempted high caste Hindus of noble families to form alliances even with the Imperial Dynasty of Delhi. It would be interesting to know how the Hindu princesses lived in the Mahomedan harem. It is said of Akbar, that from his youth he was accustomed to celebrate the *Hom* (a Hindu ceremony) from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his harem.* Two of Akbar's wives were Hindus; and Jahangir was the son of one of them. Jahangir had ten wives, of whom no less than six were of Hindu descent. Shah Jahan was the offspring of one of these.† He had more of Hindu than of Mahomedan blood in him.

The Indian Mahomedans gradually became partially Hinduised. Their zeal for the propagation of Islam abated. The blind bigotry of the Moslem was gradually tempered by the philosophic culture of the Hindu; and Hindu influence on the religion and Government of the Moslem, gradually became more and more marked.

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 184.

† *Ain-i Akbari*, pp. 308-9.

The brightest period of the Mahomedan Empire was unquestionably the period between the accession of Akbar and the deposition of Shah Jahan, and it was during that period that the Hindu influence was the strongest. Akbar and his most cultured Mahomedan courtiers—the brothers Faizi and Abul Fazl,—were greatly under Hindu influence.

Abul Fazl was held by some of his contemporaries to be a Hindu.* He translated the “Mahábhárat;” and Fazl translated the “Lilávati” and “Nala Damayanti.” Akbar held the Hindu belief that it was wrong to kill cows and interdicted the use of beef.† The Hindu princesses of the harem gained so great an ascendancy over him, that he foreswore beef, garlic, onions and the wearing of a beard. “He had also introduced,” says Badaoni, “though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into the Court assemblies, and introduces them still in order to please and gain the good will of the Hindus.” Raja Bir Bar is said by some historians to have influenced Akbar in abjuring Islam. Bir Bar was the special favorite of Akbar. Badaoni says “His majesty cared for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bir Bar.” The jealousy which the pro-Hindu policy of Akbar excited amongst bigoted Muslims was intense, and finds expression in such passages as the following from Badaoni.‡

“As it was quite customary in those days to speak ill of the doctrine and orders of the Koran, and as Hindu wretches and Hinduizing Mahomedans openly reviled our Prophet, irreligious writers left in the prefaces to their books the customary praise of the Prophet. . . . It was impossible even to mention the name of the Prophet, because these liars [Abul Fazl and Faizi] did not like it.

“The Hindus, of course, are indispensable; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindustanics (Mahomedans settled in Hindusthan) nor the Moguls can point to such grand lords as the Hindus have among themselves.”

The Hindu Man Sing, Todar Mall and Bir Bar, and the practically Hinduised Abul Fazl and Faizi were amongst the most, if not the most, trusted of Akbar's councillors. They probably contributed more to build up the Mogul Empire on a sound basis of liberal and enlightened policy than all the other officers of Akbar put together.

The pro-Hindu policy of Akbar was continued by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The contest between Dara and Aurangzeb

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 27.

† The Emperor Nasiruddin forbade the killing of oxen. Ferishta speaks of him as practising idolatry like the Hindus, so that the Koran was occasionally placed as a stool and sat upon.

‡ *Ain-i-Akbari*, pp. 185, 204.

was really a contest between enlightenment and bigotry, between a pro-Hindu and an anti-Hindu policy. Dara belonged to the school of Akbar. He wrote a book attempting to reconcile the Hindu and Mahomedan doctrines. He had translations made of fifty *Upanishads* into Persian. Like Akbar, he was considered an apostate. He is said to have been constantly in the society of Brahmans, Jogis and Sannyasis, and to have considered the Vedas as the word of God. Instead of the Mahomedan, he adopted the Hindu name (*Prabhu*) for God, and had it engraved in Hindi upon rings. "It became manifest," says the author of *Alamgir-námá*, "that if Dara Sukoh obtained the throne and established his power, the foundations of the faith would be in danger."* Aurangzeb was a bigot such as orthodox Mahomedans had long been looking for; they advocated his cause, as the Hindus did that of his elder brother. The cause of orthodox Islam triumphed. But the triumph was only temporary, ending with the reign of Aurangzeb.

The material condition of the people under the Mogul Empire, must, on the whole, have been one of ease and comfort.

The following table gives the wages of some labourers during the reign of Akbar †.

				Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Carpenters	...	...	...	0	2	9½	to	0	0	9½
Bricklayers	...	...	...	0	1	4½	to	0	1	2½
Bamboo cutters	...	...	...	0	0	9½				
Thatchers	...	...	...	0	1	2½				
Water-carriers	...	...	...	0	1	2½	to	0	0	9½

The following are the average prices of some of the commonest articles of consumption during the same reign ‡ :-

		Rs.	A.	P.			Rs.	A.	P.
Wheat	per man	0	4	9½	Ghee	per man	2	10	0
Lentils	..	0	4	9½	Oil	"	2	0	0
Barley	..	0	3	2½	Milk	"	0	10	0
Millet	..	0	2	4½	Brown Sugar	"	1	6	4
Sathi rice	..	0	8	0	Salt	"	0	6	4½
Tirhi rice	..	1	0	0	Onions	"	0	2½	4½
Molh Dal	..	0	4	9½	Turmeric	"	0	4	0
Wheat flour	..	0	6	0	Silahati cloth, per yard	0	1	7½	
Coarse Mung Dal	..	0	7	2½	Blankets, coarse per piece	0	4	0	

The monthly dietetic requirements of a flour eating average adult labourer would be :—

				Price in Akbar's time.		
Seers				Rs.	A.	P.
Flour	...	25	...	...	0	3 9
Dal	...	5	...	...	0	0 7½
Ghee	...	1	...	...	0	1 0½
Salt						0 2½
Total					5	7½

* Elliot's History, Vol VII. p. 179.

† *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 225.

‡ *Ain-i-Akbari*, pp. 63-95.

Making allowance for condiments and other little things, an adult labourer could live comfortably during the reign of Akbar on six annas per month. Taking his family to consist of five (himself, his wife, and three children), he alone being the earning member, ~~we~~ may take one rupee and four annas to cover his monthly expenses on account of food for himself and his wife and family. An average unskilled labourer, such as a water-carrier, in Akbar's time, would earn one rupee and fourteen annas per month. Thus he would have left a margin of ten annas to spend on clothing and luxuries,—a large amount considering the purchasing power of the rupee at the time.

The condition of the artisans must have been more prosperous than in any previous period. This prosperity was due partly to increased commerce with Europe, and partly to the taste for luxuries created by the Mahomedans.

The doubling of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama at the close of the 15th century, marks an epoch in the history of India. From that time her trade with Europe rapidly increased. Various costly gold, silk and woollen stuffs were introduced during the Mahomedan period. Satin, velvet, brocaded velvet, and broadcloth from Persia and Europe, were amongst these.

The indigenous velvets and satins, however, held their own against those imported from abroad. These manufactures gave employment to numerous artisans. Besides raw produce, such as indigo, spices and sugar, India exported to Europe manufactured cotton and silk. These manufactures must have given employment to numerous artisans. The following are the component parts of the amount of sales by the East Indian Company in England reduced to an annual average in the seventeen years ending 1808-9 : *

Piece goods	•	...	...	...	£1,539,478
Organzine silk					£13,443
Pepper					195,461
Saltpetre					180,066
Spices					112,596
Sugar, Indigo					272,442
Coffee		...	...	...	£6,624

Muslins and calicoes used to be manufactured in almost all India, especially in Bengal and the northern part of the coast of Coromandel. Dacca was the chief seat of the muslin manufacture. The Northern Circars and the neighbourhood of Masulipatam were the most distinguished for chintzes, calicoes and ginghams. The artisans engaged in the manufacture of cotton silk and wool were mostly, as their descendants still are, Hindus; and the expansion of the European trade during the Mogul rule must have greatly increased their prosperity. The historian

* H. Murray's "Discoveries and Travels," Vol II. p. 375.

of Firuz Shah speaks "of the happy state of the ryots, the goodness of their homes and furniture, and the general use of gold and silver ornaments by their women. . . . He says, amongst other things, that every ryot had a good bedstead and a neat garden."

Nicolo di Conti who travelled about A.D. 1420, describes the banks of the Ganges as covered with cities and beautiful gardens. He ascended the Ganges till he came to what he calls a most famous and powerful city named Maurazia abounding in gold, silver and pearls.* Baker who came to India in the beginning of the 16th century speaks of it as a rich and noble country, abounding in gold and silver and is astonished at the swarming population, and the innumerable workmen in every trade and profession.

Sebastian Manrique who travelled about 1612, mentions the magnificent fabrics of cotton of Bengal exported to all the countries of the East. He describes Dacca, then the capital of Bengal, as being frequented by people of every nation and containing upwards of 100,000 souls. He travelled from Lahore to Multan through a country abounding in wheat, rice, vegetables, and cotton. The villages, he tells us, are numerous, and contain excellent inns. Tatta in Sind, where he stayed for a month, is described by him as being extremely rich. The country round is of exuberant abundance, particularly in wheat, rice, and cotton, in the manufacture of which at least two thousand looms are employed. Some silk is also produced, and also a beautiful species of leather, variegated with fringes and ornaments of silk.†

Nicholas Graaf, a Dutch physician, who travelled through Bengal in 1669, describes Rajmahal as a very splendid city. He was much struck by its mosques, temples, and palaces, the gardens attached to which were considered by him to be one of the wonders of India. From Rajmahal he travelled by boat to Monghyr, and was attracted by the beauty of its white walls and of the towers and minarets which rose above. Patna appeared to him still more splendid and beautiful than Monghyr. Its trade was immense, a broad street composed entirely of shops, reached from one end of it to the other.‡

* Mandeslo, a German, who travelled about 1638, found Broach to be a populous city, almost filled with weavers, who manufactured the finest cotton cloth in the province of Guzerat. On his way from Broach to Ahmedabad, he passed through Brodera, another large town of weavers and dyers. He was much struck with the splendour and beauty of Ahmedabad, the chief manufactures of which are those of silk and cotton. Cambay

* Murray, *op. cit.* p. 1c.

† Murray, *op. cit.* p. 99 et seq.

‡ Murray, *op. cit.* p.p. 168, &c.

appeared to him a larger city than Surat, and carried on an extensive trade. He found Agra, then the capital of India, to be twice as large as Ispahan; a man in one day could not ride round the walls. The streets were handsome and spacious; some, of more than a quarter of a league, were vaulted above for the convenience of shopkeepers, who had their goods exposed there for sale.

Tavernier, who had repeatedly visited most parts of India, says that Shah Jehan reigned not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children. He commends the strictness of his civil government, and speaks highly of the security enjoyed under it.*

Pietro della Valle, who wrote about 1623, says:—

"Hence, generally, all live much after a genteel way; and they do it securely as well, because the king does not persecute his subjects with false accusations, nor deprive them of anything when he sees them live splendidly.*

Bernier, who resided for some time in India about the middle of the 17th century, writes deprecatingly of the wealth of the people. He admits, however, "that India is like an abyss, in which all the gold and silver of the world are swallowed up and lost; such vast quantities are continually imported thither out of Europe, while none ever returns;" and "that vast quantities of the precious metals are employed not only in earrings, nose-rings, bracelets of hands and feet, and other ornaments, but in embroidering and embellishing the clothes alike of the Omrahs and of the meanest soldiers."†

The Mahomedan princes and nobility led more luxurious lives than Hindoos of equal rank. They lived on more dainty dishes than the Hindoos. The names of the various rich dishes now indulged in by the Hindoo aristocracy,—such as *Qualyah*, *Dampukht*,* &c., bespeak their Mahomedan origin. Abdul Fazl classifies cooked victuals under three heads.†

First.—Those in which meat is used.

Secondly.—Those in which meat and rice, &c., are used.

Thirdly.—Meats with spices.

He gives ten recipes of each kind, and from each recipe two to four dishes are obtainable. The Hindoos excelled, as they still do, in various preparations of sweets, in which milk in some form or other is the principal ingredient. They have also got many dishes of their own prepared from meat, fish, and vegetables. These are, however, much simpler than Mahomedan dishes, the introduction of which into Hindoo dietary has been of doubtful advantage to health. Fortunately,

* Elphinstone's History of India (Ed. 1874) p. 600.

† Murray, *op. cit.* p. 187.

‡ *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 59.

the richly spiced Mahomedan dishes are restricted to festive occasions even amongst the Hindoo nobility.

Fruits were in great favour with the Mahomedans. Melons were imported from Kabul, apples from Samarcand, Kabul and Europe, and grapes from Kashmir.*

Ice came into use during the reign of Akbar, in A. D. 1556. It used to be brought by land and water from the district of Pauhan in the northern mountains, about 100 miles from Lahor. The average price of ice at Agra in Akbar's time was about $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per seer. Abul Fazl says, that all ranks use ice in summer; the nobles use it throughout the whole year.†

Tobacco, which is now so successfully naturalised, and is universally used throughout India, was introduced in the reign of Akbar. It is interesting to note that, drunkard as he was, Jehangir published an edict against the use of tobacco, which he considered very harmful.

Jehangir says in his Memoirs :—

"As the smoking of tobacco had taken a very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons, I ordered that no one should practise the habit. My brother Shah Abbas, King of Persia, also being aware of its evil effects, had issued a command against the use of it in Iran."‡

The Mahomedans generally wore made up garments. There can be no doubt that the higher class Hindus in pre-Mahomedan times also used such garments. The sculptures of Ranchi, Amaravati, and Orissa, show sewn dresses, resembling the *chapkan*, and *jama* of the present day. Such Sanskrit names as *kanchuka* and *kanchulika* for made up clothes are confirmatory of this evidence. Indeed, the occurrence of the words *suchi* (needle) and *sivan* (sewing) would indicate the existence of sewn habiliments, even so early as the period of the Rigveda.§

There can be little doubt, however, that, with the establishment of the Mahomedan rule, made up clothes (*chapkan*, *pajama*, &c.,) came into more general use than before. The fact that such clothes are in more habitual use amongst men and women in the North West, within the sphere of the influence of Delhi and Agra than in any other part of India, and the fact of the greater majority of tailors being Mahomedans, are

* For a list of the fruits imported in Akbar's time, see *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 65.

† *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 56.

‡ *Wakiat-i-Jahangir*. Elliot op. cit. vol. vi. p. 357. Asad Beg's narrative of the first introduction of tobacco into Akbar's Court is interesting. Akbar expressed great surprise, and examined the tobacco which was made up in pipefuls. See H. M. Elliot's History, vol. vi, pp. 166-7.

§ See Rajendra Lal Mitra's "Indo-Aryan." Vol. I. p.p. 166 *et seq.*

in favour of this view.* In Bēngal, in Mahārāshtra, and in the Deccan, *dhuti* and *chadar* still form the essential components of the national costume. The practise of wearing a *chapkan* when going to Courts, if not originating with, was certainly extended in Mahomedan times.

The Hindus do not appear to have ever excelled in painting. The following interesting passage, however, occurs in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.† "Most excellent painters are now to be found, and masterpieces, worthy of Bihazd (a famous painter of Persia), may be placed by the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, etc., now observed in pictures, are incomparable; even inanimate objects look as if they had life. More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. *This is especially true of the Hindus*; their pictures surpass our conceptions of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them."

Of the Hindu painters who attained fame in the time of Akbar, the following are mentioned by Abul Fazl: Daswanth, Basawan, Kesú, Sál, Mukund, Mádhú, Jogan, Mohesh, K'hemkaran, Tárú, Haribans and Rám. A few particulars are given of Daswanth and Basawan which are interesting. Daswanth was the son of a palkee-bearer. He devoted his whole life to the art, and used, from love of his profession, to draw and paint figures even on walls. One day the eye of Akbar fell on him; and his talent was discovered. In a short time he surpassed all other painters and became the first of the age. Towards the latter part of his life he became insane and committed suicide. Basawan is said to have been "most excellent" in back-grounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait-painting, and several other branches; so that many critics preferred him to Daswanth.

The seclusion of the upper class Hindu women in Northern India in the recesses of the zenana became stricter than ever in Mahomedan times. Long before the establishment of the Mahomedan rule, ladies had their inner apartments. They used then to rise early, clean the house, wipe the hearth, cook the food, feed the children and their husbands, and then take their meals apart from the male members of the family, much

* Hiouen Tshang, the Chinese traveller to India (about the middle of the 7th century) says, that in North India "where the wind was cold, people wore close-fitting garments" (R. C. Dutt's History, Vol. III p. 143) There is some doubt from this as to how far the general use of such garments in North-Western India is attributable to Mahomedan influence.

† *Op. cit.* p. 107.

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as they do at the present day. But their absolute seclusion seems to have been then unknown.*

The standard of chastity amongst the male members of the upper class Mahomedan community was never high. They were debauched to a degree. Akbar tried some peculiar remedial measures, but with what success is not known. He appointed a Daroga and a clerk to register the names of such as visited women of the town, or wanted to take them to their house. If anybody wanted to have a virgin, he was required to first apply to His Majesty and get his permission. It is said that His Majesty called some of the principal women of the town and asked them who had deprived them of their virginity. After hearing their replies, some of the principal and most renowned grandees were censured, or punished, several to long terms of imprisonment.

Though the Koran abjures drinking, the royalty and aristocracy amongst the Mahomedans, especially during the Mogul period, were greatly addicted to it. All the Emperors and Princes of that dynasty, with the sole exception probably of Aurangzeb, drank, and some of them to the greatest excess. Akbar laid down strict punishments for drunkenness and rioting. He established a wine shop near the palace, and put the wife of his porter in charge of it. He fixed the price of wine, and any sick person could get it by sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop. But, as Badaoni observes, "people sent in fictitious names and got supplies of wine, for who could strictly enquire into such a matter?" Bábar, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, records many drinking parties in his Memoirs; and there is good reason to suspect that his indulgence in wine shortened his life. The Emperor Jahangir says in his "Memoirs," that, after having taken to wine-drinking, he took more and more from day to day, until wine of the grape had no effect upon him. He then had recourse to spirit drinking; and in the course of nine years he got up to twenty cups of double distilled spirits, weighing no less than six seers!† His brother Prince Danyal died of excessive drinking.

"In the brief reign of Jehandar," says Kleafi Khan,‡ "violence and debauchery had full sway. . . . There seemed to be a likelihood that *Kazis* would turn toss-pots, and *Muftis* become tipplers." Jehandar had sunk so low, that he used to go out with his favourite mistress and boon companions in a cart to enjoy himself in the markets and drinking shops.

The vices of the Courts must have had a demoralising effect

* See R. C. Dutt's "History of Ancient India," Vol. III, p. 330.

† *Waki-at-i Jehangir*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI p. 342.

‡ Elliot *op. cit.* Vol VII p. 432.

upon those Hindus who were within the sphere of its influence, though the exact extent of this effect is not ascertainable.

Such social practices as early marriage and *sati* amongst the upper class Hindoos had come into vogue before the establishment of the Mahomedan rule. Even in the *Manu-samhitā*, we have indications that girls were married, though under somewhat exceptional circumstances, even before the age of puberty. Widow burning is unknown both to Manu and Yajñabalkya. It was, however, a settled custom in the eleventh century; we are told by Alberuni, that "Hindus marry at a very young age, and that if a wife loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man; she has only to chose between two things—either to remain a widow as long as she lives, or burn herself." With regard to early marriage, the Mahomedan practice must have tended to establish it more firmly.

Akbar forbade boys to marry before the age of 16, and girls before 14, "because the offspring of early marriages is weakly."* But the mention of these orders is of the most casual character, and it is doubtful how far they were obeyed by either the Mahomedans or the Hindus.

Several of the Mahomedan Emperors, however, discouraged *Sati*, and adopted measures to prevent its abuse as far as possible. Akbar appointed inspectors in every city and district, who were to watch carefully over all cases of widow burning, and to prevent any woman being forcibly burnt. A case is mentioned in the *Akbarnama*† which strikingly illustrates Akbar's humanity and love of justice. On the death of Jai Mal (an officer in his service) his wife was unwilling to burn; but her son, Udai Sing, with a party of his bigoted friends, resolved upon the sacrifice. The matter came to the Emperor's knowledge, and his humanity made him fear that, if he sent messengers to stop the proceedings, some delay might occur, so he mounted his horse, rode with all speed to the place, and saved the widow.

With regard to amusements, the game of *Chaugan* (hockey) appears to have been very fashionable with the Moguls. Abul Fazl expresses unbounded admiration for it. "Superficial observers," says he, "look upon this game as a mere amusement, and consider it a mere play; but men of more exalted views see in it a means of learning promptitude and decision. . . . Externally the game adds to the splendour of the Court, but viewed from a higher point, it reveals concealed talents." Pigeon-flying was in great favour. Presents of pigeons used to be sent by the kings of Iran and Turan. Akbar is said to have made pigeon-flying a study.

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 195.

† *Elliot's History*, Vol. VI, p. 69.

The games of *chawpar* and of *chandal mandal* were played with dice. The latter is said to have been invented by Akbar. There were, besides, the old game of chess, and various games of cards. Animal fights were encouraged by the Imperial Court at Delhi, and used to attract large concourses of people. Akbar kept one hundred and one fighting deer. The manner of fighting of this animal is described in the *Ain-i-Akbar* as being very interesting, its method of stooping down and rising up again being a source of great amusement. There were also buffalo-fights, goat-fights, cow-fights and cock-fights. Betting was allowed, but regulated by Akbar according to the rank of the party betting. A commander of one thousand is allowed to bet six *mohars* on a *deer*, but on cows and rams only two. A commander of ten, however, may bet only 8 rupees on a deer.

Though against the Mahomedan law, music, both vocal and instrumental, was encouraged by the Mahomedans. The Kashmir school of music was founded by Irani and Turani, musicians patronised by Zain-ul-Abidin, King of Kashmir. We read of many Hindu musicians of note during the reigns of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan. Miyán Tansen was a Hindu convert to Mahomedanism; Rám Dás, was for some time with Bairam Khan, from whom he once received a reward of a lách of rupees. His son, Sáir Das, was also a singer of note; Jagannath was one of the Court vocalists during the reign of Shah Jehan. - He was weighed in silver and received 4,500 rupees. The bigoted Aurangzeb, following the letter of the Mahomedan law, ordered the dismissal of the Court singers and musicians. The historian Khafi Khan mentions a curious incident after the order had been given. The Court musicians brought a bier in front of the palace and wailed so loud as to attract the Emperor's attention. He came to the window and enquired whom they had on the bier. They said, "Melody is dead, and we are going to the graveyard." "Very well," said the Emperor "make the grave deep, so that neither voice nor echo may issue from it."

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ART. VIII.—HOOGHLY PAST AND PRESENT. VIII.

(Continued from the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1893.)

HOOGHLY DURING THE LAST TWENTY YEARS OF THE COMPANY'S RULE.

THE appropriation of the surplus town-duties to purposes of public improvement had produced its desired effect, and both Hooghly and Chinsura looked much better than before. In a report dated March, 1838, the Magistrate stated that these towns presented "an appearance of neatness and regularity not often observable in the towns of the Lower Provinces." But, while rejoicing at his success, he did not forget that such "neatness and regularity" could not last long unless they were kept up by proper supervision. Accordingly, we find that there were six conservancy-carts, with sweepers, costing Rs. 80 a month, and two ameens on Rs. 10 a month to look after the repairs of the roads and to prevent encroachments. And not only were the towns thus sedulously cared for, the villages also had due share of attention paid to them. The Dhaniakhali Road,* which passes through a thickly-populated and fertile region, was commenced in 1838. A peculiar interest attaches to this road, as it was mainly constructed with funds raised by public subscription, and as the supervision of the expenditure of these funds was entrusted to a committee of six well-known zemindars† of the District, thereby laying the foundation stone of the Local Self-Government edifice, which took nearly half a century in building. To crown all these beneficial movements, the commercial Residencies‡ were abolished, thereby opening up private enterprise to the District.

By this time the judicial machinery had been placed within

* This road, which commences at Khudnia, is, after forming the western portion of the southern boundary of the town, crossed by the East Indian Railway line at a short distance from the Hooghly Railway station, whence it runs westward as far as Tarkeswar.

† Poran Chandra Roy of Makhulpore, Chhaku Ram Singh of Bhastara, Roy Radhagobindo Singh of Hatishála, *alias* Boshu, Jagomohan Seal of Chinsura, Kali Kinkar Palit of Amarpore, and last, though not least, Joy Kissen Mookerjee of Uttarpara. The road, important as it was, would appear to have been finished by the end of the year 1839.

‡ The rules for the conduct of the commercial Residents and Agents were embodied in Regulation XXXI of 1793, which, having been partially repealed by two subsequent Regulations, was at last wholly repealed by Act VIII of 1868.

easy reach of the people. The Moonsiff system* had fully developed in the District, and in 1839 † we find no less than nine Moonsiffs dispensing justice according to law, equity and good conscience. Besides the Moonsiffs, there were the Sudder Amin, and the Principal Sudder Amin who were stationed at the head quarters. All these officers, together with the Zillah Judge as their chief, formed the entire body of the civil judiciary of the District.

The District, it was true, had made considerable progress in many respects, but in the matter of securing safety to person and property it had advanced only a little. Mr. Samuells had tried hard to improve the village police, which certainly needed reform, but he could effect very little in that direction. The fact was that he was much in advance of the age in which he lived, and that most of his projects did not reach the stage of action. But there was one very important measure, the seed of which he sowed with some success :—This was the initiation of the Municipal system, properly so-called. Under his auspices a meeting was held by the inhabitants of Hooghly, Chinsura and Chandernagore in June 1840, ‡ at which the first Municipal Committee was elected.§ Notwithstanding considerable

* The posts of Moonsiffs were created in 1793, and those of Sudder Amins in 1803. This state of things continued up to 1836, when by Act VIII the posts of Principal Sudder Amins were created. In 1868 the law relating to native Judges was again amended and consolidated by Act XVI of that year. The principal changes made by this Act were, that the office of Sudder Amins was abolished ; the designation of " Subordinate Judge" was substituted for that of " Principal Sudder Amin," and the jurisdiction of Moonsiffs was extended to all original suits cognizable by the Civil Courts, of which the subject matter does not exceed in amount or value one thousand rupees. Act XVI of 1868 was amended by Act II of 1870, and both these Acts were repealed by the Bengal Civil Courts Act (VI of 1871) which, with certain modifications made by a subsequent Act, is substantially the law relating to the District and Subordinate Civil Courts in Bengal.

The Moonsiffs were at first paid by commission. Afterwards, on the abolition of such fees by Act V of 1835, their pay was fixed at Rs. 100 rising to Rs. 150 ; but as they could ill afford to maintain their position with such small pay, most of them swerved from the path of rectitude, and supplied their wants by unfair means. Baboo Hurro Chandra Ghose, however, was an honorable exception. He was distinguished no less for his ability than for his integrity, and, in recognition of both, was afterwards appointed Sudder Amin of Hooghly. Baboo Protap Chandra Ghose, the popular Registrar of Calcutta, is his son.

† These Moonsiffs were stationed at Hooghly, Nauserai, Mohanad, Baidyabati, Rajapore, Dwarhatta, Kheerpoy, Bali and Uluberia. A change has since taken place in the locale, the present Moonsiff centres being at Serampore, Howrah, Uluberia, Amta and Jehanabad, besides the Sudder station of Hooghly. The number of suits having increased enormously, there has been a corresponding increase in the number of Moonsiffs, viz. from nine to fifteen.

‡ In the month following the *Bengali Gazette* was first printed and published at Serampore by Dr. Marshman.

§ Vide Mr. Toynbee's *Administration*, p.p. 125-26

opposition on the part of the common people, who, not understanding its real object, took it to be a preliminary to fresh taxation, the Committee lingered on, and, after its term was over, was re-elected in February 1842. Its first act after its re-election was the most reasonable and sensible one, of asking the Magistrate to move Government to define more clearly its duties, powers and responsibilities. The outcome of this request was the passing of Act X of 1842—the first purely Municipal law in Bengal—"to make better provision for purposes connected with the public health and convenience." The local Municipality is now a well-accomplished fact, and surely it speaks much in favor of the sagacity and foresight of Mr. Samuells, who had laid its foundations under such adverse circumstances.

While Mr. Samuells was busy planning his measures of reform, the Collector, Mr. Troyer, got into a scrape in consequence of the wickedness of the stamp-vendors. The system was then in force, under which the vendors on furnishing securities were allowed to take stamps on credit. This practice had been in operation for a long time, and all previous Collectors appeared to think that it was working well. But the evil, which had been gradually increasing in magnitude, at last became too big for concealment, and it was found that the stamp-vendors had fallen into arrears amounting to no less than Rs. 21,197. The sale of their securities being found quite insufficient to cover the deficit, the Collector was ordered to make good the balance. But this officer showed very clearly that, having been in the District only for a short time, he could not justly be held liable for misdeeds which must have been in operation from before his time. Being impressed with the force and reasonableness of his explanation, and not seeing its way to distributing the deficit among the several Collectors, the Government ordered it to be written off. While the Collectorate was thus put out of joint by the rascality of the stamp-vendors, the country at large was terrorised by the ruffianism of the dacoits. Taking advantage of the powerlessness and corruptibility of the Police, these dangerous characters infested the land and kept all good citizens in constant dread and alarm. The Grand Trunk Road * be-

* This road commences from Sulkea and runs towards the North-West Provinces, *vid* Burdwan. It was proceeded with gradually, its history beginning as far back as 1804. In 1829 it appears to have been first used by troops in preference to the old Benares Road, and the Military authorities speak of it as "the new route." This royal road of India—the *smooth bowling green* of Sir Charles Wood—earned for Lord William Bentinck the singularly inappropriate soubriquet of *William the Conqueror*, in consequence of his having metallised it with *kunker*. Dr. Russell compares it to "a great white straight ribband." The road cost, in round numbers, fifty lacs of rupees.

tween Hooghly and Magra was so unsafe, that the Magistrate found it necessary to send a European head-constable with four *burkundases* to patrol it. Not to speak of natives, who were maltreated in every possible way, even Europeans were attacked with impunity. About this time Mr. Samuells left the District, and his place was taken by Mr. S. Wauchope. But the ravages of the dacoits being daily on the increase, the latter officer, who had the reputation of being a first-class detective, was appointed Dacoity Commissioner, when Mr. G. P. Leycester * was put in charge of the Magistracy. During the incumbency † of this officer, the Deputy Governor of Bengal visited Hooghly. As such gubernatorial visits were "like angels' visits, few and far between," there was an unusually large gathering, and the town presented a grand spectacle. Mr. Leycester remained in the District for a pretty considerable period. The soldiers stationed in the Chinsura Barrack having become a positive nuisance to the inhabitants, the able Secretary of the Municipality, Baboo Ishan Chandra Banerjee, addressed a feeling letter to him in March 1842, and he took prompt steps to remove it. Indeed, he was always mindful of the interest and well-being of the people whom Government had placed under his charge.

The duties of the Magistrate having by this time considerably increased, it became absolutely necessary to relieve him of a portion of the burden. Accordingly, Howrah was cut out from Hooghly, and formed into a separate Magistracy. The Government orders sanctioning this separation bear date the 27th February, 1843.‡ Mr. William Taylor § was appointed Joint Magistrate of the newly-formed Zillah, with jurisdiction over Howrah and Sulkea. He was allowed Rs. 250 for establishment, and he began holding his Court in the building which in later days was used by the Magistrate of the 24 Pergunnahs. Mr. Taylor was succeeded by Mr. G. F. Cockburn || in 1845, in which year certain villages appertain-

* He was, if our information is right, the son of Mr. W. Leycester, who was the Chief Judge of the Sudder Dewani Adalat till the 1st April 1831.

† In January 1841.

‡ In this year Lord Ellenborough created the post of Deputy Magistrate, as Lord Bentinck had created the post of Deputy Collector ten years before. Baboo Roma Prosad Roy, who afterwards so much distinguished himself, was the first Deputy Collector of Hooghly, and he took part in the memorable meeting of 1840, at which the first Municipal Committee was appointed. In 1842 he was put in charge of the District during the Collector's illness, the *first* instance probably of a native Deputy Collector being in such charge.

§ This gentleman rose to be a Divisional Commissioner, in which capacity he rendered yeoman's service during the dark days of the Sepoy Mutiny.

|| This officer rose to be a District Judge, in which capacity he gained a good name in Sylhet.

ing to Baidyabati thana were transferred to Howrah. Some further additions have since been made, and, as it now stands, Howrah is well worthy of being called a *zillah*, but its separation from Hooghly is only partial, its fiscal duties having all along been performed by the Collector of the parent District.

David Money's is an honoured name in the District. He succeeded Mr. G. Sterling in the Collectorate, and presided over it for a considerable period. In securing lasting popularity he is equally fortunate with the father of the Hooghly Collectors, Mr. W. H. Belli, and the memory of both these deserving officers is still cherished with the most heart-felt respect. While Mr. Money was in charge of the Collectorate, Mr. Whitworth Russell was the Civil and Sessions Judge. The latter officer, too, remained in the District for a long time, and by his ability and integrity earned a good name, which is not likely to be forgotten, the more so as it is kept in constant remembrance by his fine portrait,* which graces the Judge's office. He had a very able Dewan in the person of Krishna Chandra Chowdhury, who for his long meritorious services was, while enjoying pension, honoured with the then very rare, now very common, title of *Roy Bahadur*, and was also invested with a rich *khilat*, or robe of honour. The influence of the Dewan over his master was very great indeed, but he always took great care not to abuse it. True it is, he did not know English, but he possessed strong common sense and had such a fine judicial head that the Judge was only too glad to avail himself of his valuable assistance in deciding intricate points of law and fact.

Mr. Money and Mr. Russell did not, however, gain such enviable popularity by merely performing the functions of their respective offices with ability and integrity; they always took great interest in the mental welfare of the people. They were warm advocates of native education, and encouraged the cause of science and literature in the best possible way they could. In 1845, Mr. James Esdaile made some experiments in medical mesmerism in their presence, and, as the attempts proved pretty successful, and met their approval, the experiments were repeated in subsequent years.† Mr. Money used also to award gold medals to the best students of the Hooghly College. In 1853, as well as in 1854, the illustrious Dwarka

* From the inscription at its foot it appears that he was Judge of Hooghly from 15th March 1841 to 5th January 1853.

† As long as the learned Doctor remained in India, the cause of mesmerism fared well. But with his return to England in 1851, it fell through, in consequence of, as Dr. Buddun Chunder Chowdhury says, "a majority of medical men giving preference to chloroform in operative surgery."

Nauth Mitter, whose life was one continued series of brilliant intellectual triumphs, carried off his gold medal, thereby giving rise to that good feeling which culminated when both of them were in the Sudder Dewani Adalat, the patron presiding on the bench, the protégé practising at the bar. Mr. Money's tenure of office in the Sudder Court was, however, not long, as he was obliged through ill-health to retire before the happy union of the Supreme and the Sudder Courts took place. It is stated by Dwarka Nauth's friend and biographer, Baboo Denobandhoo Sandyal, that, on the day on which Mr. Money sat for the last time on the Sudder Bench, he took his young favourite into his private chamber, and prefigured in glowing colours the glorious future which awaited him, if God only spared his life. He then grasped his hands and shook them warmly.*

Mr. Wauchope had well begun his career as Dacoity Commissioner, but it was no easy thing to repress in a short time gang-robbery which had assumed such a gigantic shape. Certain it is, Darogahs had been stationed in all the principal villages from the time of Lord Cornwallis, but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, they abused their power and authority, and, so far from trying to check crime, they tacitly encouraged it by their culpable connivance. As for the village watch, instead of being a safeguard to the people, it was the chief source of their molestation.† The evil began to be felt more keenly as time rolled on, and before half a dozen years had elapsed, a very important provision was made for the greater efficiency of administration in the Mofussil. This was the establishment of sub-divisions in 1845, a year memorable for the addition of Serampore to British India.‡ Mr. (afterwards Sir) Louis Stewart Jackson § was stationed at Dwarhatta as sub-divisional officer of the present Serampore sub-division; and Baboo Issur

* Life of Mr. Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter, p. 54.

† Mr. Brodie, in his report on the crime in the Hooghly District in 1814, thus condemns the village watchmen: "The greater number of robberies and dacoities are done by the village watchmen, who select houses from which the males are absent. No nightly watch is kept up by them, and few robberies occur in this district, unless actively aided or secretly abetted by them." What was true in 1814, was with some little modifications also true in 1843. The ostensible protectors were in many cases the real destroyers.

‡ At this time Sir Henry Hardinge—the one-handed hero—was Governor-General of India. He won his laurels by demolishing the formidable Sikh army. Great warrior as he was, he was not the less an encourager of popular education. During his rule a hundred and one Bengali schools, bearing his proud name, were planted in different parts of the country. Lord Hardinge returned to England in 1848, after having been raised to the Peerage.

§ This distinguished officer was afterwards elevated to the High Court bench which he adorned for many years. He then retired on pension and died only lately.

Chunder Ghosal, * who is so well known as a model Deputy Magistrate, was sent to Kheerpooy to take charge of the subdivision now called Jehanabad.†

Simultaneously with the ravages made by the dacoits, did the elements carry on their warfare with great fury. In June 1842 there was a cyclone, in which among other damage, a fleet of Government arsenal boats was wrecked. The country had barely recovered from the shock thus given to it, when it was overtaken in August 1844, by a serious flood which, in violence and the amount of injury done by it, was only second to the memorable flood of 1823. The river Damudar burst its banks and bunds in several places, and the villages all round were inundated. The waters even reached Chinsura and Hooghly and filled the ditches and drains of those towns. This flood was also followed by drought, and their joint agency caused much distress and mortality. It seemed that inundation had become chronic in the country, as there was another flood in September, 1845. It was described by one officer as "frightful," and the damages done by it were very great. Like that in the year preceding, it too was followed by drought, and not a drop of rain fell between the end of August and the second week of October. Distress and increase of crime were anticipated in the cold weather of 1846; and the people had already begun to flock to Calcutta and Serampore for work. It does not, however, appear that any relief measures were adopted to meet these repeated calamities. The probability is that the consequences, serious as they were, were of a merely temporary character, and that the country soon recovered its usual condition.

There was comparative calm in Hooghly for some time, when all on a sudden a terrible storm was raised. It commenced brewing in Calcutta, but its greatest fury was felt in this place. Raja Radha Kanta Deva, the metropolitan head of the Hindoo community, had established a market near his dwelling house at Shova Bazar, and it proved a successful concern. Baboo Baikantha Nath Moonsheer of Taki became jealous of the

* This gentleman belonged to the renowned Ghosal family of Calcutta, which must not, however, be confounded with the Bhukailas House.

† In later times Baboo Issur Chunder Mitter distinguished himself at Jehanabad. He has since retired from Government service, and has been enjoying a well-earned pension for some time.

‡ Baboo Baikantha Nath was the very reverse of Raja Radha Kanto, *littialism* and litigation being his favourite pursuits. Some years after, he was implicated in a murder case, and on coming to know that a warrant of arrest had been issued against him, he fled into the French Settlement at Chandernagore. There he lived like a prince, and such was the power of his purse, that the English authorities failed to bring him to book. He died a voluntary exile in 1262 B. S.

Raja's success, and with a view to thwarting him, established, in the beginning of 1848, a rival market in the vicinity.* As the success of a market depends upon the number of persons who resort to it for sale of their garden produce, each party tried to secure as many such people as they could for their respective markets. In this way several skirmishes were fought between the men of these rival zemindars on the bank of the Bali Khal, by which Mofussil vendors come down to Calcutta. But these skirmishes were only preliminaries to the great fight that was to decide which of the two markets should stand. At last, the fatal day of 11th July dawned. Both parties had mustered strong at Monohurpur, a small village situated on the Bali Khal between Bali and Jonai. The Raja was assisted by Rutton Roy of Narail, while the Moonshee Baboos were assisted by Rutton's first cousin and enemy, Gurudas Roy. The zemindars themselves were not present on the spot, but were represented by their respective agents, who took the actual lead in the whole affair. The combatants were almost equally matched, and their number was a legion. In fact, the combat looked like a little bit of a battle. Rashu Pal headed the Raja's party, while Ram Doyal Singh led the Taki party. Both these leaders were remarkable for their giant 'make and might,' and their heavy clubs dealt death at every stroke. The fight commenced at five o'clock in the morning, and lasted for four mortal hours. Victory at first seemed to lean to the side of the Moonshees, but when in the thickest of the battle Ram Doyal was lanced by a sturdy spearman, the tide was turned on the Rajah's side. Seeing their stalwart chief laid low on the ground, the Taki party took to their heels, leaving the Raja's people victorious on the field.

As the affray, or *Bahamdanga*, as it was called in the court slang of the day, was of a very aggravated character, and as two persons were killed and a great many wounded, the matter before long came to the notice of the constituted authorities, but Baka-ullah, the Darogah of Chanditala, was directed to hold a local enquiry. Baikantha Nath Moonshee tried hard to implicate Radhakanta and, strange to say, he succeeded in doing so to a certain extent, although, as a matter of fact, he was perfectly innocent. The Raja was hauled up before the Joint Magistrate of Serampore on a charge of aiding and abetting the affray. As he was the recognised head of the Hindoo community in Calcutta, almost all big folk came to Serampore

* The joint-editors of the *Sabdakalpadruma*, in a short life of the Raja which they published in 1859, however, give a different account of the cause of the affray. They say that it originated "from the rival claims of two parties (one of which was the Moonshee and the other a perfect stranger to the Raja) to a certain share in the farming of the same village."

in the hope of assisting their chief. Mr. Gordon Young was then in charge of the Serampore sub-division. He was a sensible man and was well worthy of succeeding Mr. L. S. Jackson in the post he held. At the outset, he acted very properly, and after some witnesses had been examined, remarked that a strong case of *alibi* had been established, and that it was not necessary for the Raja to attend again until officially required. But before a fortnight elapsed, a change came over his mind, and the Raja was ordered to attend and was treated very unbecomingly. Although the offence was bailable by law, and bail to any amount was forthcoming, yet he was sent to *hajut*. It is true, the Raja was not consigned to the ordinary cell of an undertrial prisoner, but was lodged in a room standing upon the compound of the Joint Magistrate's own quarters, but this little favour, which was shown in consideration of his high rank, did not in any way take off from the grave indignity to which he was subjected by being sent to *hajut*. No time was lost in moving the Nizamat Adalat, and the Raja, as had been expected, was ordered to be enlarged on bail.* This interference with his order naturally irritated the Joint Magistrate, and he, believing that a *prima facie* case had been made out against the Raja, sent him up for trial before the Sessions Court at Hooghly. The two regular Sessions Judges having declined to hold the trial, Mr. Robert Torrens of the Civil Service, was appointed Special Sessions Judge to try the case. Almost all the well-known barristers of Calcutta were engaged on the one side or the other. The trial commenced on the 19th October and occupied thirty-seven days. And after considering all the evidence and circumstances, the Judge came to the conclusion that the charge had no foundation in truth, and that the Raja had been unnecessarily dragged into Court. He was accordingly acquitted.† This honourable acquittal of the Raja, which was pronounced on the 26th November, was a source of great satisfaction to his friends and relatives. Not to speak of the natives generally, who congratulated him on the occasion, and even high European officials did not fail to express their pleasure at the successful termination of his case. No less a personage than Sir Herbert Maddock, K. T., the then Deputy Governor of Bengal, in a

* Sir Robert Barlow in passing the order animadverted strongly on the arbitrary proceedings of the Joint Magistrate and on the abuse of discretionary power in the hands of inexperienced executive officers.

† On hearing this very just decision of the Judge, the Raja who had, throughout the whole trial, preserved a dignity of demeanour which only conscious innocence and firm faith in a just Providence inspire, rose up from his seat and complimented him by quoting a couplet from the celebrated Persian poet, Sadi, in praise of King Nushirwan, whose blessed name still survives for justice, although ages have passed since he died.

letter dated 14th January 1849, thus wrote to him :—" I wish you would call upon me to-morrow or the next day. You have had my sympathy in your late misfortune, and I wish to congratulate you, on the honourable acquittal which you have received."*

The temporary excitement which had been created in the town by the trial of Raja Radha Kanta subsided with his honourable acquittal ; but the chronic anxiety in which the people of the District had been living in consequence of the repeated ravages of the dacoits was not a whit diminished. Mr. Wauchope had entered upon his career as Dacoity Commissioner in right good earnest, but his first attempts, as we have already observed, had not proved successful. In fact, the dacoits emboldened by his failures to capture them, continued their depredations with greater freedom and fearlessness. By this time sub-divisions had been established, and able executive officers placed in charge of them. Having got such powerful allies to back him, Mr. Wauchope renewed his attempts with the aid of the *goindahs*, but as the dacoits carried on a sort of guerilla warfare, he still found it very difficult to capture them. In this way some years passed without his being able to do anything. Indeed, the effect would seem to have been in the other way. In no year down to 1849 did the number of dacoities committed in the district come up to one hundred, but after that year the number went on increasing, till, in 1852, it rose to one hundred and twenty-eight. This terrible state of things, which would have damped the spirit of an ordinary man, only served to brace the energies of Mr. Wauchope

* Radha Kanta was born in 1783 ; made Raja Bahadur in 1837 ; and was created K. C. S. I. in 1866. In the year following, he died a saint's death in holy Brindabun. Bholanath Chandra, in his "*Travels of a Hindoo*," while noticing the notabilities who were present at the Grand Durbar which was held by Lord Canning at Agra on the 20th November 1858, thus describes Raja Radha Kanta. "There, too, was one who commanded the general respect of his countrymen for his venerableness, his rectitude, and his remarkable consistency. In youth his habits must have been temperate, and to his temperance does he owe his singularly green old age. Long has he passed his eightieth year, but he still retains the vigour of his body and mind. Toiling for half a century in the cause of his nation's education and well-being, and bequeathing a literary legacy for distant unborn generations, he had retired to a quiet haven to spend the evening of his life. But his sovereign had reserved honours for him, and quitting his seclusion, his peace, and his prayers, he had once more come before the world to receive those honours. It is long that Bengal had ceased to have her national historic character, and the name next to that of Ram Mohun Roy, that shall adorn our historic page, is that of the author of the *Subdo Kulpo Droom*." Vol. II p.p. 406-7.

whose long experience enabled him to direct them in the right course.*

He found out the forest retreats of the dacoits and attacked them in their solitary strongholds. There were many passages-at-arms between the two parties, but at length the peace-seekers prevailed over the peace-breakers. Many of the dacoits were captured and their gangs broken up, and the country was restored to peace which it had lost for so many years. This hero of a hundred fights got his laurels, and his name deservedly became a household word in the land. His vigilance induced the famous author of the "*Meghanathbadha Kabya*" to nickname him "Sam Watch-up," and the system of espionage adopted by him earned for him the proud title of "The Indian Fouché."†

While the District was suffering from the continued depredations of the dacoits, the cause of native education received a rude shock from the death of Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, in 1850. The same fell disease which had carried off David Hare in 1842 also swept away this next best friend of the natives. Mr. Bethune was not only President of the Council of Education,‡ but also Law Member of the Supreme

* About this time Gour Vediya gained great notoriety by his daring deeds. He lived on the other side of the river, within the jurisdiction of the Naihati thana. Though inferior to the great robber-chief, Radha, in prowess and influence, Gour was not an ordinary mortal. Many wonderful feats were performed by him, and well-to-do people stood so much in dread of him that they used to make him yearly allowance according to their respective means. It was he who committed dacoity in the house of Madhab Chandra Datta, which was almost within a stone's throw of the Military cantonments at Chinsura, and carried off considerable property both in cash and jewellery. It was said that even while he had to pass his nights at the Police station under strict surveillance, he more than once managed to commit dacoities without even giving rise to the least suspicion of his having done so. His widow died only lately, and his son Bechu is still alive, but he is a quiet sort of man, and earns his livelihood by the sweat of his brow.

† After he had restored peace to the District, Mr. Wauchope was appointed Additional Judge of East Burdwan, whence he was transferred to Hooghly in the same capacity about the middle of 1865. This office he held for several years, till he was made Police Commissioner of Calcutta.

‡ The General Committee of Public Instruction was appointed on 17th July 1823. On 7th March, 1835, Lord Bentinck in Council recorded a resolution directing the promotion of European science and literature by means of English education *alone*. This resolution having caused great dissatisfaction, his successor, Lord Auckland, recorded a minute on 29th November 1839, adopting English and the vernacular as media of instruction till a series of good vernacular books were prepared. The Education Despatch of 1853, which was promulgated in India, on 18th July 1854, settled this vexed question, by declaring that "our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of people," and that "this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction, and by that of the vernacular languages of India to the great

Council of India, and in his 'dual capacity he has rendered immense service to the cause both of Education and of Legislation. His successor in the Supreme Council effected many reforms towards the material prosperity of the country. The Telegraph was introduced in 1852,* and was followed by the universal use of half-anna postage stamps.

The Charter of the Honourable East India Company was renewed for the last time in 1853,† not for a definite period, but only for so long as Parliament should see fit.

On this occasion the number of Directors was reduced, and their patronage as regards appointments to the Civil Service was taken away, to make room for the principle of selection by competitive examination. Bengal was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor, and Mr. Halliday,‡ afterwards Sir Frederick James Halliday, was appointed its first Lieutenant-Governor, in 1854.

This year, which saw so many good things done, also witnessed a sight the like to which had never been witnessed before. This was the opening of the East Indian Railway.§ The trial trip was made in July, and the line was regularly opened to Hooghly on the 15th August, and, two months later, extended to Burdwan. But as every human good has its attendant evil, the facilities which the railroad afforded for travel, brought down desperate characters from the North-West. Some of these ruffians soon made their appearance in this part of Bengal, and in December a horrible murder was committed. Availing himself of the Christmas holidays, Baboo Madhab Chandra Datta of Chinsura came down from Calcutta on the evening of the 24th December. While he was driving home in a hackney carriage, accompanied by his son-in-law, Sreenath

mass of the people." The Calcutta University and the Grant-in-Aid Schools in Bengal were the results of this famous Despatch, which has immortalised Sir Charles Wood, the then Secretary of State for India. This University was established under Act II of 1857, when William Gordon Young was the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, and Hodgson Pratt and Henry Woodrow, Inspectors of Schools. The first Chancellor was Lord Canning, and the first Vice-Chancellor was Sir James William Colville, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

* Act XXXIV for regulating the establishment and manangement of Electric Telegraphs in India was, however, not passed until late in the year 1854.

† The *Hindoo Patriot* was started by the talented Harish Chandra Mookerjee in 1853, and after his death in 1861 was conducted by that self-made man, the illustrious Kristo Das Pal. It is now in the editorial charge of Baboo Rajkumar Sarbadhikari, who has converted it into a daily paper.

‡ Mr Halliday was for some time Magistrate of Hooghly. His son is now a member of the Board of Revenue.

§ The enactment relating to Railways in India is Act XVII of 1854.

Mullick, some up-country people, probably five in number, way-laid him near Jiban Pal's garden. His son-in-law, who was on the coach-box, jumped down and ran for his life into a neighbouring paddy field. He was not pursued, as the object of the way-layers was to take away the life of old Madhab Datta. The latter, being left alone in the carriage, defended himself for some time by holding fast the bars, but was at length obliged to give in, when he was shot dead like a dog. As the murdered man was not on good terms with his son, Gurudas, suspicion pointed to him. But, no other circumstance cropping up at the time to confirm the suspicion, the matter was allowed to drop, though not until some rich offerings had been made in the Police pagoda. In the Mutiny year, however, two up-country roughs came down to Gurudas's house at Calcutta, and, not finding his Jemadar, Gonesh Singh, there, went up direct to him, and demanded the balance of the money which Gonesh Singh had, as they stated, agreed to pay them on condition of their killing Madhab Datta, which they had done. Gurudas, thus taken quite unawares, made them over to the Police on the ground of their having made false statements. While in the custody of the Police, they made a clean breast of the whole matter, and Mr. Wauchope, who was then at the head of the Police, believing their statements to be true, arrested Gurudas in his house at Calcutta, and bringing him up to Hooghly, lodged him in the local jail.

Some time after the arrest of Gurudas, the trial of the two ruffians who had indirectly accused him, took place at Hooghly. They could not have said, and, as a matter of fact, did not say, that he had engaged them to murder his father; on the contrary, they stated that they did not know him, but had been hired by Gonesh Singh to do what they had done. As Gonesh Singh was then not to be found, the link which might have been supplied by him was wanting to connect Gurudas with the offence. He was accordingly allowed to go at large. As for the two assassins, they were convicted on their own confession, and were hanged on the spot where they had perpetrated the "foul deed."

In the beginning of 1855 signs of discontent showed themselves in Santhalia, which before long assumed a threatening aspect. Its semi-barbarous population rose up in rebellion under their chiefs, who hoped to conquer India with antiquated bows and arrows. But the destructive fire of the British guns soon made them repent of their folly. At one time the danger was felt to be very great; and the people expected something like a renewal of the Marhatta raids. At last the storm passed over, and was followed as usual by a calm, but this calm was only short-lived, and was ere long disturbed by a terrible hurricane

which swept over the whole of the Gangetic valley. Need we say that we refer to the Sepoy Mutiny. At this critical period Mr. F. R. Cockerell was the Magistrate of Hooghly. While the whole country was trembling at the sounds of war, he was engaged in a work of public utility which has rendered his name famous in the annals of Hooghly. The Strand Road, which is so great an acquisition to the town, was projected and commenced by him. The credit of completing it, however, belong to his successor, Lord Ulick Browne, who set up a stone, with his name engraved on it, in commemoration of the event. The stone bears the date 1858.

IX.

MOHAMED MOHSIN AND THE HOOGHLY IMAMBARA.

When the great Murshid Kuli Khan was Governor of Bengal, a Persian merchant, named Agha Mohamed Mutahar, who had been domiciled in India, came down with his family to settle in Hooghly. He was a favourite of the Mogul Emperor, Aurungzebe, and had received some *jaghirs* at his hands. Whatever might have been the reason which led to his removal from Hindoostan Proper, there is no doubt that he did a very wise act in quitting the Imperial capital, which was soon after thrown into the utmost confusion. After coming to Hooghly, he purchased the site of the present Imambara, and built thereon an ordinary one-storeyed house, which he dedicated to God, calling it "Nazargah Hossein." This was in A. D. 1717. Afterwards, his son-in-law, Mirza Salah-uddin Mohamed Khan, *alias* Mirza Saleh, extended the building, in 1148 Hegira (1735 A. D.), by adding a portion which he termed "Tazea Khana." It was upon the ruins of this ordinary looking house that the present grand edifice was erected.

Agha Mutahar, as we have already said, was a family man. But though he bore an excellent character, he failed to secure that first of human blessings—a quiet and happy home. Mutahar's wife, whose temper was akin to that of Xantippe, rendered his abode too hot for him, and he would have left it, but for his only daughter, Mannoo Jan Khanam, to whom he was most tenderly attached. Domestic happiness lengthens life, while family dissensions cut it short. This was painfully exemplified in the case of Agha Mutahar, who fell a victim to carking cares before he was well stricken in years.* He left a will by which he made his beloved daughter, Mannoo Jan, the sole heiress to his property. The bereaved widow, aggrieved as she was at the conduct of her husband, did not take any step to question the validity of the will, but showed her displeasure in a way which was quite in consonance with the teachings of her religion. Agha

* Agha Mutahar died in 1144 Hegira.

Mutahar had a nephew (sister's son) of the name of Haji Faizulla. This person, like his uncle, was a merchant, and had acquired much money; but having suffered considerable loss, he was now in impoverished circumstances. To him Mutahar's widow pledged her love, and the nephew and the aunt were soon united in holy wedlock, and the good Haji* came to reside with his newly-married wife at the house of the late Agha Mutahar, and be it said to the credit of both, they enjoyed comfort and lived happy days. The fruit of this union was Mohamed Mohsin, who was born in the year of grace, 1732 † A. D.

Mannoo Jan ‡ was quite young when Mohamed Mohsin saw the light of heaven; but it was not long before she was married to Mirza Salah-uddin, of whom we have already spoken. This gentleman had come from Ispahan, and as he had great parts, was employed by Nabob Ali Verdi Khan Mohabut Jung, to negotiate a treaty with the Marhattas, which he succeeded in concluding to the advantage of his Government. For this successful diplomacy he was recommended to the Emperor of Delhi, who, in recognition of his valuable services, bestowed a *khilat* and *jaghir* on him. He was also appointed Fouzdar of Hooghly on a pay of Rs. 1,500 a month; and it was during his incumbency that he married the beautiful Mannoo Jan Khanum. The marriage, as had been expected, proved a very felicitous one, husband and wife being well worthy of each other.§ Their lives passed smoothly along. Being in affluent circumstances, they spent a good deal in charity, thereby endearing themselves to the people in the neighbourhood.

* A Mussalman, who in a religious point of view makes a pilgrimage (*haj*) to the holy *Caaba*, the sanctum sanctorum of the Mahomedans, becomes a *Haji*. So also does a Greek who makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem acquire the same appellation. The Armenians term such a person a *Mukdsse*, which is in reality a Turkish word.

The Greek historian Diodorus, in his description of the coast of the Red Sea evidently refers to the famous temple at Mecca, whose superior sanctity was, as he says, revered by *all* the Arabians. The fine rich veil or curtain, which is annually renewed by the Sultan of Turkey, was first presented by a pious king of the Hamirites, who reigned 700 years before the time of Mahomet.—Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. III p. 128.

Haji Faizulla died in 1157 Hegira.

† Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, was also born in the same year. He attained a ripe old age, dying in 1818.

‡ The author of the *Hooghly Imambara*, a historical romance in Bengali, makes Mohamed Mohsin and Mannoo Jan children of the same father, Agha Mutahar; but this is falsified by Mohsin's deed of endowment, in which the endower describes himself as the son of Haji Faizulla. The fair writer also errs in making Mohsin the elder of the two.

§ The author of the *Hooghly Imambara*, whom we have already referred to, however, represents Salah-uddin as a dissipated young man of loose morals, and makes him leave Mannoo Jan, when she was barely twenty years of age, and marry Roshunara, daughter of Nabob Shere Jung. But this is only sacrificing truth at the altar of imagination, the real fact being that Salah-uddin was an excellent man and proved a very loving husband.

The illustrious Mirza, who, by the bye, was a good Persian poet, was rich in the possession of many noble acts—"that best portion of a good man's life"—but all of them have perished save and except^c one which still bears his proud name:—It is the flourishing *hât* which is held twice a week on the grounds near the Imambara buildings.

As for Mohamed Mohsin, he grew up under the fostering care of his mother; and, when he was in a position to receive education, the same Shirazi who had been Mannoo Jan's tutor, began to teach him. The boy made rapid progress, and learned a good deal of Persian and Arabic. He became also a first-rate penman, and his handwriting, which is so carefully preserved in the Hooghly College Library, is highly praised by the Moulvies. But he was not only a good hand at calligraphy, he was also a good hand at the most attractive of the fine arts that "hath charms to soothe the savage breast." He could play very well on the *sitara*,* having taken his lessons regularly for some years from one Bholanath, who was one of the best musicians of the day. In the midst of all these improvements of the mind, he did not, however, forget to take sufficient care of his body. In fact not a day passed without his devoting some time to bodily exercises, and the result was that he became very stout and strong. But he was not a mere athlete; he was a dexterous swordsman. He was also a good pedestrian, and seemed to find great pleasure in walking long distances. Mohamed Mohsin's morals were of the purest; he had taken the vow of celibacy, and there was nothing in his conduct or character which could raise the slightest suspicion of his having ever made a slip. He professed to be a religious man, and a religious man he certainly was. In fact, he was more an ascetic than a man of the world.

His tutor, the old experienced Shirazi, having instilled into him a desire to see men and manners as they appear in different countries, Mohamed Mohsin set out on travel, now that the property of his affectionate sister, Mannoo Jan, was being looked after by her able husband. His travels had a wide range, and included even distant Arabia. He thus acquired a valuable stock of knowledge, which could not have been got together by the mere study of books. He, it would seem, had a mind to pass his days in this way; but the melancholy death of Salahuddin, in 1167 Hegira (1754 A.D.), brought about a change in the programme. Mannoo Jan, it is true, was an intelligent lady, and was competent to look after her own affairs. But still she was a woman with all the disadvantages attending the life of a rich widow, and she plainly saw that she could not

* The *sitara*, which is a four-stringed instrument, is said to owe its origin to the fine poet, Amir Khusrû.

get on without the helping hand of her brother, whom she knew to be a very able and honest man. Accordingly she sent word to him,* earnestly insisting upon his immediate return to India. Mohsin, reluctant as he was to engage any more in worldly affairs, could not refuse the request of his beloved sister, and returned to Hooghly, accompanied by two chosen friends, Rajab Ali Khan and Saker Ali Khan.* His return was the occasion of great rejoicings amongst the inhabitants of the place. As for Mannoo Jan, her joy knew no bounds. She had long cherished desire to make Mohamed Mohsin heir to her vast estate, and she now rejoiced to see her wish on the eve of fulfilment. True and faithful wife as she was, the very thought of taking a second husband appeared to her unholy, so that when Nabob Khan Jehan Khan, the most influential nobleman of the place, made a proposal of marriage, she rejected it with contempt. Thus she lived like a Hindoo widow, much to the wonder and admiration of the people. She died in 1210 B.S. corresponding to 1803 A.D.

As Mannoo Jan left no nearer heir, the whole of her property was inherited by her brother. The estate, as we have already stated, was large enough. Kismat Syedpur, in the Jessore District, alone yielded a net income of Rs. 45,000,† and there were some other properties‡ besides. Mohsin entered into possession, but a rival presented himself in the person of one Bándáh Ali,§ who laid his claim on the ground of his being the foster-son of Mannoo Jan. On his claim being treated as fictitious, he sought the assistance of the Court, but the suit was dismissed, and Mohamed Mohsin was declared the sole legal heir of the deceased. This vast acquisition, which would have turned the head of an ordinary mortal, wrought no change in the mind of Mohamed Mohsin. He remained what he was—an intensely pious man—only that he was now possessed of

* These two gentlemen were not strangers to each other. Indeed, the latter was the son-in-law of the former.

† Dr. R. F. Thompson, in his Report of the Hooghly District for 1869, stated that the Jessore Estate yielded Rs. 1,65,000, of which Rs. 96,000 was Government revenue, leaving a net income of Rs. 69,000. This substantially agrees with the information which the present Matwali has been good enough to give us. He says that the income of the Waqf mahals in 1810 was about Rs. 69,000, and the interest on 10 lacs of rupees was Rs. 40,000, making a total of rupees 1,09,000. From 1879, however, he continues to state, the net income from the mahals in Jessore has been about Rs. 64,135, and that from properties situated in Hooghly, 24-Per-ganas and elsewhere, Rs. 3,780, besides interest on about 13 lacs of rupees.

‡ Of these properties the lakharaj mahal of Sobnal is the most valuable, in respect of which Turab Ali, the younger son of Shaker Ali Khan, set up a tenure, alleged to have been created in his favour by Mohamed Mohsin in 1213 B.S. He also set up a tenure in respect of Basandia, Chingotia and Magora, the most valuable mahals of the Trust Estate. But both the grants were pronounced by the Sudder Court to be forgeries, and the two suits brought by him were dismissed.

§ The old dilapidated building opposite the south gate of the Collector's compound, was the dwelling house of Bándáh Ali.

means of satisfying the longings of his heart by active benevolence. His charity had a wide range. In fact, he lived only for God and his fellow men, and did his best to serve the one and improve the others. His deed of endowment* by which he left his whole property *in pios usus*, shows what excellent stuff he was made of. As he had no heir or kinsman to inherit his property under the law, he made God and man his heirs. He, however, did not forget his two staunch friends, Rajab Ali and Saker Ali, who had accompanied him from abroad, but appointed them supervisors of the endowed estate. The deed, after giving some account of the founder and of the

* The present Matwali has favoured us with an English translation of this deed, which is in Persian. As this document is of considerable importance, we deem it advisable to insert the translation in full. It runs thus:—"I, Haji Mahomed Mohsin, son of Haji Faizulla, son of Agha Fuzlulia, inhabitant of Bundar Hooghly, in the full possession of all my senses and faculties, with my own free will and accord, do make the following correct and legal declaration: That the Zemindary of Pergana Kismat Syedpur, &c., appendant to Zilla Jessore and Pergana Sobnal, also appendant to the said Zilla and one house situated in Hooghly (known and distinguished as Imambarah), and Imambazar and Hât (market) also situated in Hooghly, and all the goods and chattels appertaining to the Imambarah agreeably to a separate list;—the whole of these properties have devolved on me by inheritance, and the proprietary possession of which I have enjoyed up to the present time; as I have no children, nor grand-children, nor other relations, who would become my legal heirs; and as I have full wish and desire to keep up and continue the usages and charitable expenditures (Murasum-o-ukhrajat-i-husneh) of the Fateha, &c., of Hazrat (on whom be blessings and rewards) which have been the established practice of this family, I therefore hereby give purely for the sake of God the whole of the above property with all its rights, immunities and privileges, whole and entire, little or much, in it, with it, or from it, and whatever (by way of appendage) might arise from it, relate or belong to it, as a permanent appropriation for the following expenditures; and have hereby appointed Rajah Ali Khan, son of Sheik Mohamed Sadig, and Saker Ali Khan, son of Ahmud Khan, who have been tried and approved by me as possessing understanding, knowledge, religion and probity, Matwalis (trustees or superintendents) of the said Waqf or Appropriation, which I have given in trust to the above two individuals; that aiding and assisting each other, they might consult, advise, and agree together in the joint management of the business of the said Appropriation in manner following—that the aforesaid Matwalis after paying Government revenues shall divide the remaining produce of the Mahals aforesaid into nine shares, of which three shares they shall disburse in the observance of the Fateha of Hazrat Syed-i-Kayanat (Head of Creation) the last of the Prophets, and of the sinless Imams (on all of whom be the blessings and peace of God), and in the expenditures of the Ushra of Mohurram-ul-huram (ten days of the sacred Mohurram), and all other blessed days of feasts and festivals; and in the rebuilding of the Imambara and cemetery. Two shares, the Matwalis, in equal portion, shall appropriate to themselves for their own expenses; and four shares shall be disbursed in the payment of the establishment and of those whose names are inserted in the separate list signed and sealed by me. In regard to the daily expenses, monthly stipends of the stipendiaries, respectable men, peadas, and other persons, who at this present moment stand appointed, the Matwalis aforementioned, after me, have full power to retain, abolish or discharge them, as it may appear to them most fit and expedient. I have publicly committed the Appropriation to the charge of the two above-named individuals. In the event of one of the Matwalis finding himself unable to conduct the business of the Appropriation, he may appoint any one whom he may think most fit and proper as Matwali to act in his behalf. For the above reasons this document is given in writing, this the 9th day of Baisack in the year of Higree 1221, corresponding to the Bengal year 1213, that whenever it be required it may prove a legal deed."

property which formed the subject of the endowment, went on to state that the proceeds were to be divided into nine equal shares, of which three shares were to be applied to the celebration of the Mohurram * and other festivals and feasts and the repairs of the Imambara buildings, and the cemetery† attached thereto; two to be allotted as remuneration of the two Matwalis appointed to supervise the affairs of the endowment; and the remaining four to be devoted to the expenses of the establishment and the pensions and allowances.‡ The Matwalis were given ample powers, and

* This is the greatest festival among the Mahomedans, so called from its taking place in the month of that name, which is the first month of the Mahomedan year. It is annually observed in commemoration of the martyrdom of Hosein, the younger of the two sons of Mahomet's son-in-law, Ali. Hosein, having resolved to prosecute his claim to the Caliphate against Yezid, the tyrant of Damascus, was proceeding towards the banks of the Euphrates, accompanied by a handful of followers. After the little party had reached the plain of Kurbálá, they were encompassed by a body of 5,000 horse, whom Obeidollah, the Governor of Cufa, had sent to waylay them. An engagement ensued, in which the Fatamites were defeated, and their leader Hosein slain with three-and-thirty strokes of lances and swords. This tragic occurrence took place on the 10th October 680 A.D. In commemoration of this sad event is celebrated the Mohurram which lasts for ten days, and is marked by the religious frenzy of sorrow and indignation.

† This cemetery is situated in a garden adjoining the Ilát. In the midst of the garden, which is partly a parterre of flowers and partly an orchard, stands a *makburá*, or walled enclosure, containing six tombs. Beneath five of these tombs lie the remains of Mohamed Mohsin, Mirza Sala-uddin, Mannoo Jan Khanum, Agha Matahar and Ilaji Faizulla, but as to the one which is in the extreme west, it is not known to whom it belongs. Outside the *makburá* there are about a dozen other tombs interspersed over the whole garden. The *makburá* is lighted every night, and passages from the Koran are read every morning and evening for the spiritual benefit of the souls of the dead. One, and all the tombs are, like those in the *Khusru Bagh* at Allahabad, on the model of a Mahomedan *Tasea*.

‡ How the proceeds of the trust property are at present appropriated, will appear from the following information, which the present Matwali has been pleased to furnish me with. After stating that the net income from the Mahals in Jessore has been about Rs. 64,135, he goes on to say, that of this amount "the Matwali receives one-ninth share as his own portion; three-ninths share of it is devoted to the religious purposes of the Imambara; another one-ninth share, called the College share, under the control of Government, is for education; and out of the remaining four-ninths share Rs. 10,653-12 is for the secular establishment of the Imambara and Committee; Rs. 8,090-12-5 for the Imambara Hospital; Rs. 1,609 for the main Imambara Dispensary; Rs. 649-1-9 for local Agency; Rs. 61 for pension, and the remainder in the hand of Government for secular purposes."

As regards the interest on accumulations he states, that "out of it such amount is set apart as is necessary to provide appropriate buildings, including the charges of rebuilding or repairing the Imambara and other religious houses, and the remainder is considered as Trust Fund, the interest on which, along with the one-ninth College share, lapsed pension, &c., is appropriated to the purposes of education." He adds that "the Chittagong, the Dacca, the Rajshahi, and the Hooghly Madrasas, as also the Joraghat Branch Madrasa and the Mahomedan Hostel at Hooghly are supported from the Mohsin Funds. Besides, one half, and in some instances two thirds, of the schooling fees of almost all the Mahomedan boys, along

it was also provided that, in the event of either of them finding himself unable to conduct the business of the endowment, he might appoint a fit and competent person to act in his place. This deed of endowment, the beneficial effects of which are still enjoyed by the people, was executed on the 9th Baisack 1213 B. S., corresponding to the 20th April 1806 A. D., some six years before the death of the endower.*

Learned man as he was, Mohamed Mohsin was not slow in providing means for the education of others. He established a school where Persian and Arabic were taught by two well-known Moonshees. It was, of course, a free institution, and was open both to Hindoos and Mahomedans. After his death the two Matwalis appointed by him trod in his steps in this respect. They established what was called the Imambara School, having Mr. Francis Tydd as its head. This gentleman was a good educationist, and the school flourished under his care and management. It continued in this state till it was amalgamated with the Hooghly College in 1836 A. D.

One of the blessings of charitable and religious habits is healthy longevity, and this blessing Mohamed Mohsin enjoyed to a considerable degree. He died, as we have already stated, on the 29th November 1812,† after attaining his eightieth year. He enjoyed good health, and retained his faculties unimpaired till his last moments. His remains were interred in the Imambara garden, close to the tombs of Agha Mutahar, Haji Faizulla, Mannoo Jan and Mirza Salah-uddin. His resting place is of the commonest kind possible, no monument or tablet marking the sacred spot, but it is well cared for, and honours are done to it in the orthodox Mahomedan fashion. As for his name, it has become a household word in this part of

with the pay of the Persian teachers, are contributed from the same funds, in the Schools and Colleges all over Bengal. There are also Moshin scholarships for the encouragement of Mahomedan education." Expenses for religious, charitable, and other purposes, and costs of the secular establishment of the Imambara are thus given in detail :

"The expenses of Mohurram are about Rs. 7,000, and those of Rumzan Rs. 4,000, exclusive of the permanent religious, cuisine and Toshakhana establishments which are Rs. 8,190,639 and 1407 respectively. The establishment of the Guards Department costs Rs. 2,088, that of the Imambara Office Rs. 2,448, that of the Committee Rs. 624, and that of the Moorly Imambara, excluding repairs, Rs. 1,200. The other expenses, including the performance of other religious ceremonies, Thursday *majlises*, daily lights, maintenances, mosaffers, students, &c., exceed Rs. 1,000 ; so that there is no surplus left."

* Mohsin died on 16th Aughran 1219 B. S., corresponding to 29th November 1812 A. D.

† Lord Canning was born on the 14th December 1812, and died on the 17th June 1862, having left India in March preceding.

Bengal and is kept in grateful remembrance by the thousands benefited by his bounty and generosity.

The two Matwalis, Rajab Ali and Shaker Ali, had taken the management of the trust property even in the lifetime of Mahomed Mohsin. After his death they continued to act in harmonious concert for some months, when Shaker Ali * died, and his son, Baker Ali, took his place in the matter of the management of the endowment; on the allegation of an appointment from him. Some time after, Rajab Ali on his part appointed his son, Wasik Ali, *alias* Mogul Jan,† to act on his behalf. These two persons, the sons of the first Matwalis, did not, however, agree together, and mismanagement followed as a necessary consequence. The Board of Revenue interfered under the provisions of Regulation XIX of 1810, and, on the 16th November 1815, Nawab Ali Akbar Khan Bahadur was appointed Visitor to report abuses, and check the Matwalis in the management of the trust. The Local Agents at Hooghly were at the same time asked to make a full and searching inquiry into the affairs of the Imambara, in concert with Ali Akbar Khan. The result of this enquiry, as embodied, in a very able and elaborate report of the senior Local Agent, Mr. D. C. Smyth, disclosed a misappropriation of trust funds to the extent of nearly Rs. 15,000. Pending the enquiry, Rajab Ali had died, leaving his son, Wasik Ali, his sole heir. After considering the report of Mr. Smyth and the statements of the Collector of Jessore, the Board was convinced that the Matwalis had been guilty of various acts of abuse and misfeasance; and accordingly, on the 12th September 1817, it held that Baker Ali was unfit to hold the office of Matwali, and as regards Rajab Ali's heir, Wasik Ali, it held that he was also unfit to succeed to the vacant Matwaliship, as his participation in abuses was apparent, and besides, the office was not hereditary. The Government, in confirming these orders, on the 15th September 1818, constituted itself one of the Matwalis, and another Matwali was appointed to administer the religious functions in the person of Nabob Ali Akbar Khan.‡ The

* Shaker Ali died on the 28th Baisack 1220 B. S., corresponding to 9th May 1813.

† Mogul Jan's house stood on the site on which Dr. Buddun Chandra Chowdhry has erected his picturesque dwelling-place. From Mogul Jan's widow, Nurunnissa, *alias* Nishani Begum, his house was purchased by Gopi Kristo Gossain, of Serampore, in 1264 B. S., and from Gopi Kristo it passed into the hands of the Doctor. The Doctor's new residence has proved an apple of discord, and the matter has become so very serious that even the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Charles Elliott, deemed it necessary to advert to it in the speech which he delivered on the occasion of the opening of the local Town Hall.

‡ In the interval, from the end of 1816, the estates had been under charge of the Collector, and the other affairs of the trust under the direction of Ali Akbar as Visitor.

management of the Syedpur estate was entrusted to the Collector of Jessore, under whose supervision the finances of the institution improved considerably.*

Of the two dismissed Matwalis, Baker Ali went mad; and Wasik Ali, having failed to secure his restoration by amicable means, instituted a civil suit in the Court of the District Judge to recover the office of co-curator of the endowment, with the emoluments annexed, in 1826. His case was this:—"In Baisak 1220 (April 1813), my father Rajab Ali, acting on the power given him in the deed, appointed me Matwali in his place. I and Baker Ali (who had been similarly appointed by his father,) thus became joint Matwalis; notwithstanding this, the Board has displaced us from our offices and appointed Akbar Ali Khan in our place. The deed of trust executed by the Haji is not merely a deed of endowment, but includes also a testament. My removal contravened the general law, and in particular Section 2, Regulation V of 1799, whereby an executor is only removable on breach of trust judicially proved. Baker Ali has become insane, therefore I alone sue for my own right. I estimate the cause of action in the sum of 7,199 Sicca Rupees, being one-ninth of the net income of the estates."

The defence of Government was this:—Rajab Ali and Baker Ali, the last Matwalis, had on enquiry been found guilty of abuses. Under the provisions of Regulation XIX of 1810, the Board had assumed the control of the trust, and displaced them, and with the sanction of Government, Akbar Ali Khan had been appointed sole Matwali.

On the 12th September, 1826, the case came on for trial before Mr. D. C. Smyth, the District Judge.† He was of opinion that the plaintiff had failed to show that he had been legally appointed to, and held the office from which he alleged his removal. He had not been displaced,—but the former Matwalis had been guilty of abuses, in which plaintiff too had participated, and thence he had been passed over, in the selection of a successor. Then, referring to the Sudder Dewani case of Mahomed Sadik *versus* the sons of Mohabbat Ali, he observed that the principles of Mahomedan law laid down therein, showed that the Ruling Power might remove a misfeasting trustee of an endowment, and appoint a fit person, where no competent heir of the endower existed. The Board had done this under Section 3, Regulation XIX of 1810, and the claim of the plaintiff was untenable. The learned Judge considered

* The Syedpur Trust Estate was managed by Government till 1823, when it was let in putni.

† Mr. Smyth was afterwards promoted to the Sudder Dewani Adalat, having been appointed an officiating Judge thereof on 23rd June, 1834.

section 2, Regulation V of 1799, relied upon by the plaintiff, as quite irrelevant. The essence of a testament was revocability: now the endower could not, had he wished it, have recalled the Appropriation made in 1213,* and since plaintiff could not, by inheritance, claim the income assigned to an office, Mr. Smyth dismissed his suit.

Wasik Ali, not satisfied with the decision of the District Judge, preferred an appeal to the Sudder Dewani Adalat; but there, too, ill success followed him, and his appeal was thrown out on the 29th November 1834, the final judgment being passed by Mr. C. W. Smith.* The case was afterwards carried up to the Judicial Committee in England, but their Lordships of the Privy Council did not see any ground for interfering with the concurrent decisions of the Indian Courts, and thus all hopes of Wasik Ali were put an end to.

During this long litigation, which lasted nearly ten years, a large surplus had been accumulating until it swelled to Rs. 8,61,100 in 1835.† This surplus was devoted to the establishment of the Hooghly College and to the construction of the present Imambara buildings and the masonry revetment.

Ali Akbar Khan had enjoyed his office for a pretty considerable time. At last, when it was found that he, too, like his predecessors, had misappropriated the trust funds, he was made to share their fate. The Government dismissed him in 1836, when the Local Agents took temporary charge of the institution. On the 3rd January, 1837, the Government appointed to the vacant post Moulvi Syed Keramat Ali Sahib, of Jaunpur, the companion of Lieutenant Conolly's travels, on a fixed salary of Rs. 500 a month, together with any surplus which the one-ninth share might yield over and above that amount. He joined the appointment on the 18th April 1837, Moulvi Zainuddin Hosein Khan having acted as the 5th Matwali until his arrival. Syed Keramat Ali was a great favourite with Government, and this prize appointment was given him in reward for his former important services. He was a very able and learned man,‡ and it is, therefore, no wonder that independence formed a prominent feature in his character. So far from tamely obeying the orders of the Local Agents, he often set their authority at defiance, and acted according

* Vide the case of *Wasik Ali Khan vs. Government*.—6 Select Reports, pp. 427-37.

† In this year the Governor-General, Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe, wrote his well-known minute on the Mohsin endowment.

‡ Syed Keramat Ali was not a mere literary scholar, he was also well up in mathematics and the sciences. He had attempted to solve the mathematical riddle of bisecting an acute angle geometrically, and, as it said to his credit, nearly succeeded in doing so. In his old age he was engaged in compiling a philological lexicon, but did not live to complete it.

to his own sense of duty. At length, matters came to a crisis, and he received a severe rebuke from Government, which brought about a thorough change in the manner of his dealings with the constituted authorities.

The handsome buildings and river revetment, which now form the chief attractions of the town from an architectural point of view, were constructed under his supervision. There was considerable discussion as to the agency by which these buildings should be erected, and the matter was allowed to remain in abeyance until 1841, when the Deputy Governor of Bengal, after an inspection of the Imambara, decided that the work should be entrusted solely to the Matwali, the engineering officers of Government confining themselves to the general duty of seeing that the money spent was properly applied. The work was begun in August 1845, and was not finished until May 1848.* The original estimate of costs of the buildings was Rs. 2,85,000, but the actual cost did not exceed Rs. 2,17,418. The revetment appears to have cost in round numbers Rs. 60,000. The tower-clock, which is of so great use to the public at large, was procured from England, at a cost of Rs. 11,721. The Matwali was thanked by Government for his very careful supervision.

Syed Keramat Ali was the recognised head of the Mahomedan community. Indeed, his influence with the Mahomedans of this part of Bengal was as great as that of Raja Radha Kanta among the Hindoos of Calcutta. In the case which he brought against Doyal Chand Mullick in respect of a garden which one Mahomed Daem had made Wuqf in 1844, but which his son, Golam Sarwar, subsequently sold to the said defendant, Mr. Justice Glover described him as "the leading Mahomedan of Hooghly, and a man of considerable influence and importance for many miles round."† He was

* Baboo Bholanath Chandra first visited Hooghly on 12th February, 1845. He, in his well-known "Travels of a Hindoo," has described the local Imambara, but his description could not be contemporaneous with his first visit, as the present building which forms its subject, had barely been commenced at that time. In fact, the description refers to a period long subsequent to the year of his first visit. He says:—"One of the noblest buildings in Bengal is the *Emambara* of Hooghly. The courtyard is spacious and grand. The trough in the middle is a little-sized tank. The two-storied buildings, all around, are neat and elegant. The great hall has a royal magnificence. But it is profusely adorned in the Mahomedan taste with chandeliers, and lanterns, and wall-shades of all the colours of the rainbow. The surface of the walls is painted in blue and red inscriptions from the Koran. Nothing can be more gorgeous than the doors of the gateway. They are richly gilded all over, and upon them is inscribed, in golden letters, the date and history of the Musjeed."—Vol. I, p. 13-14.

† In that suit the great Matwali succeeded in all the three Courts, the judgment of the highest Court in the land being dated the 30th June 1871. —16 *Weekly Reporter*, p. 116.

instrumental in bringing about the amalgamation of the Bara Imambara with the Mohsin Imambara, in the year 1864. The subsequent years of his life were not marked by any public act. They were, for the most part, employed in learned labours in the study. He died on the 10th August 1875 at a good old age. He had been consulted by Government as to the person whom he wished to succeed him in the office, and he nominated the present incumbent, Moulvi Syed Asruf-uddin Ahmed. This gentleman is the eldest son of the late Nabob Amir Ali, who so much distinguished himself in several spheres of life. He is a quiet man, and has discharged his duties in a manner which quite becomes the head of a religious institution.*

The Imambara Hospital was established in 1836. It was brought into existence by Dr. Wise, the first Civil Surgeon of Hooghly, the wherewithal being supplied out of the Mohsin funds. The good doctor, who, like his celebrated relative of Dacca, Dr. James Wise, was a man of varied acquirements, watched its progress with parental care, and it flourished under his charge. He left the district in 1839, and was succeeded by Dr. James Esdaile, who, too, took considerable interest in it. In 1847, Baboo Buddun Chandra Chowdhry was placed in charge of the hospital on a salary of Rs. 100 a month; and from that time the allowance of this sum, hitherto drawn by the Civil Surgeon, was discontinued. Dr. Buddun's appointment was not at all liked by the Mahomedan community, and they accordingly got up a petition, charging him with haughtiness of spirit and neglect of duty. They also stated that they considered his salary to be a "misappropriation of the Imambara funds." Only one solitary Hindoo signed the petition. The Local Agents were fully satisfied with the Baboo's explanation, and there the matter came to an end.† The locale of the hospital has not been the same from the beginning. Its present "habitation" is at Chinsura, to which it was removed in August 1862. The

* Two important events have happened during his incumbency, viz. the appointment of the Committee for the Imambara in 1876, and the repairs of the Imambara buildings by Government in 1883. He has lately been elevated to the rank of *Khan Bahadoor*, an honour to which he is fully entitled, as well by his personal merit as by the respectability of his family. Only the other day he was offered a high post in Egypt by Lord Cromer, but he declined to accept it, preferring the clear atmosphere of the cloister to the hazy gloom of the cabinet.

† Baboo Buddun Chandra is still alive. He is perhaps "the oldest inhabitant" living in the town. He is an adept in the healing art, and his fame as a medical practitioner is very great. He is still with his armour on, and benefits the country by his sound advice and skilful doctoring.

number of patients who have received treatment in it have never been less than seven thousand, or more than ten thousand. The patients receive medical advice and medicines *gratis*. The establishment also contains sufficient accommodation for a goodly number of *indoor* patients, and as a matter of fact, it is never without some such patients. This hospital being the only public dispensary that exists in the whole Municipality, it behoves every one who has any hand in its management to see that it does really good service to the poor and the miserable who resort to it.

Thus the princely charity of Mahomed Mohsin has had a very wide range : it has contributed not only to the glorification of God, but also to the mental and physical welfare of God's noblest creatures. The good and great Haji is one of those few glorious mortals who are sacredly sepulchred in the hearts of the many, and being so sepulchred,

“ ———— in such pomp do lie,
That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.”

SIUUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

ART. IX—IRELAND'S INDUSTRIES.

BELLIGERENT Ireland has been very much in evidence for the last few years. It may therefore be a relief to regard the affairs of the island from a standpoint other than political. Our principal object in writing this paper is to bring to the notice of those who take an interest in Ireland, a little book published some six years ago, called *Industrial Ireland: a practical and non-political view of Ireland for the Irish*, by Robert Dennis. It is a book but little known. It should have been circulated widely if the people cared to instruct the electorate on the true grievances of Ireland. The aim of the author, as he tells us, is to prove that Ireland may be made a prosperous industrial country,—a matter upon which generations of poverty would appear to throw some doubt. To teach the Irish people the lesson of self-help, by showing what varied employment for their labour, what virgin sources of natural wealth, lie within their grasp, if they will only pluck up courage and energy and enterprise equal to that which the Irish race exhibit in other parts of the world. He points out that their cardinal industrial sins are essentially sins of omission. They do not manipulate their local products. They export the raw material, and they import the manufactured article. Ireland wastes her substance, not in riotous living, but out of sheer thoughtlessness and thriftlessness, and what she does not waste, she neglects. It is as if the inheritor of an ample fortune refused half of it and starved on the remainder.

Mr. Dennis sets out with telling us that, with the exception of the linen trade, the distilling of whisky, and the brewing of porter, no agricultural, mining, or manufacturing occupation is being carried on with proper energy or adequate profit. He then discusses the allegation that the decline in Irish industry began directly the Act of Union was passed, and the administration of the country came into "foreign" hands. This is a statement we are tolerably well accustomed to in these latter days, and to those who have been preaching the doctrine that Home Rule is the panacea for all the ills to which Ireland is heir, it will be an interesting fact, that the beginning of the decline, instead of being coincident with the Act of Union, must be looked for twenty years and more earlier. That is, about the time of Grattan's Parliament—the era which is described as the most glorious period of Ireland's history. The great "boom" was from 1748-1779, the effects of it lasted somewhat later; and it was not till 1800 that the decline which followed exhibited itself in the statistics. Therefore, those who profess to

show by statistics that the decline followed immediately upon the Act of Union, prove by that very fact, that the causes of the decline must have been in operation long before the Union.

There are three general propositions which the author lays down, and which every one who knows Ireland will accept as true: (1) that there exists great industrial depression in Ireland; (2) that this depression is inconsistent with the presence of a healthy population and ample natural resources; (3) that the actual causes of the depression are to be found in existing circumstances, *and not in more or less ancient history*, and they are, in certain conditions, remediable.

Like Mrs. Paul Rooney, who attributed the decay of the ancient grandeur of the O'Tooles to Romulus and Raymus and the Danes, people are very fond of attributing to ancient history evils which have their root in existing conditions. We would, therefore following Mr. Dennis, show what these conditions are, and where the remedy for them lies. Here, in India, we are far enough removed from the strife of tongues, to be able to discuss calmly matters affecting the industrial life of the old country. The remedy for Irish industrial depression will be the same whether Ireland forms a part of the Union, or whether she does not, or whether Archbishop Walsh or Mr. Johnstone of Ballykillbeg is destined to be the ruler of the limb lopped off from the Empire. That remedy chiefly lies under the control of the people themselves, and to some extent must depend on State aid.

The great curse of the Irish race is the (hitherto enforced) abject dependence on the land, and Mr. Dennis devotes a very interesting chapter to corn and other food crops. It does not take a very old man to remember the time when wheat was grown to a very large extent in Ireland. Within late years a complete change has passed over the face of the country, and most of the land that formerly used to grow cereals is now laid down in grass. Of course, American competition has driven Irish grown wheat out of the market, and this is not to be wondered at, for the freight from New York to Liverpool is just one half what it is from the West of Ireland to the same port. So wheat, as an exported article, is a thing of the past, and it has ceased to be grown for even home consumption, nor is the cultivation of oats or barley carried on to anything like the extent to which it might be carried. Mr. Dennis gives us the reason for this, and he couches his reasons in language very plain and to the point. It might have caused him an unpleasant reception at Ballinakill, had he addressed it to either of the contending factions in the celebrated action which has immortalised that village. A little plain speaking is, however, sometimes wholesome, and when the words bear upon the physical rather than the

the political life of the people to whom they are addressed, plainness of speech is all the more necessary. Harping upon the ancient glories of Tara, or on the more recent, but somewhat questionable prosperity of Ireland under Grattan's Parliament, may be all very well for the poet or the politician. It will not, however, cause two ears of corn to grow where one grew before, and that is the problem which those who are concerned with the material prosperity of Ireland have to solve. The main industry of Ireland has been, and, from natural circumstances, probably always will be, agriculture in one form or another: in the growth of crops, or in the rearing of live stock. According to Mr Dennis, agriculture is ruined by the excessive use of the potato as food, and the consequent excessive cultivation of that crop. Sir Dominic Conigan says, in writing on famine and fever in Ireland: "The potato has, I believe, been a curse to that country. It has reduced the wages of the labourer to the very smallest pittance, and when a bad crop occurs, there is no descent for him in the scale of food; the next step is starvation." It is not so much the cultivation of the potato as the almost *exclusive* cultivation of that root, that is the curse of Irish agriculture, and the reason of this is shown in the book before us: "It is because potato growing and potato-eating form the simplest process by which the Irish tenant can keep body and soul together. He turns up his land, plants it, waits four or five months, and then digs the crop, the product of these operations is his sustenance. It has not, like cattle or wheat or any of the higher products of farming, to be turned into money before it can be made available for his own use. The complex transactions by which producers and consumers in a civilised society provide for the wants of others and secure the satisfaction of their own, do not enter into the economies of an Irish peasant. He sticks his potato into the ground, and in due time he gathers the harvest. Feeling hungry, he goes to his store, deals himself out potatoes enough for a meal, claps them into a pot, eats them, and is content. He is, in fact, only one remove from a savage, who digs up roots from an otherwise undisturbed soil . . . Of this we may be sure: so long as the main reliance of the Irish people is put on the potato, so long will they remain in their present elementary condition. Indeed, we firmly believe that, if any kind of food grew wild in Ireland, not even the potato would be grown."

This is very plain speaking, and does not flatter the people by whose votes the Prime Minister of England holds office. There is not a man who has lived much amongst the peasantry of the West of Ireland, who will not endorse the facts laid down, in his heart, though he might not care for the consequences of speak-

ing them on a platform to an audience of free and independent, though illiterate, electors. The manner in which hay, another primitive crop, is saved in Ireland, is taken by Mr. Dennis to illustrate the happy-go-lucky disposition with which the Irish peasant carries on his industry. The crop is left out often on the field until it gets blackened and deteriorated, and enormous quantities are lost every year from being stacked in places liable to floods. Lever tells a story of a widow's son, who stacked his mother's little crop of hay round a rock in order that she should not be shamed in the sight of her neighbours by its small out-turn. The crop was bought in the lump, by a farmer who was unaware that the interior of the stack was solid stone, and paid for accordingly. When he discovered the truth, he was naturally annoyed, and, on remonstrating with the builder of the hay stack, was disarmed by the following reply: "Shure and I had a blessed example for what I done." "A blessed example is it, you scoundhrel, for chatin." "Aye shure St. Pether built his church on a rock, and why shouldn't I build my mother's hay on wan too?" The farmer said he would take care in any future transactions he had in the purchase of hay, that St. Peter had no hand in the bargain. But, to resume, although hay, if compressed for carriage by rail would, in Liverpool or even Dublin, fetch £4 a ton, it is left to rot, or is sold for a mere song, because the people will not learn how to compress it; nay, more, some years ago the Midland Railway Company of Ireland got from America four of the most improved trussing machines. They sent them through the country and tried to instruct the people in the trussing of hay, but they would not learn. That was when hay, unsaleable at the place where it was grown, would have fetched £4 a ton in Dublin. There was one man who could not sell his hay for even £2 a ton. He was offered the chance of trussing it and sending it to Dublin for 7-6d. where it would have fetched £4. He would not do it; he would not take the trouble.

Such is the state of the most simple industry—the growing of crops in Ireland. To the cultivator, Mr. Dennis recommends the abandonment of the potato for cereals. If I am not misinformed, Mr. Michael Davitt gave an audience the very same advice two or three years ago. He told them that a Parliament in College Green will not bring rain or sunshine when they are required for the crops. But Mr. Davitt is a singleminded man, although he was once a Fenian. He has undergone the honors of penal servitude for his principles, and is not a mere breeches hero. He, moreover, like another celebrated lecturer, is not a charge on any man, but supports himself by his own industry, and declines to take even his election expenses from the pockets of his countrymen. One would expect, therefore

from him advice to his countrymen for their practical benefit, whilst he advocated the political views which he holds. The material prosperity of his neighbours is with him a consideration not entirely overshadowed by the Home Rule question. Mr. Dennis sums up the duty of the State in this connexion, thus :—

“Try to devise some means of instructing the cultivators of Ireland in the rotation of crops, in maintaining the fertility of the soil, and in the choice of good seed. Show them, moreover, the value of improved methods, not only of growing crops, but of putting the produce into the market. Overcome their ignorance and apathy (no small task, truly), and tillage of the land will at once become one of the next profitable of Irish industries.”

This advice to the State is worth examining. There is no reason whatever, why an Irish Cirencester should not be a success, that is as far as the better-to-do classes are concerned, and there is unquestionably, even amongst them, a slovenly system of farming which would shock most English or Scotch high farmers. It is questionable, however, how far their example would be followed by the peasantry, the class of which we want to get hold. In their present state of ignorance and apathy that is a very difficult matter. A man will see a gate swinging on one hinge, and so long as it serves its purpose of stopping the entrance to the field to which it leads, he will not dream of mending the broken hinge. He would give fifty reasons why he did not mend the gate, and would probably wind up with the pious reflexion, that its broken condition was “the will o’God.” That is the cause generally attributed to any preventible misfortune. It is pious, but does not satisfy an enquiring mind. To overcome this ignorance and apathy, may be the duty of the State, but it is difficult to see how that duty is to be carried out. It is, I think, more the duty of the teachers and leaders of the people; but as long as they are occupied in the strife of parties, they do not seem to have much time to devote to practical teaching. It will be a good thing when this Home Rule controversy is settled one way or the other, for until then, there seems to be but little hope for the improvement of agriculture in Ireland, and absolutely none of the people emerging from the apathy and ignorance which clogs every effort towards the development of high farming. Those who should lead them by precept and example, are too busily engaged in Home Rule politics or in internecine strife, and the people follow in their wake.

As it is with the cultivation of the land, so it is with the rearing of cattle and the manufacture of dairy produce. These are two industries by which money might be made in Ireland, were they conducted on commonly rational principles. It seems, however, as if not only were no effort made

to improve the resources of the country in this direction, but money is absolutely sunk in the sea for no apparent reason. Mr. Dennis devotes two chapters to this very important topic, and a perusal of them will well repay the trouble thereof. We are told that half a million of cattle are annually exported from Ireland, and a million and a half of sheep. Now, anyone who has ever travelled on a cattle boat, especially those that coast from the North-West ports of Ireland to Glasgow and Liverpool, will agree in the opinion that the traffic is carried on with every aggravation of cruelty and waste. It is hard to say whether the drovers or the beasts have the worst time of it. I have many a time seen these boats put to sea in the face of half a gale of wind. The wretched beasts on board are either tethered on deck and exposed to the weather, or are half suffocated on the lower-deck; the men in charge of them, but little better off. For thirty-six hours men and beasts are exposed to the weather, and it is not to be wondered at, if, when landed, both are pretty well knocked up. The man recovers easily, and any one who has seen a lot of these drovers, as I once have, having their supper in what is known as a house-of-call near the docks, would bear testimony to the hardiness of the class. They are in reality as hard as the sailors, for their life is spent going to and fro from Ireland to England, round the worst coast in the kingdom. The poor beasts are not so lucky. Their first and last sea voyage is a new experience to them. The deck of a cattle boat is a considerable change from peacefully browsing by the shores of Lough Gill or on the slopes of Knocknarea. The loss on each animal is calculated to be 30s., so this sum is well said to be sent annually to the bottom of the Irish Sea as the contribution of a thriftlessly conducted trade. Now were this live meat trade converted into a dead meat trade, not only would these millions of pounds be saved from destruction, but other benefits would ensue, or rather losses be avoided, which now occur from the manner in which the cattle export trade is carried on.

We are told that, owing to this wholesale exportation of live stock, the hide and leather trade in Ireland is simply crippled for want of hides. Ireland has to import the leather she has exported at a loss on the backs of the wretched cattle which are thus cruelly sent on a sea voyage. There are other trades too, which depend on horns, hoofs and offal for their working material: these are similarly starved.

Now by a process of cooling, not absolutely freezing, the whole of the meat thus exported alive could be exported dead and placed in the London or Manchester markets in 56 hours. It would have the same preference over American and Australian

meat as English or Scotch meat now has, and, by proper management, could, be made to undersell the foreign produce. The obvious benefit of this was recognized by the Midland Great Western Railway Company, and they opened an abattoir at Dromod for the slaughter of pigs in 1883. It failed because the traders (*i.e.* the middlemen) did not *approve* of it! They did not, for their interest lay in squeezing the farmers to whom they had lent money on mortgage, and in fattening the coasting steam trade in which they held shares: Now the method of Parliamentary Government for Ireland does not affect this matter of trade, and it would be well if some of the energy that is given to the former question were given to the latter. It is to be hoped that when this controversy is set at rest and capital attracted to the island, some means will be devised to break this monopoly. The establishment of a meat trade in Ireland on a sound commercial basis would do a good deal more for the peasantry than the money subscribed for evicted tenants and spent—the vanished records of the finance of the Land League can alone tell how. The business would have to be managed, however, on a system other than that on which the Freeman's journal has been run. It is the same sad story with regard to dairy produce. Irish butter should hold its own in the English markets; it ranks far below the produce of Denmark, Finland and Normandy. This is entirely due to the way it is made. It is made in the houses of the peasants. The milk is set for cream in the common sleeping and sitting room, the butter is taken to market tied up in a piece of rag, often of questionable cleanliness. It is then salted to a degree that almost amounts to adulteration, is packed in firkins and sent over anyhow in ships, as Mr. Dennis describes, that may have just unloaded a cargo of guano or some equally sweet smelling commodity. Now people who have lived in Ireland know, that *in no part of the world* is there more delicious butter to be had when it is supplied for private tables, and where those who supply it have to observe common cleanliness in its manufacture, in order to secure a sale. If the same methods were used in making butter for the English market, there is no reason why Ireland should not take a leading place as a butter producing country, instead of being far behind in the race as she is now.

There is one subject on which all Irish politicians are agreed; on which there is a real union of hearts—and that is as regards the shameful neglect from which the fishing industry in Ireland has suffered. I cannot do better than quote Mr. Dennis, to show how great are the gifts of nature in the way of providing a food supply for the people of Ireland, and how utterly and entirely these gifts are thrown away.

A coast line of about 2,000 miles, broken into an exceptionally large number of excellent harbours; waters teeming with fish, many of them being among the very finest of their kind; a race of hardy and adventurous fishermen: all these natural advantages for carrying on a great fishing industry exist in Ireland. As if to mark the island out as a special field for gathering in the harvest of the sea, Nature has placed her best harbours where there are most fish. The Eastern coast with Strangford Lough as the only good harbour between Belfast and Waterford, comes far behind the Western in its yield; while all round the South-west and Northern coasts, where the sea makes deep incisions into the land every few miles, the waters swarm with cod, hake, ling, mackerel and herring. The South-west coast is especially prolific, and occasionally there is almost, what one might call a "miraculous draught." On the West coast there is also abundance of fish. Outside Arran Island there are magnificent banks; nearer land, in Galway Bay, the fish would be plentiful if trawling, which destroys the "cover," and which ought to be practised only in deep water, were prohibited; off the Coast of Connemara there is so much fish (and so bad a market for it) that tons are annually thrown upon the land for manure; round the island of Bofin, the sea has often been actually "roughened with fish." Clew Bay is a perfect "stew;" Brodhaven and Blacksod Bays, in county Mayo, are so landlocked, that boats could go out and make a haul every day in the year; Carew might have referred to Donegal Bay when he wrote of his "fishful pond." Yet these great natural advantages are thrown away. Scotland, with a coast line only 500 miles longer than that of Ireland, with fewer harbours, with less fruitful and more tempestuous seas, supports by her fisheries one-seventh of her entire population. Ireland supports less than one two hundred and fiftieth.

First let us see what they want in the way of boats. Of craft suitable for near shore fishing they have plenty. Each family has at least one boat; some families have three or four. They are called third class boats; very few of them are decked; and they are quite incapable of facing the tumult of the best fishing waters thirty or forty miles off the coasts. For this purpose 30 ton decked boats, costing from £200 to £400 each, are necessary; and for lack of them, the deep sea fisheries of the West of Ireland have practically to be abandoned to the English, Scotch, Norwegian, and Dutch fishermen—estimated to number not less than 100,000—who annually flock to the enormous shoals which extend in an almost unbroken line from Bantry Bay to Bloody Foreland. The boats at present in use along the West coast are home made, and are excellent of their kind. Where larger boats exist, they have generally been built at Peel in the Isle of Man, but there is no reason why they should not be built at home, and this would in itself provide Ireland with an important industry.

The fishermen of Ireland are a race apart. They are few in number and miserably poor. Those who live in Ireland off the West coast are almost a foreign people. There is an island called Innismurray in Sligo Bay, on which, until lately,—I don't know whether it be so now or not,—no stranger was permitted to land without permission of the King of the island. Within recent years I read an account of the storming of the place by the police, in order to arrest a man who had taken sanctuary there. The inhabitants of this island, moreover, used to

pay divine honours to the figure-head of a ship which was washed ashore there at a period remote in the past. Possibly it belonged to one of the ships of the Armada wrecked along the coast. These people have no ideas of commerce, or of making their lives better than they were two hundred years ago. Round this island are fish of all kinds and descriptions. Let us examine the reasons why such a source of wealth has been lost to the coast population of Ireland. You cannot catch fish without nets and proper boats. Now, net making is an industry which, in Scotland and on the Cornish coast, supplies the women with employment, whilst the men make the tackle when the season is unsuited for fishing. In Ireland this is not so. The fishers in that country buy all their gear, and can only afford to buy an inferior quality. At one time we are told they were better provided, but the price of kelp rose £2 a ton, and they neglected their fishing, let their boats and gear rot, and now, when kelp is one-third the price it was then, they have not the material for fishing. So much so that once in 1884, the coasts and creeks of Connemara swarmed with herring for three months; they came close to the shore, where they had never been seen before, but, for want of nets with which to catch them, they were suffered to swim away in peace.

One cannot imagine people so utterly blind to their own interests as to allow net making and the up-keep of tackle to fall into disuse from pure laziness, or, as the Americans would say, *cussedness*. Even the Irish fisherman, with all his sins of omission, is not quite so apathetic as all this. There is a reason for it. The abandonment of the fishing for the more lucrative industry of kelp collecting, showed that there was some method in the so-called madness of the fishers. The fact of the matter is that fishermen do not see the point of catching fish for fun: they catch enough near shore for their own and their children's food, and, having done that, they have done all that could be expected of prudent men. For if they went out into the deep sea ground, there is no place for them to land their fish. Harbours of refuge are not required; merely safe landing piers. Yet were the fish once landed, the fishermen were, until recently, but little better off, for, unless they put the fish out on the land as manure, as they did more than once in Connemara, there was no other use to which they could turn the fruits of their toil. There was no means of bringing it to market. So when people, as they are very apt to do, abuse the Irish fishermen as a lazy set of blackguards, because they do not take advantage of the food supply which nature has brought to their doors, they might be asked to suggest what the fishermen are to do with the fish that remained over and above their daily needs; how

they are to land it, if caught in the deep sea, and how to bring it to market once they had landed it. The railways make no provision for the carriage of fish except in the case of salmon, but the reason for that is simple enough. There is only a demand for the carriage of salmon.

Mr. Balfour, as we know, has faced the question, and has started a system of light railways. That, however, is not enough. The Scotch fishermen are often cited as an example of what industry can do, and I have heard them held up as an example to their Irish brethren. It is not, I imagine, generally known that, in Scotland, fishermen enjoyed bounties *for sixty years*, and were thereby set on their legs. Ireland had a similar advantage for *three years* only. The only way out of the difficulty is by a system of State loans, such as our agricultural improvement loans in this country. Advances should be made for the purpose of building boats and making nets locally. Two more industries would thereby be fostered. Landing places must be built at convenient places for this. Mr. Dennis says the State should *advance* the money and be repaid by the improvement in the export trade in fish. Whether the money was repaid or not, it seems to be not a very extravagant demand to make on the State, to ask it to supply landing places as it supplies lighthouses. Fishermen would gladly pay dues for the up-keep of those places, as shipowners do for the protection afforded by lighthouses. It is inconceivable how successive Governments have been blind to the importance of this great industry. Generation after generation has seen the failure of the crop, and the consequent starvation of the people. Most of the money that has been spent on famine relief within the last fifty years, would have been saved, had a liberal and statesman-like policy of encouragement to Irish fisheries been pursued. It is better late than never, and it is to be hoped that, when the present dreary question is set at rest, the Government of Ireland, whether it be imperial or national, will take up this great subject on broad and generous lines. Liberality and generosity will not be thrown away. Experience has shown that, whenever any loans have been made to encourage fisheries, they have been scrupulously repaid. Dishonesty is not a failing of the Irish peasant, unless he be coerced into it by a tyrannous unwritten law.

The example of the Acts we have in this country for agricultural improvement advances, and for tuccavi loans, might easily be followed with regard to advances for the development of Irish Fisheries. Light Railways are, as we have seen, already started, and, when fish is brought on them to the stations of the existing lines, there is no reason to fear that proper fish vans will not be provided. The statesman who

puts Irish Fisheries on a stable basis, will have been the greatest benefactor to Ireland that has yet arisen in the course of her unhappy history. "Whigs and Tories, Refalers and their foes" will unite to do him honour.

Passing from food products to plants used in manufacture, we come to the great industry which has laid the foundation of the prosperity of Ulster, the cultivation and manufacture of flax. It is sad to find that here again Ireland depends upon foreign countries for the supply of a material which she used to turn out herself. Flax used to be grown in Munster and Connaught, in quantities sufficient to supply all her looms. Ulster alone grows it now; the balance is imported from Holland and Belgium, Germany, Russia and other countries. The extent of the loss may be appreciated when we find that three million pounds worth of flax is annually imported to feed the Northern mills, whilst the quantity grown in Ireland is worth but £700,000. The answer to the question, "wherefore is this thushness?" is that "flax is the converse of the potato, everything the potato is, flax is not, and vice versâ" one requires high farming, the other requires the least possible exertion.

Mr. Dennis points out that flax would yield a profit of £20 an acre if it were properly cultivated. It is not, however, a ready money crop and hence the difficulty arises. Here, again, State aid might be given on proper security. The course suggested by Mr. Dennis is growing the flax and drying it like hay; and then having a rettery at some suitable place for the preparation of the fibre. When people have ceased quarrelling about abstract politics, we may see this done. It requires capital from *some* source or other. As it is with flax, so it is with hemp and straw. With a little care straw could be utilized for bottle envelopes, instead of those articles being imported, and the planting and cultivation of osiers would supply the hampers that are now imported.

There is a very interesting, but slightly romantic, chapter on coal and iron in Ireland. That these minerals exist, admits of no doubt, but that they exist at a depth to which it would not pay to work, is equally true. Mr. Dennis anticipates a "boom" in Irish coal and iron at a not very remote date, and suggests that preparations should now be made for its advent. It would be difficult to induce capitalists to embark on a speculation the returns for which could not be reckoned on before English and Scotch coal and iron had given out, and Irish minerals had taken their place. That event *may* take place, but we are more concerned now, with the development of industries which can be brought into play now, and do not depend upon "some far off divine event."

The last natural production which is considered in these pages is timber. It is perfectly clear that at one time Ireland produced oak in great abundance, and so far back as 1652 attention was drawn to the ruthless waste that then went on by the wholesale destruction of trees. It was not as though the land on which the trees grew were reclaimed and brought under cultivation. The trees were destroyed and the land was allowed to drift into bog. Mr. Dennis makes the bold proposal, that a forest department should be created for Ireland, and that an outlay of 20 millions should be made for the purpose of replanting the country. He shows to demonstration that the outlay would be repaid in fifty years, but we fear that the British tax payer would not see his way to the outlay, and the Irish Government proposed by Mr. Gladstone would not be in a financial position, even with the plethora of money to which he looks forward, to advance the necessary funds. The forests have gone and more is the pity. They have gone, however, we fear, beyond recall. The re-forestation of Ireland may take place when the coal and iron boom has come. At present it is beyond the pale of practical politics.

This completes the discussion of Irish industries, so far as the products of nature are concerned, and Mr. Dennis has, we think, made out his case. There is undoubtedly great industrial depression. (2) This depression is inconsistent with the presence of a healthy population and ample natural resources. (3) Its causes are to be found in existing circumstances and not in more or less ancient history, and they are remediable.

The conclusion to which one comes after reading this account of agricultural Ireland, and knowing its truth by experience, is that, at the root of the evils under which agriculture suffers, is a certain happy-go-lucky carelessness, which induces the Irish peasant to grow the crop that is easiest grown, *viz*, the potato, and to exhibit an utter indifference as to whether his hay crop is stacked on a rock, or is left to soak on the borders of a bog.

A good deal of that indifference was doubtless owing to the hard conditions of living which undoubtedly prevailed in the past. These conditions exist no longer. Legislation has, within recent years, placed the Irish peasants on a footing of independence greater than that enjoyed by the peasantry of any other country under the sun. We are not concerned to discuss the question whether the concessions which have secured this independence were *wrung* from England, or not. It is sufficient, that they have been granted and that a state of independence and solvency, if he will but take it, can now be the lot of every Irish peasant. There is no longer, therefore, any excuse for the apathy and neglect of the first principles of

common sense in farming, which still exists : It was to a certain extent justifiable when a holding was precarious and when it was a matter of life and death to a man to get all he could out of the land as speedily as might be, before he was driven off it. There was no encouragement, in former days, for a man to make improvements on the land, for those improvements could be quietly annexed by the landlord once the lease had expired. It has been within the experience of the writer that a man absolutely had his rent raised because he substituted, at his own expense, stone for mud, and slates for thatch in the construction of his dwelling and outhouses. I have known people to decline to use dynamite for the purpose of clearing their land from rocks, and thereby increasing its productive power ; lest the rent might be screwed up to such a pitch that they would have no benefit from the improvement thus effected on the soil. All this state of things has now passed away ; and if the people were let alone by interested agitators, we should see a new era of farming spring up in Ireland. But no. They will not let the people be, and small blame to them from their stand point. Agitation is their means of livelihood, and, by plans of campaign and other illegal and dishonest devices, they not only inculcate a course of dishonesty in the non-payment of fair rents, but they force honest men, by the grossest terrorism into the path they have marked out for them to travel. Hence it is that we have not as yet seen any thing like the full fruition of the three great Land Acts passed within the last twenty years or so. The day will yet come when the eyes of the Irish peasant will be opened to the real motives of those who profess to be his friends. The fate of new Tipperary may have done something to that end. There are other causes which work against the full development of agricultural prosperity. These causes can be removed by the State. Ireland is suffering from want of money. Capital will not find its way to the country for obvious reasons. In the present state of unrest, it is less likely than ever to do so. The case of Ireland in this respect is the same as that of Bengal. In this country men will not put capital into the land. Money-lenders will lend on the security of the crop that they see before their eyes, but they will not lend a pice for improvements. In India the State steps in with loans for agricultural improvements, and with tuccavi loans for the purchase of seed and cattle in a time of scarcity. State aid, judiciously given, would, as we have seen, put the fishing industry on a sound financial footing. It would also enable Ireland to supply her own looms with flax and put the three millions which are annually sent to foreign nations, into the pockets of the farmers of Ireland. There is a steadily growing feeling in England in

favour of extending State aid to Ireland, whether wrung from the country or not, is beside the question. It is surely a short-sighted policy that would seek to sever the connexion between the two countries at a time when that feeling is on the increase. It is hopeless to expect State aid from such an exchequer as Mr. Gladstone would have handed over to the proposed Government of Ireland: It is vain to expect that the British tax-payer will willingly hand over his money to a Government irresponsible in any way to him or his representatives. Peace and rest is what the land requires now, and if only that could be secured by separation, the most ardent Unionist would become a Home Ruler to-morrow. Unionists, however, do not anticipate a state of quietude from such a Bill as that which has been recently forced through the House of Commons. They look for it from a closer union of interests between the two islands; from the gradual influx of capital, when capitalists have regained confidence, and the land has rest. Until such time as capital flows naturally across the Channel, it is the duty of the State to do for Ireland what she has done for India. Ample security would be forthcoming, and loans would be honestly repaid. We are not afraid of the Western fishermen being led astray from the paths of honesty by those who duped the peasants of Tipperary. The reception accorded to Lady Zetland, Miss Balfour and Mr. Arthur Balfour on their unprotected tour through Donegal and Connemara, showed clearly enough that the hearts of the people beat true to their real benefactors, despite the contemptible efforts made by their *soi disant* leaders to mar the enthusiasm of the welcome given to the statesman who was the first to help the people along the road to prosperity.

Turning now from the products of the land and their improvements, to manufactures pure and simple, we come to the discussion of a question on which the future prosperity of Ireland largely depends.

There are three great industries existing in Ireland all of which largely depend upon export for their maintenance. These are the manufacture of linen, the brewing of porter, and and the distillation of whisky. It is difficult to suppose that, where three such industries thrive and pay, there is anything in the Irish character calculated to prevent other industries from being equally prosperous, all other conditions being equal. Mr. Dennis says that the Irishman is an excellent worker under direction, but that he fails as a director or originator. The history of the world contradicts this statement. There is not a country—in the world one may say—where Irishmen have not at some time or another been found as leaders of men, as organisers of the highest order. We have not to go

very far to look for Irishmen holding the highest offices in the State. A country that can supply statesmen to every colony cannot be barren of a supply of men to direct and carry on industries in their own land. Let us see the reasons that have combined to leave Irish industries so far behind those of other countries. It is, of course, the fashion to attribute to William the Third the destruction of all Irish trade, because, by an unstatesmanlike act, he destroyed the woollen industry that prevailed in his time. William has been some time dead now ; the woollen trade is also more or less dead ; but, whilst it would be difficult, even if desirable, to raise the great Orangeman from his last sleep, his action has not had the lasting influence that would render the resurrection of the defunct woollen industry impossible. It is the old story of Romulus and Raymus and the Danes ; every bit of ancient history, mythical or true, is dragged in to account for the decadence of Irish commerce, and to impose an absolute attitude of *non possumus* against those who would look to present conditions and would seek to rebuild Irish industries by getting rid of the rubbish under which they lie buried. Rubbish of verbiage, rubbish of political cant, rubbish of religious strife,—choking the very springs from which national industry can alone draw its life.

Let us take this very woollen industry. What has done most to destroy it, is the competition of the Yorkshire and Lancashire mills, a competition that no law brought into being, but the discovery of steam and the application of the discovery in places where steam could be had at the least possible cost. Even with all that, the Irish woollen trade has recently shown signs of a revival. Irish friezes hold their own in the markets of the world and the Irish blanket trade is also showing signs of revival. Mr. Dennis points out that one great incentive to Irish industry is wanting, simply because people in Ireland prefer English goods : English goods can be placed on the market cheaper than those of Irish manufacture, and, as long as this is so, the revival of the Irish woollen trade will be heavily handicapped.

But must this always be so? We think not. When Mr. Dennis wrote, he pointed out that coal was as easily procured in Dublin and Belfast, as in Bristol. He moreover pointed out the immense water power which was going to waste throughout Ireland. At the time he wrote thus, electricity was in its infancy, compared with what it is now, and electricity is the coming motive power. There is as much water power in the falls of Glencar, Ballisodare and Collooney in the county Sligo, as would generate electricity for the whole island, and this is but one county. Waterfalls form one of the greatest features in the scenery of that most picturesque land. They.

may yet form one of the greatest sources of the wealth of a regenerate Ireland.

It is, of course, out of the question to go back to protective duties on Irish manufactures, but much might be done in the way of State patronage for certain industries. The woollen industry owes its revival, to a great extent, to the action of the north Dublin Union, which insisted on the workhouse being supplied with articles of local manufacture. Other Unions have followed its example. It would be well if all Unions did the same. The jails might follow suit, but, until the bulk of the population creates a demand for Irish fabrics, the industry must languish.

Boot making and saddlery cannot be carried on at a price to cope with the English market, simply because leather has to be imported, which has originally gone over to England on the backs of live cattle. There was a time when nearly every town in Ireland had its own tannery. That time has passed away. There is nothing to prevent its return. No law passed from the time of Strongbow to that of Arthur Balfour can be blamed for the disappearance of this industry.

It would take up too much space to follow the author of this most excellent book into the vicissitudes of the various trades which, like Troy, were, but are not. Two main causes of the general decadence of trade are to be found in the manner in which the carrying trade is conducted, and in the condition of the money market.

It has been the fashion to paint poor Pat with the brush of a caricaturist. He has contributed a good deal to comic literature about himself. It would be difficult to *caricature* Irish railways as they were some years ago. They may have improved of late, but in 1887, when Mr. Dennis wrote, there was not much advance on what they were in '69, or about that time. A person travelling to Moorshedabad by the Nulhattie State Railway might, if he were in a hurry and somewhat short tempered, be inclined to regret that he had given up swearing: he would take to that bad habit again had he to travel, say from Sligo on the Midland Great Western to Belturbet in county Cavan. The trains are, or were, so arranged, that the maximum amount of waiting at the most dreary road side junctions was coupled with the minimum amount of actual locomotion that could be spun out during a day. The inducement to undertake the journey was reduced also by the exorbitant fares charged. This seems to be always the case in Ireland, where there is—what is pleasantly called—through booking over different lines. Each line takes the uttermost farthing from the passenger, and then ensures that the passenger has as much opportuinity as possible, of studying the locality at the junction of

the two systems of railway. In case this may be thought an overdrawn picture, I shall give some instances of Railway management and railway system, from ascertained facts.

The railways on the South and East coasts of Ireland comprise seven-tenths of all the railways in Ireland, that is to say, that on the West coast there is no railway system following the coast line. Lines are put out from the centre of Ireland to given points, such as Ballina, Sligo and Galway, but, with these exceptions, there is nothing to connect the coast and the fisheries with the outer world. We have already touched on this point and need go no further.

When we come to examine the methods on which the existing railways are worked, we do not find that Mr. Dennis is guilty of exaggeration when he calls the story, "The story of the war waged by Irish railways upon Irish industries."

When railways were first constructed in Ireland, the rates were fixed on a consideration of the cost of construction and upkeep and the probable traffic. The same policy has been pursued down to the present day, so that the average receipts *per mile of Irish Railways have remained the same from 1849-1886*. A speedier mode of transit was given to the people, but traffic has not been created where it did not exist before; not only that, but in Ireland the railways have not beaten the cartman out of the field. This has been the result of putting upon the existing traffic the highest rates it would bear, instead of adopting the lowest rate consistent with a profit, and thereby attracting traffic. It is, as Mr Dennis puts it, as though the railway companies said, "here are goods worth £5,000, which must be carried by us; in order to earn a dividend of 5 per cent, we will exact from them a toll amounting to £50. It never occurred to them that they might earn 10 per cent by carrying £20 000 worth of traffic for £100. The difference between Irish and English railways is shewn by the fact, that whilst, in Ireland, proportionately to the length of line open, there is no more traffic now than there was forty years ago, in England the traffic has increased four-fold, and in Scotland three-fold. The subject is too important to any consideration of the question of Irish industries, not to quote in full the very able case made out by Mr. Dennis against the railways, and we therefore make no apology for so doing. •

Dealing with the Railways as they stand, what do we find? That although the cost of construction, of maintenance, and of working, is considerably below that of the English Railways, the Irish lines starve themselves and the districts through which they pass, by a penny-wise pound foolish policy, which renders them a hindrance rather than a help to the industrial progress of the country. Their tariffs are calculated strictly on the basis of the existing traffic, the traffic that was, already there when the lines were made, and not on the basis of the

traffic which might be created. We assert confidently that half of the capital expended on Irish Railways is practically unutilised. Too few trains are run, and the rates and fares are absurdly high. Five trains a day, each way between Dublin and Galway, are thought sufficient; the single third-class fare is equal to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per mile. That is a sample of management of Irish Railways generally. There is a better service, at 1d. per mile between Dublin and Belfast, but then there are two ways of doing the journey. Most of the railways of Ireland have no competition. What is wanted is more liberal management—more trains, better carriages and lower rates, so as to create and induce traffic. Everybody knows it would not pay to run a single omnibus once an hour, between even the Bank of England and Charing Cross; but to run omnibuses every half-minute or so pays remarkably well. Passenger traffic, however, is not so much in question, as goods traffic. That is where the burden of our charge lies, for it is alleged that numerous industries are rendered impossible in Ireland owing to high rates of carriage, and that identical foreign industries are positively encouraged by freights which are denied to Irish producers.

The simple process of quadrupling the traffic receipts by halving the rates, and so doubling the dividend, never entered into their calculations, yet, in putting the case thus roundly, we by no means exaggerate the general experience of the carrying trade of the world. We said just now that the average receipts per mile of the Irish Railways has scarcely advanced since 1849. Contrast this with England, where those receipts have multiplied more than fourfold in the same period—or with Scotland, where they have increased nearly threefold. Bear in mind that we are not speaking of the gross receipts, but of the average amount of traffic carried over each mile of line open. Every mile of line open in England in 1849 earned, roughly speaking, £1,000 a year. To day, by the enormous increase of traffic, every mile open, earns over £4,000 a year. In Ireland, proportionably to the length of line open, there is no more traffic now than there was forty years ago.

All that time the Railway Companies have been squeezing profits—or in some cases, only endeavouring to squeeze profits—out of a trade that needed the most tender fostering, the most generous encouragement. They have been slowly killing the goose, which, after all, has not been very prolific in its yield of golden eggs. And, indeed, how could it be, with the grip of the exacting shareholder slowly closing around its neck? We have no hesitation in saying that railway management in Ireland has been a libel upon the business aptitudes of railway men in general. There certainly have never been any in Ireland. A few exceptional efforts have been made on certain lines for the encouragement of trade, but never in the form of substantial reduction in the rates. They were rather in the nature of an offer to add two storeys to a dwelling house, the occupier of which asks for reduction of rent.

The question is, how is this state of things to be remedied. Mr. Dennis does not suggest that the State should take over Irish railways, but that there should be an interest of 3 per cent on their capital, guaranteed to Irish companies. He considers that they would then consent to amalgamation, to a trenchant revision of rates, to extended facilities, and to such control as the State might institute on principles of public policy. The cost of this, even if the whole had to be paid, would be £900,000; actually, it would not reach half a million; less than the cost of the Royal Stationery Office.

There is no question, but that if the State is going to consider the condition of Ireland and the best means to alleviate evils which can be alleviated by State interference, the railways must very soon be taken into consideration. It would be a big business to take over the Irish Railways *en masse*, but the disease requires a drastic remedy. Could the shareholders be got to consent to the 3 per cent guarantee, and the clause providing for State control be sufficiently strong, the evil might be eradicated.

In no country in the world would such a state of things be tolerated, whereby those who had the monopoly of the carrying trade, could so work the business as to cause it to become a positive danger to trade, and, as such, a public nuisance, instead of being a public benefit.

If ever a case called for State interference, the case of the Irish railways does. The matter would doubtless have been taken up long ago, had it not been for the long drawn out controversy, of which every one is well nigh wearied to death. The settlement of real grievances such as that inflicted on Irish trade by Irish railway directors, is not in the line of country taken up by the professional politician. It affords no opportunity of flaunting the sun burst flag, or of raking up the old evils which have passed away with the dawn of the new policy, which had its birth in Catholic emancipation. It is to be hoped that when the Home Rule question is set at rest, Irish statesmen will address themselves to this and other evils under which the country is *really* suffering. It is surely to the interest alike of Protestant and Catholic, of Home Ruler and Unionist, of Healyite and Sextonite, that an incubus, such as our railway mismanagement is, should be lifted off the trade of Ireland, and that our railways should be worked on rational commonsense principles. No one wants to rob the shareholders of their profits. All that is wanted, is that the railway directorates should make those profits in a manner benefiting those by whose custom this profit is obtained, and not by destroying the very life of the trade of the country.

No less serious is the indictment drawn against the Irish banks by Mr. Dennis. The total *working* capital of Ireland is estimated at the respectable figure of eighty millions. Now, instead of that capital being invested in Ireland, five sixths of it is lent to foreign Governments and to foreign speculators. The Irish banks, which hold the greater part of the money, will not lend it for the promotion of Irish industry. "They will trust any one rather than an Irishman, unless he happens not to be in Ireland" Mr. Dennis makes the plain statement "*that Irish banking, if it deserves the name, has done more to retard industry than to encourage it; compared with this, the sum of the men who*

draw incomes from Irish land and spend them abroad, dwindle into insignificance." Mr. Dennis here speaks with no uncertain voice, when he advocates the establishment of a bank in Ireland, authorised to advance money on the personal credit, and on the opportunities of making profit, of the Irish people. In this recommendation, every man who has the good of Ireland at heart will agree, whatever be his political views. At present the men who really finance Ireland, are the middlemen, who go from one fair to another and are known to the people. They allow, nay encourage, the farmers to get into their debt. They are but a larger edition of the Gombeen man corresponding to the petty mahajun. The Gombeen man and they, between them, conduct all the business which ought to be done by the banks. The farmers and producers generally are hampered by want of capital, and are not free agents in the disposal of their merchandize, and do not receive the full value of it when at last it leaves their hands.

We have now given a sketch of the conditions under which Irish industry drags out its existence. We are aware that the most powerful indictment against the Union, is the deplorable state of Irish industry. We would welcome any form of Government which would go to the root of the evil and eradicate it. We are told that a Home Rule Government would do this, and, if only this could be believed, there would be but very little difference of opinion on the Home Rule question in Ireland. Ulster and Connaught would march side by side to its accomplishment. It is, however, because we Unionists think that a parliament elected on the Meath principles would not be calculated to tackle the financial difficulties of the country, that we prefer to abide by the Union. The business capacity displayed by the directorate of the Freeman's Journal is not an encouraging example of what we might expect from the same men, were they entrusted with questions of Irish finance and with the revival of Irish trade.

We admit that these grievous conditions under which Irish trade has declined, have existed since the Union. They existed, however, twenty years before that event. We cannot admit that the connexion with England has caused them. We are also told that every concession made by England to Ireland has been *wrung* from the former country. By all means let us admit that, but let us go on wringing, if people like to call the process by that name. Let Irishmen of all shades of political opinion unite in pressing on English statesmen the crying necessity there is for State aid in the various directions in which we have indicated that it is necessary, in order to save the people alive. Let the concession that we shall wring be such as will put money into the pockets of the farmer and

the tradesmen and not take it out of them (as the tendency of late has been), in order to drag such creatures as Egan and Sheridan from their original obscurity and establish them in Paris and New York hotels.

An eminent Indian statesman once told the writer that a perusal of Mr. Dennis' book was enough to convince any man of the necessity for Home Rule. It is certainly enough to convince any man that certain glaring evils exist, some remediable at the hands of the people themselves, others that require State aid of some sort.

For the present we may abandon the idea that capital, other than State capital, will find its way into Ireland. If Home Rule becomes law, there is a great fear lest capital will be withdrawn, at any rate from Ulster. If the sense of the country at the next general election declare against Home Rule, we would urge that politicians of all shades do for a moment sink their differences and approach the Imperial Government with a firm and united front. Let Ireland, united for the nonce, urge upon England her claims to a consideration which is not denied to India. It may seem humiliating, but it is none the less true, that Irish industry has reached a stage of decadence for which nothing but strong measures can afford a remedy. Once the fisheries, the cultivation of flax and other industries are set on their legs, capital will not shun the country, *provided men are allowed to carry on their business, without the fear of any unwritten law before their eyes.*

State loans and a system of banking, carried on, if necessary, by the State, are absolutely required to revive those industries which can and should flourish in Ireland. There are some which English and foreign competition has utterly killed, and which can never be revived. They may come to the front again when water power and electricity have taken the place of steam, but, until that time, they may be considered as hopelessly gone. There are, however, as we have seen, industries that cry aloud against being slowly killed :—killed by the very agencies which should foster and give them life. Irishmen of all classes and opinions should unite to revive those trades.

It is to be hoped, that, whatever be the result of the next general election on the Home Rule question, it will be accepted as final. Provided that Home Rule is the issue laid before the United Kingdom, and not side issues, such as governed many of the Elections during the late Elections. If, then, Home Rule be decided upon by a decisive majority of the nation, let the Unionists, instead of lining the ditches, reserve their action until such time as an attempt is made to interfere with their civil or religious liberties. They will then be justified in defending them, if necessary, with

their lives, as their fathers did before them. Until such time, however, let them direct their energies to procure, as far as possible, the return of men to Parliament, who will work for the good of the country on sound business-like lines; with whom scenes like those enacted in Committee Room 15, will be impossible; whose prophetic indignation at Michelstown tragedies will not lead them to threaten their political opponents with destruction, six months before the events which caused that indignation took place. Men who will finance the country on lines somewhat less self-seeking than those which have been taken up by the present leaders of the Irish Parliamentary party, in the only business transaction which has come before the country. That should be the policy of Unionists, once the country has decisively declared for Home Rule. It may be a bitter pill to swallow, but loyal men will have to abide loyally by the laws of the country, whether those laws are a betrayal of just rights and expectations, or not.

If, on the other hand, the country pronounces decisively against this measure of separation, we would ask our nationalist countrymen to accept the verdict, and to drive from the power they have usurped, those who use their leadership for their own ends; who have brought Irish politics into contempt, and have disgusted sensible men of nationalist politics into severing their connection with the Irish party. People have short memories, if they forget the description given of them by their political creator, Parnell. Let them unite with the Unionists in *wringing* from England concessions that are of absolutely vital importance to the industrial life of our common country.

Whatever be the result, let this hateful quarrel be brought to an end, and let Irishmen vie with one another in a rivalry, having for its object the development of the resources of the country, and the regeneration of Ireland as a nation:—a nation in the true sense of the term, taking her place amongst the commercial nationalities of the earth. Then may be fulfilled the prophecy with which Mr. Dennis concludes his book. "I will multiply the fruit of the tree and the increase of the field. . . . I will also cause you to dwell in the cities, and the wastes shall be builded, and the desolate land shall be tilled, whereas it lay desolate in the sight of all that passed by. And they shall say this land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden; and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are become fenced and are inhabited: so shall the waste cities be filled with flocks of men."

A. C. TUTE

ART. X—A PAGE FROM SIAMESE HISTORY:
HOW THE FRENCH FIRST GOT TO SIAM; THE STORY OF
THEIR REPULSE.

WE REMEMBER reading in a geography, at one time much in use in Indian schools, that the description of Peking by Marco Polo, who visited it in 1271, is in many respects applicable in the present day. The same remark might be made in respect of Siam, for, with the exception of Bangkok, no part of the country has materially changed since the Portuguese first re-discovered it, and much of what Sir John Bowring wrote in the fifties stands good at the present time.

Siam is a curio of a kingdom; *bizarre*, and picturesque, without a parallel in Asia, and interesting in itself, apart from the prominence given it by recent events. It offers so many fantastic features, that one is surprised that the country has been so little exploited by the traveller, the historian, or the artist. In as far as we English are concerned, the most remarkable fact is, that Siam was comparatively unnoticed by our traders until the beginning of this century, and that it was only in 1822 that we entered into serious diplomatic negotiations with the country. But the French coveted Siam as far back as the reign of Louis XIV, when dreams of a vast Asiatic Empire danced before their eyes; and before that epoch the inquisitive, enterprising Portuguese had penetrated the mysteries of this strange people, unlike any but the Burmese in Asia, and despising all but great lumbering China, which was regarded as a protector and model for civilization.

The early history of the Siamese is obscured by the fogs of fable and tradition, through which stand out clearly the forms of the first disciples of Gaudhama, who imposed the religion of the Master on the people. It is not till the fourteenth century that the story of the Siamese people assumes any definite interest. Then Ayuthia, now in ruins, became the capital of the State, and situated on the Meinam, to the North of the present capital, Bangkok, it was celebrated throughout the East for the abundance of its canals and the magnificence of its public buildings, and derived the name of the Monumental City from the number and magnificence of its temples and sculptures illustrative of the life of Buddha. Modern Bangkok has been styled the Venice of the East from the extent of its canal communication, and it is renowned for the multitude of its pagodas, Buddhist shrines, and temples; but Ayuthia far surpassed it in these respects, and its religious establishments were infinitely more imposing in wealth and external decorations.

At this early period of their history, the Siamese were the bitter enemies of the Burmese, with whom they were constantly at war on points of religious supremacy. The King of Siam arrogated to himself the title of "Lord of the White Elephant," which the Burmese stoutly disputed, as they considered themselves specially favoured by Buddha. When the Burmese monarch captured a white elephant, Siam was moved to its lowest depths, and war was declared to obtain possession of it. Victory was generally with the Burmese, who were a stronger and more warlike people. In 1547, there occurred a great event in Siamese history. The King of Siam had got a pure white elephant, that is, one much lighter than chocolate colour, and therefore a purer incarnation of Buddha. The King of Burma gathered together an enormous army to obtain possession of the sacred beast, and invaded Siam. He ravaged the country up to Ayuthia, and would have taken that town, but "the Lusitanian warriors in the King of Siam's employ, made such a terrible resistance, that the Burmese were affrighted and beat a retreat." The Portuguese at that time were called the "terror of Asia," and their exploits were greatly magnified by the Siamese, who regarded them as representing the first nation in the world and the most to be feared. They were but a handful in the service of the King of Siam; but on them and the Japanese mercenaries depended the security of the kingdom, or at least of the capital. Siam had its first experience of European civilisation from the Portuguese. At this stage its history becomes interesting, though unfortunately we have very few works on the subject, outside those written by the Catholic fathers who established themselves in the country. Camoens had a good word for the Siamese. He was shipwrecked at the mouth of the Meinam, and was treated by the inhabitants with the utmost kindness. The Portuguese influence in Siam had a strong religious bearing, as their missionaries were anxious to convert the Siamese to the Christian faith, in which work they met with strong opposition from certain Mahomedan envoys, who were equally anxious to induce the King to embrace Islam.

Siam at this period had reached a critical stage in its history. It is well known that the Jesuits *might* have converted China to Christianity, if their zeal had not outrun their discretion, and had their Order been supported by the Vatican. They were on the point of achieving a great success in Siam, when the Mohomedans threw their weight in the scale. They regained their ascendancy, but to lose it for ever through an excess of religious zeal, which cloaked great projects of mundane ambition, that might have given France, Siam and a vast empire in Indo-China.

The great struggle commenced about the time our Charles II received Bombay from the Portuguese as part dowry for his wife, and when Louis XIV was dazzling Europe with the splendour of his court and the glory of his arms. The French Catholic missionaries had supplanted the Portuguese in Siam, and they had almost persuaded the King to become a Christian. They extolled the power of France, and attributed the successes of the French monarch to the religion he professed; but just at the moment the King was about to adopt a modified Christianity, ambassadors from the powerful Kings of Acheen and Golconda arrived with rich gifts and pressed him to embrace Islamism. The monarch was so impressed with what he heard of the Mahomedan princes in India, that he dismissed the ambassador of the King of Golconda with a magnificent present and an assurance that he would give Mahomedanism his best consideration. After reflection he came to the conclusion that one religion was as good as another, and he remained true to the faith of his fathers, but shewed great favour to the French missionaries, more out of consideration for the fame of their nation, than for any great respect he had for their religion. Some letters passed between the King and the Pope on the subject of religion; but the matter would never have taken a serious turn had it not been that the King feared the Dutch. This people had virtually become masters of the Malacca peninsula, and the French Jesuits represented to the King that their next step would be to obtain a foothold in Siam. They were described as a hateful poisonous race, worse than the English, and the only protection against them could be found in the "great King of France." From all accounts the Siamese King had heard little of the English, except that they were pirates, and this representation was from a French source, while we were equally in the dark as to Siam, though numbers of adventurous Englishmen had drifted to Ayuthia and held positions in the Siamese army. He determined to ally himself with France, and if necessary, place his kingdom under the protection of that Power. The news was joyfully received in the court of the *Grand Monarque*, as well as at the Vatican. Louis XIV and the Pope at once set in motion the vast and powerful machinery of the Church and the Jesuits to convert the King of Siam and the Siamese to Christianity. The stately city of Ayuthia might yet be the seat and centre of a vast dominion in the East, ruled by Louis from Versailles, and under the spiritual domination of Rome. The star of France was in the ascendant, and not a cloud on the horizon. A Greek, named Phaulcon, whose extraordinary career we shall presently sketch, ruled Siam as Prime Minister, and was heart and soul in the service of France and Rome.

A special mission, surrounded with every circumstance of pomp and power, set out from Paris for Siam. It included several Jesuit missionaries from China: men learned in the sciences, who had been specially honoured at Peking for their attainments. It arrived off the Meinam on 22nd September, 1685, when it was received with every attention, thanks to the influence of the great Phaulcon and the Catholic missionaries at Ayuthia. Its progress from Bangkok, then a comparatively unimportant town, to Ayuthia the capital, resembled that of a conqueror. Well might the French Bishop exclaim—"to-day we stand on the threshold of an empire; to-morrow France dominates Asia." Ayuthia, now a mass of grass grown ruins, was then a splendid capital—first in Asia for the multitude of its palaces, its temples and pagodas and shrines, all devoted to the glory of Buddha and the King, who was supreme lord. Like Goa, it has disappeared; but from its ruins we yet have glimpses of its ancient splendour, and, what is more interesting to Europeans, the monuments of Christianity. Hard by the ruins of Phaulcon's magnificent palace, said to have been equalled only by the Viceroy's palace at "Goa the Golden," was a stately Catholic Church, which he adorned. Some of the establishments of the Jesuits rivalled, for richness of appointments and impressive ceremonial, many of the temples reared in honour of Buddha. Not many years ago relics of the Catholic Churches were found in the ruins of Ayuthia. In one place, near the site of Phaulcon's palace, the words *Jesus Hominum Salvator* still stand out clear and distinct over the canopy of the altar, where now is enshrined the cross-kneed image of Buddha, and sculptures illustrative of the life of Buddha. In Bangkok itself there are Christian relics from the ruins of Ayuthia, honoured by the tolerant Siamese equally with the gods of the land.

The day appointed for the reception of the mission at the palace was noteworthy for a brilliant pageant in which every circumstance of pompous ceremonial was introduced. After a special mass the French ambassador and his suit were admitted to audience of the King, who alone stood amid hundreds of his prostrate nobles, the custom of the country being that all should grovel on the earth before his Majesty. The French ambassador and his attendant, standing erect, were presented to the King, the cannons thundering without. The former seems to have adopted a haughty tone of address, for, speaking in a loud voice to the King, he said: "The King, my master, so famed throughout the world for his great victories, has commanded me to come to your Majesty to assure you of his high esteem for you and his willingness to give proofs of his friendship." Then, after a few adroit compliments, in which the richness of Siam and

the sagacity of its ruler were referred to, the ambassador commenced an address, extolling the Christian religion. "The King, my master," he said, "beseeches you as the most sincere of your friends, and by the interest he already takes in your true glory, to consider that the Supreme Majesty with which you are invested can be held only from the true God who governs heaven and earth." He boldly informed him that he was an idolator, and in terms that an ancient Hebrew prophet might have envied, he concluded with the words:—"The most welcome news which I can give the King, my master, will be that your Majesty will be instructed in the Christian religion." The King answered as a philosopher and a diplomat. He stated that Buddhism and Christianity professed the same virtues, and that it was only in externals that they differed, and no wise man would quarrel as to them. He had learned much of Christianity from the missionaries, whom he had greatly favoured, and if he were further instructed, he might become a convinced Christian. Sudden conversions, he continued, were never thorough, and no man could ever throw over in a moment the religion of his ancestors and turn to one which was alien. But if the King of France derived his power from the religion he professed, a nation could not do better than embrace it. The French ambassador was delighted with the reply, more especially as Phaulcon subsequently assured him that the King resolved to profess Christianity, but had to return a diplomatic answer, for fear of offending the Mahomedans, who were also trying to convert him, and for fear of arousing the enmity of the Buddhist priesthood, who would certainly depose him in the event of his turning from the national religion. A day after this noteworthy audience, Phaulcon prostrated himself before the King, and, as his biographer says, addressed him with "all the Asiatic eloquence so much despised in ancient Greece," begging his majesty to worship the true God who "had made France so great, and Louis XIV. the greatest king on earth." The King graciously avoided giving any opinion on the merits of the religion of "the true God;" but said he would heap favours on the Christians, and that his great desire was to obtain protection from the King of France against the Dutch and the Mahomedan Powers of the Far East. The zeal of the Catholic missionaries ruined the scheme which Phaulcon had framed for handing over Siam to French protection. The Siamese noblemen and priesthood conspired against the King, while a formidable combination of Mahomedan Powers threatened him from outside. He, therefore, entered into a treaty with the French ambassador by which Louis XIV was to send him some French troops to aid him in his war with the Dutch and Mahomedans.

For this service he gave the town and territory of Singu to the French, and promised to entrust to them the defence of his capital, and aid them with his fleet for whatever purpose they required it.

Louis XIV sent a French regiment to Siam in 1687, and it garrisoned Bangkok and rendered the King good assistance in his wars, besides overawing the hostile factions in the capital. Other French troops afterwards arrived ; but not in sufficient numbers to carry through Phaulcon's scheme, as Louis XIV was occupied at the time in waging war with the greater part of Europe. A secret combination of the Siamese noblemen and priesthood brought about the downfall of Phaulcon and the ruin of the King. The national party, as it was called, triumphed on all sides, and the Catholic Missionaries and the French soldiers, abandoned by their country, for Louis XIV was unable to spare more troops, surrendered at discretion. The French were expelled from Bangkok ; the few soldiers who survived the popular fury, were embarked on an English vessel for Pondicherry, and then ensued a terrible persecution of those French missionaries who had elected to remain in the country and all Christians, while the French influence vanished like the "rain-bow's lovely form" to which it had been not inaptly compared.

A potent factor in the transaction which led to the French mission to Siam and its ultimate design of annexation, was, as we have seen, the Greek, Phaulcon or Constantino, who from the position of cabin-boy on an English vessel rose to be Prime Minister of Siam. Had fortune continued her favours, he might have become the founder of a vast Franco-Asiatic Empire, and taken first place among European adventurers in Asia who have won empires by their exceptional talents and audacity. There are few exact and complete stories of his life ; but whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the motives of his actions, they converge in the conclusion that his was an extraordinary and romantic career, even at an epoch still flushed with the colours of the spacious times of our Elizabeth. Constantino Phaulcon, often styled Constance in Siamese history, was of Venetian origin, but born in Greece in either 1645 or 1646. His grandfather had been Governor of Cephalonia, and his mother was a native of that island : on both sides he was of noble birth. Through reverses of fortune his family were much reduced, and Phaulcon passed his early years in bitter poverty, enlivened occasionally by piratical speculations. At ten years of age, he joined one of the English merchantmen trading at Cephalonia, and made several voyages to England as cabin-boy and general drudge on the vessel. He learned English, and was noted for his quick intelligence and aptitude for sea life, making many friends in London.

Through their influence he came under the notice of the East India Company, and sailed in one of their vessels to Madras, where he stayed for some time "learning the language of the country," and, it is suspected, taking an active part in the intrigues of the native princes. It is said that at one time he was at Golconda, where he speculated in precious stones, and made himself agreeable, mainly through the information he could give of the Turks and English, and the great outside world generally. After a varied course of excitement, Phaulcon found himself in the kingdom of Siam, where he traded on his Indian experiences with such good effect, that he became master of a large sized, well armed ship. He learned Siamese. A daring sailor, and perhaps in some cases a pirate—for we are told he preyed on the Dutch—he amassed a considerable fortune ; but, being driven out of his course, he was wrecked for the first time somewhere near Singapore, then a desolate island, and lost a considerable portion of his cargo. He refitted, and was lost on the Siamese coast, he alone escaping with some three thousand crowns.

The first night he slept on this unknown shore, a vision, he says, appeared to him saying : "Take heart and be valiant, for you will rule this country. It is written on high." He was greatly comforted by these words, and on rising in the morning he saw another shipwrecked man approaching him. The stranger spoke to him in Siamese, and Phaulcon replied in the same tongue. It appears that the unknown one was an ambassador whom the King of Siam had sent to Persia, and who, on his way home, had been shipwrecked in the same place as Phaulcon. The ambassador had lost everything and was absolutely helpless, whereas Phaulcon had money and was lively in invention. After much trouble, he succeeded in buying and fitting out a Malay vessel, in which he took the ambassador to Ayuthia, meanwhile treating him with the greatest attention. On arrival there, the ambassador recommended Phaulcon to the Prime Minister, stating that he was the most resourceful and courageous man he had ever met, and that talents such as his would greatly benefit the King. The Prime Minister was so pleased with Phaulcon, that he at once gave him employment in the public service. The King soon heard of the abilities of the stranger, and promoted him to a high post in the treasury, besides confiding to him special work where his address and courage would find full scope.

The King was a man of liberal and progressive ideas, and was anxious to become acquainted with European nations, especially the French, whose exploits were noised abroad through all Asia. Indeed, he wished to become the richest monarch of the East, and to approach the Chinese Emperor .

and the Great Mogul for power and reputation: Phaulcon justified the confidence reposed in him, for he showed that the King, who depended on "Moormen" to fight his battles, was defrauded out of a large sum every year by these mercenaries, who were insolent and unreliable. He proposed a plan whereby the royal treasury would be saved an enormous sum every year, and the "Moormen" kept in subjection, while at the same time they could be usefully employed in the defence of the kingdom. The monarch approved of this project and raised Phaulcon to the position of third man in the kingdom, giving him virtual control over the financial and military administration. The history of Joseph and Pharaoh was, allowing for circumstances, repeated on a smaller scale. At this time an event occurred which had an important bearing on Phaulcon's career, as well as on the history of Siam. He fell dangerously ill, and the fact had to be concealed, for fear his numerous enemies should take advantage of it, and have him supplanted in the King's counsels.

Although born of Catholic parents, Phaulcon, while a youth, had turned to the Anglican faith, being persuaded to take this step by the master of the English vessel where he had served his apprenticeship, as well as by his London friends. In his sickness the Jesuits got hold of him, and worked so hard at his conversion, that on the 22nd May, 1682, in the Church of the Portuguese Jesuits in Ayuthia, he made his abjuration, and swore to devote the rest of his life to the extension of the Catholic Church. On his recovery he renewed his oath, and married a Japanese lady of high rank, who was descended from one of the Christian martyrs of her country, and who had great power in the palace, as she had brought the King a number of Japanese guards, whose bravery had been tested in battle. According to the Jesuit account, Phaulcon and his wife gained a strong influence over the King, who was induced by them to promote the spread of Christianity in his dominions.

A most marvellous circumstance is the manner in which the Greek imposed himself on the nation. In spite of the opposition of the Buddhist priesthood, who enjoyed regal honours and powers, he became Prime Minister of the country; its absolute ruler. "The King," writes an authority, "had such confidence in him, that he left him the full discharge of State business, and he became the channel of all the requests of the people and of all the favours of the sovereign." Under his administration the country prospered. His aim was to increase the commerce of Siam, and as the King was the greatest trader, he sought to make him the richest monarch in Asia. He also determined to convert the country to the Catholic faith. By an adroit stroke of policy, he engaged his master to form treaties of friendship

with those European monarchs who were most capable of advancing this object, especially the King of France. The King was dazzled by the glory of Louis XIV, and, under Phaulcon's skilful guidance, he made advances to that monarch for an alliance, which resulted in the splendid mission of Chevalier Chaumont, in the course of the year 1685. If the Catholic clergy had been less zealous, and Phaulcon's plans had been carefully carried out in France, Siam would have become a French dependency, and the nucleus of a vast trans-Gangetic empire.

Louis XIV concluded a treaty with Siam which placed Ayuthia under the guardianship of French soldiers, and, in fact, the military resources of the country at the disposal of France. The Mahomedans, who had tried to convert the King, attempted to procure his death; but Phaulcon frustrated their designs by a clever stratagem. The kingdom rang with his praises. But when the Siamese saw French troops occupy Bangkok and Ayuthia, and the priests openly boast that conquest and proselytism meant the same thing, they secretly allied themselves with the Mahomedan Powers in India and the Far East, to expel the foreigners. Phaulcon ruled with a firm hand in the meantime, fully justifying his title of "The Great Minister;" and would have carried through his designs, in spite of the dwindling number of French troops, had it not been that the King fell suddenly sick. The National party in Siam took advantage of the event. They secured the person of the sovereign, and compelled him to recognise a successor who was subservient to their wishes. This spelt ruin to Phaulcon; but nothing daunted, he took with him a "few Frenchmen, ten Portugese and sixteen English, and a number of Japanese soldiers to the palace, and attempted to reach the King." He went to the palace in his silver chair, but it came back empty, and then the Siamese knew that the Great Minister had fallen. Deserted by all except the French soldiers, who died to a man, he was made prisoner by the Indian guards at the palace and thrust into a dungeon. At the same time, the French bishops were treacherously arrested, and every foreigner in Ayuthia and Bangkok, except those who had been brought over by the rebels, was overpowered, and put into prison. It was a *coup d'état*, resembling in some features "the Sicilian Vespers."

At first the rebels feared to touch Phaulcon, such was the terror he inspired. These feelings, however, were but momentary, and it is said that finding him really in their power, they most cruelly tortured him, by placing him in the stocks, and burning the soles of his feet, at the same time loading him with chains. To tame his dauntless spirit they kept him without food for six days; but even then he was defiant and

disposed to dictate terms. His wife obtained permission to visit him ; but, continues the Jesuit account, "the usurper, though first softened by the sight of her distress, relaxed his clemency when he heard that she had enormous wealth concealed somewhere, apart from the treasures of her husband." She was arrested in her own house, though an assurance for her safety had been given, and cruelly maltreated. In order to get her to divulge the supposed hiding place of her wealth, she was scourged almost to death and flung into a stable, where she was kept under guard. To the priests who were with her at this time, and who were also severely handled, she said— 'Now, indeed, God alone remains with us ; but none can separate us from Him. He will yet work a miracle in our behalf and take Siam unto his kingdom.' A few days afterwards, the usurper fearing that an attempt might be made for the rescue of Phaulcon, ordered his execution, after having, without any form of trial, read to him in the palace, the sentence of death passed upon him. He was accused of having leagued himself with the enemies of the King, particularly the French, and of acts tending to destroy the independence of the country and to subvert the ancient faith. Then Phaulcon had his irons knocked off, and was taken in an ordinary chair to the stable where his wife was imprisoned. It is said that he wished to see his wife before death, and that the last adieus were of a most heartrending nature. On the other hand a German writer, who has taken pains to examine the "Phaulcon legend," declares that Phaulcon's wife spat in his face and would not suffer him to kiss her only remaining son of four years of age ; the other son having died a day or two previously and was still unburied. She upbraided him with being the cause of all her misfortunes, and with having sacrificed everything to an insatiable ambition.

Phaulcon was conveyed thence by night on an elephant to the foot of Thule Phulson, where he was to suffer death, his executioners fearing that a public execution would arouse sympathy in his favour, and might lead to a rescue being attempted by his adherents. On the way to the place of execution, he prayed fervently and seemed resigned to his fate. He was ordered to dismount and told that he must die. He asked for a palm leaf on which he scribbled some last injunctions, and a few minutes to finish his prayers. He then lifted up his hands towards heaven, protesting his innocence of the charges laid against him, declaring that he died willingly, having the testimony of his conscience, that as a Minister he had acted solely for the glory of the true God, the King, and the welfare of the State. The bystanders were much affected. At a sign given by the son of the usurper who conducted these tragic proceed-

ings, an executioner advanced with a drawn sword, and cut him in two. The two parts of the body were covered with a little earth, which the dogs scratched away in the night time, and then devoured the corpse.

"Thus," says a Jesuit historian, "died, at the age of forty-one, the distinguished man whose sublime genius, political skill, and great energy and penetration, warm zeal for religion, and strong attachment to the King of Siam, rendered him worthy of a longer life and happier destiny." His wife and child were shortly afterwards released and went begging from door to door for food. They finally passed into obscurity; and it is written that they died in one of the rest houses for the poor founded by the Catholic missionaries, for whose cause Phaulcon had sacrificed wealth, position, and even his life. Phaulcon's death was the death blow of the French party. The French priests were cruelly persecuted, and the few gallant French soldiers who survived the general massacre, surrendered on honourable terms as prisoners of war, and were despatched by an English vessel to Pondichery. Thus ended the dream of French dominion in Siam. True, several attempts were subsequently made to establish a French foothold in the country; but they were of a spasmodic, desultory character, and in no way resembled the spacious plans of Louis XIV, aided by Phaulcon and the Catholic clergy. Annam, Tonquin and Cambodia have since been the theatre of action for France; but, we believe, that interesting as may be the exploits of the Frenchmen who won these regions for their country, they pale before the grandiose project of the *Grand Monarque*, which, had it succeeded, would perhaps have changed the whole current of the history of European adventures in Asia, and given to France an Asiatic empire whose extent and brilliancy never entered into the wildest dreams of the French enthusiasts of the seventeenth century.

J. CARMICHAEL.

THE VICTORIA.

Like Neptune's cars the royal vessels glide,
And, all submiss, the tide
Beneath them rolls its waves of blue ;
The Heavens above look down with placid smile,
For Death, the while,
In Nature's loveliest colours hides his mortal hue.

From Earth's sad breast do men her entrails tear,
And with Cyclopean force mould as they will ;
Nature herself wants voice to make her prayer
And bows obedient unto human skill ;
And so the inert mass
Doth quickly pass
Into whatever form Man's fancy deemeth good,
Yet this so servile clay
A spirit hath, hid far away,
That doth resent the wrong done to her formless brood,
Deep in herself she, sullen, waits the time
When, in his confidence sublime,
Some little law Man passes by, unseen,
Then with an outcry hoarse
And with primeval force
She sweeps Man's works away and is as she has been.

Like Neptune's cars the royal vessels glide,
To slightest touch of hand their course they bend,
But in their monster breasts
A rebel spirit rests
And if Man once offend
The unknown Laws of Matter, far away
They'll fling obedience, and, their power defied,
'Gainst their own lords will rush, whilst Death laughs at
the fray.

What luckless impulse, Tryon, in thy heart
Moved thee the fatal signal then to give ?
Thou for thyself didst sharpen Death's black dart,
When most it was thy joy and hope to live ;
For years of noble toil had brought thee to thy prime,
And Glory's wreath we saw held towards thee in the hands
of coming Time.

The signal flies, and near—more near—
 Of all those ships the mightiest couple draw,
 Their comrades watching from afar, with fear
 Their danger saw,
 And each man held his breath—with sudden crash
 The monsters, masterless, against each other dash.
 Then Death o'er the Victoria held his hand
 And pressed her down into the greedy sea,
 She struggled, saw—not far—the wished for land,
 And sighing stooped to too strong Destiny.

Cæsar, when dying, with his gown
 His double agony concealed;
 Courageous death, in spite of Freedom's frown,
 His fame infamous hath for ever healed;
 And Tryon, in thy prime
 Robbed of the meed sublime
 That warrior nations to their bravest sons award,
 Thy fault, if fault, forgot,
 We pity will thy lot
 And Honour will this laurel leaf afford,
 That thou with brow serene
 And "firm unaltered mien"
 Seeing so few could 'scape that mortal strife,
 Put from thee, smiling, the last chance of life,
 And as thou sankst beneath the ocean swell
 Wast seen to wave thy mates a hero's bold farewell.

The startled waves are full of drowning men,
 And as the ship sinks a deep hollow forms,
 Drags them to Death in swarms,
 Yet from his grip a few escape again,
 For even Death some touch of pity feels,
 Or else his fancy reels,
 When, on his festal day,
 Fate yields so great, so unexpected prey,
 Slower and slower move the circling waves
 And Ocean smooths his face. Now far beneath
 No struggling form Fate longer braves
 And so much of young Life is old as th' world in Death.

The sad prows turn to land,
 With joyous shout and grip of hand
 The eager crowd welcome the rescued home,
 Yet midst their happy cries
 Deep sobs and sighs
 Recall how many loved ones sleep with Tryon 'neath the
 foam.

Ye sailors abrave,
'Neath the blue wave
Rest calmly ; for our souls
Care little where our empty bodies lie—
'Neath the green sod, or where eternal Ocean rolls
His flood, and winds like women weeping cry.

S. C. H.

THE QUARTER.

THE period that has elapsed since the date of our last summary has been marked by a rapid succession of events of more than ordinary interest, and some of them of far reaching and enduring importance.

Most momentous of all, from the standpoint of Indian interests, is probably the great currency reform inaugurated by the Government of India on the 26th of June. Then there is the passing of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill by the House of Commons, and its rejection by the Lords, which to the British public, no doubt, appear events of far greater moment, but the true importance of which depends upon a series of contingencies which it is impossible to predict with any approach to certainty. To many people, again, it may well seem that, whether regard be had to their inner significance, or to the impression they may be expected to make on British opinion and policy, the fierce and protracted riots between Hindus and Mahomedans in various parts of the North-Western Provinces and in Bombay, have a more important bearing on the future welfare of the country than even the recent change in its monetary standard.

Next come a group of events which, though, as far as we are able to judge, they are of secondary importance, would nevertheless be enough, by themselves, to stamp the past three months as more than ordinarily eventful—the consent of the Ameer to receive, and the determination of the Government of India to send, a political mission to Cabul for the purpose of composing outstanding differences between the two Powers; the dispute between France and Siam, and the important concessions which the former Power has extorted from the latter at the cannon's mouth; the serious floods which have devastated Cashmere and various parts of India, including Cachar, the low-lying districts of Eastern Bengal, and portions of the 24-Pergunnahs. Somewhat lower, again, perhaps, in the scale of importance, we have the appointment of the Opium Commission, and the further steps taken by the Government of Bengal in connexion with the Cadastral Survey in Behar.

Then the settlement of the Behring Sea embroglio by the arbitrators, in favour of England, has removed an occasion of quarrel between her and the United States, which might have led at any moment to serious consequences, while the result of the French elections, in the complete triumph of the

republican party, is as important from a European point of view as it is remarkable.

Compared with any of these events, the appointment of the Hemp Drugs Commission scarcely claims attention, except as an illustration of the facility with which any body of irresponsible agitators, by means of a certain amount of volubility and insistence, can persuade the Home Government to meddle, without a shadow of justification or reason, with the even course of Indian administration. In the way of personal changes, the temporary appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell to the charge of Bengal, has not been without a very sensible influence on the course of affairs, while an almost sensational interest for some people attaches to the announcement, barely a week old at the time of writing, that General Sir Henry Wylie Norman, has been appointed to succeed Lord Lansdowne as Viceroy.

In the shape of disasters the period under review will long remain memorable for one before which, in their effect on the imaginations of men, if not in the amount of misery caused by them, the calamitous floods to which we have already referred, pale into insignificance. It need hardly be said we allude to the sudden loss of the ironclad *Victoria*, with the greater part of her officers and crew, through what was apparently an inexplicable blunder on the part of the Admiral in command of the fleet one column of which she was leading at the time.

With so much to notice, we shall avoid details and dates and confine ourselves to general reflections.

As to the Home Rule Bill, we shrink from facing the multitude of ifs of which we should have to dispose before we could arrive at a definite conclusion as to the probable consequences of what at present is only a project of legislation. The Bill the passage of which through Committee was marked, among other things, by the rejection of almost every amendment of importance, has been read a third time in the Commons. by a majority corresponding closely to the balance of parties in the House, and, after a warm debate, has been thrown out by the Lords by a majority of 419 to 41. What will be the next step, no man can say. Rumour credits Mr. Gladstone with the intention of ignoring the obligation to appeal straightway to the country, and, instead, of calling an Autumn Session of Parliament for the purpose of passing a series of radical reforms which he expects will turn in his favour the tide of opinion in the constituencies that is now believed to be running strongly against him. Whether, after passing these measures, he purports at once dissolving Parliament, or whether he intends first to re-introduce the Bill and give the Lords a second opportunity of rejecting it, is probably unknown even to himself.

For the purposes of prevision the situation could hardly be more obscure ; but amid all this obscurity, or rather, outside it, two things are clear. The first is that the passing of the Bill has been a fraud on the constituencies, the second is that, should Mr. Gladstone adopt the course above indicated, his action will be an attempt to perpetrate a further fraud on the constituencies. The passing of the Bill has been a fraud on the constituencies because, when Mr. Gladstone was last returned to power, it was understood throughout the country, and Mr. Gladstone knew that it was understood, that, whatever might be the details of the Home Rule Bill he would introduce, it would provide either for the exclusion of the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament, or for such a reduction of their numbers as would make it impossible for them to put undue pressure on the Government, or for the limitation of their power of voting to matters concerning Ireland. Instead of this, the Bill gives Ireland not only a Parliament of her own, with plenary power of legislation as regards the management of most of her own affairs, but a full measure of representation in the Imperial Parliament as well. The course of action which Mr. Gladstone is understood to contemplate, will be an attempt at a further fraud on the constituencies, because it will be an appeal to them for their votes upon issues unconnected with that which will have been the real cause of the dissolution, and for the decision of which he intends to use his power if returned.

Our opinion as to what is likely to be the effect of the Home Rule Bill, should it become law, is already pretty well known to our readers. We believe that it will prove disastrous to both Ireland and England, not because there is anything essentially incompatible with the prosperity of either country in the principle of Home Rule, but because we believe that Ireland is wholly unfit for Home Rule ; because we believe that the men who are working for Home Rule, and into whose hands the chief power will fall under the provisions of the Bill, are mainly animated, not by a desire for the good of either Ireland or England, but by a desire to promote their own selfish interests ; and because we believe, further, that they are in a large measure hostile to England, and will use their power in the Irish legislature for their own purposes, to the detriment of both Ireland and England, and their power in the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of coercing the Government into acquiescing in the measures by which they will seek to effect this two-fold injury.

But, injurious in its operation as we believe the Bill will prove to both countries, we regard the manner in which it has been carried, as an immeasurably greater calamity than the Bill itself. It has been carried by means which are as opposed

to the spirit of the British constitution, and as destructive of British liberty, as the scenes which have marked its passage through the House of Commons are abhorrent to British habits and traditions and dishonouring to the British nation. It is a deplorable instance of the irony of fate, that it was the opponents, and not the supporters, of Home Rule, who initiated the series of steps by which this degradation of Parliament has been rendered possible. The very weapon which they forged to enable them to frustrate the endeavours of the Irish members to coerce them by obstruction, has been wrested from their hands by the Irish members and their servile allies, and turned against them for the purpose of paralysing their opposition.

On the 26th June, on the recommendation of Lord Herschell's Committee, the Indian mints were closed to the free coinage of silver, a Bill sanctioning this action having been passed through the Council at Simla, at a single sitting, on that date. At the same time, it was notified that rupees would be issued from the Mints in exchange for gold coin or bullion, at a rate corresponding to 1s. 4d. sterling for the rupee.

The action of the Government, though not unexpected, came, at the last moment, as a surprise. no previous warning having been given of what was intended, and no information as to the recommendations of the Committee having reached the public in this country, though there is reason to believe that the secret had been betrayed, and a tolerably detailed, and exact account of the conclusions arrived at had actually been published in a German newspaper nearly a month before.

One consequence of the suddenness of the Government's action was that a large quantity of silver shipped by the exchange banks, and some of it actually landed and on its way to the Bombay Mint, was shut out from coinage; and this silver, amounting to nearly two crores of rupees had ultimately to be taken over by the Government. Bills and transfers to a large amount were somewhat unnecessarily sold by the Secretary of State on the very day on which the Government Notification was issued, and before the decision of the Government was known in Calcutta, at rates ranging from 1s. 3½d. to 1s. 3¼d. As the news of what had been done had the immediate effect of sending exchange up to over 1s. 4d., it was at first felt that this action had involved the Revenue in heavy loss. Subsequent events, however, make it probable that, though there may have been some loss, it was less serious than was supposed; for, after the market had had time to consider the situation calmly, rates fell rapidly, going below 1s. 3d. and that, though the Secretary of State, after selling at 1s. 3¾d., refused to sell for several weeks in succession.

Great dissatisfaction was expressed in Indian commercial

circles, at the Secretary of State's earlier sales; and, when, on the 16th August, he gave way again and let a small quantity of Bills go at 1s. 3¼d., the dissatisfaction was turned into indignation, and strong representations were made to the Government on the subject by Mr. Mackay, as President of the Indian Currency Association, and by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and others.

A general impression seems to have prevailed that the action of the Government implied that the Secretary of State, whether in virtue of an understanding with it, or in fulfilment of an evident obligation, would refuse to sell his Bills under 1s. 4d.; and, along with this belief, there appears to have been an equally general expectation that the result of his adopting this attitude would be that the value of the rupee would rise at once to that figure. A study, however, of the statements made in Council by Sir David Barbour and the Viceroy, discloses no ground for this impression; while the belief by which it was accompanied ignores certain tolerably obvious facts. On the one hand, neither Sir David Barbour nor the Viceroy said anything whatever about the terms on which the Secretary of State would sell his Bills. On the other hand, they said much which showed that they themselves were not at all confident that the value of the rupee would at once rise to 1s. 4d. It would have been better had they announced definitely what, in the event of its not so rising, the Secretary of State intended to do. But, in the absence of such an announcement, the supposition that he would go on borrowing till the limit aimed at was reached—and he must have done this if he had withheld his Bills—was a somewhat violent one. It may be questioned whether the Government of India ever expected that he would adopt such a course. It may be questioned, too, whether it would have been a wise or proper course. Had the expectation that the effect of adopting it would be a rapid rise of exchange been correct, it would, no doubt, have been a wise course. But we now know that expectation was incorrect.

Owing to the recent extraordinary importations and coinage of silver, the market at the end of June was positively glutted with rupees, and the glut was destined to be further increased by the silver subsequently taken over from the Banks and coined. Under these circumstances, it is certain that, if the Secretary of State had held out for a price considerably in excess of the market value of the rupee, the market would have underbid him. It actually did underbid him for weeks together, when he stood out for a much lower limit than 1s. 4d. Moreover, even without any glut of rupees, it is pretty certain that the Secretary of State could not hold out for much more than the market price, without creating conditions which

would attract rupees from other sources. The events of the last few weeks, for instance, have disclosed a quite unexpected capacity on the part of the country for the absorption of silver bullion; and, as long as holders of rupees remain willing to invest in this, at prices which make it a cheaper means of remittance than Council Bills at the Secretary of State's limit, it is not likely that there will be any considerable demand for Bills at that limit.

No doubt, this state of things cannot continue indefinitely. Sooner or later, unless the balance of trade should fall below the quantity of Bills to be disposed of, the sterling value of the rupee must reach the 1s 4d. limit. No doubt, too, if the Secretary of State in the meantime were to supply his wants by permanent borrowings, the interval before this limit was reached would be correspondingly diminished. The question is simply one between waiting for the natural effect of the closing of the mints and, in the meantime, selling Council Bills from time to time for their market value, and incurring a certain liability for interest charges in order to force the rupee up more rapidly by stopping the supply of Council Bills.

The course actually adopted by the Secretary of State is a compromise between these two courses. Ostensibly he fixes his limit at the market rate. But the result, so far, has shown that he has generally fixed it an arbitrary price, somewhere between that rate and the 1s. 4d. limit.

There seems to be no doubt that the recrudescence of Hindu fanaticism which, directly or indirectly, has led to the recent serious riots in the district of Azamgarh and other parts of the North-West Provinces, and certain parts of Behar, in the State of Junagadh in Kathiawar, and in the city of Bombay, is the immediate outcome of an active propaganda set on foot by the Cow-protection societies that have been established throughout the country during the last few years, mainly through the efforts of professional agitators of questionable antecedents and motives. But the readiness with which the Hindu community, who, in recent times had not been given to fanaticism, have responded to the incitements, of these men, is symptomatic of an important change of temper, and this change is probably due to a complex group of causes. Foremost among them we are inclined to place the new sense of power which the unwonted security, and, to a certain extent the favour, enjoyed by the Hindoos under British rule have engendered. Men whose very religion had for centuries been practised under sufferance, and whose share in the dignities and emoluments of high office had, even under the most enlightened of the Mussulman rulers of the country, been in inverse proportion to their numbers as compared with the

Mahomedan population, have found themselves, under the rule of England, raised to a position, in the one respect, of equality, and, in the other, of marked superiority, to the followers of the rival faith.

It is but human nature that, under such circumstances, they should be elated and seek to improve their opportunity, or that they should find a suitable occasion for this in the widespread prevalence of a practice which is abomination of abominations to them, and which would never have been tolerated for an instant under a Hindoo regime. The cry of India for the Indians means, naturally, for them, India for the Hindoos ; and it is not surprising that they should overlook the fact that the sympathy which that cry has evoked from the people of England is conditioned upon a wholly different interpretation of the phrase. Along with this feeling a growing sense of the weakness of the Government, due partly to recent administrative changes in India, and partly to the facility with which the authorities in England can be got to overrule its decisions, has been developed, and the innovating tendency of recent legislature has, at the same time, given rise to a widespread feeling of irritation and distrust.

It is not to be wondered at that, under such conditions, a little spark should create a great blaze, and that disaffected men should seize the opportunity to stir up confusion.

The facts all go to show that the movement is one of aggression on the part of the Hindus. There is no evidence of the Mahomedans anywhere having gone out of their way to wound their feelings ; and in several cases the riots have arisen out of attempts on the part of Hindoos to rescue cattle that were being dealt with in the ordinary course of business, on the mere ground that their ultimate destiny was the shambles. Where, as in the case of the Bombay riots, Mahomedans have been the actual aggressors, it was by way of reprisals.

As to the question of the attitude of the educated classes of the Hindoo community towards the movement, while it is clear from the utterances of the native press, that, speaking generally, they sympathise warmly with its object, there is no reason to think that they approve of its methods, still less that they have taken any active part in fomenting disturbances, though it may not improbably be found that there have been noteworthy exceptions even in the last mentioned respect. Indeed, the disturbances point to conclusions so fatal to their political aspirations, that to credit them with any other attitude, would be to attribute to them an almost incredible want of ordinary foresight. On the other hand, it is clear that, whether the educated natives approve or disapprove of the riots, the practical lesson to be drawn from them is the same. In the

one case, it follows that they are morally disqualified for that extended share in the Government of the country which they seek. In the other case, it follows that their influence with the mass of their fellow-countrymen is so insignificant, that it would be dangerous to give it them.

The most obvious lesson of the riots is the necessity, in the interests of order, of preserving a strong European element in the administration ; and another of its lessons, depending upon considerations into which we cannot here enter, is the necessity of the Government setting an example of that tolerance towards all classes of its subjects which it rightly insists on their observing towards one another.

As far as concerns any hope which the landholders of Behar may have entertained, that the invitation to discuss with the Lieutenant-Governor the further arrangements for the Cadastral Survey indicated an open mind on his part on the main question at issue, the Conference at Mozufferpur has proved a signal disappointment. They were informed, at the outset, that their opinions were wanted, not on the question whether steps should be taken to provide for the maintenance and periodical revision of the Record of Rights, or not, but only on the subsidiary question, whether the work should be done by the patwaries, who were to be registered and converted into Government servants for the purpose, or by a special establishment of Kanungoes, to be paid for partly by fees and partly by a cess. Thus driven into a corner, the landholders unanimously elected the latter alternative ; and, with the approval of the Government of India, a Bill is to be brought in to confer the necessary powers for carrying out the scheme.

An attempt, to which however, the Government disavows having been in any way a party, was made to represent this as implying the assent of the landholders to the principle of the scheme, an interpretation of their action which they promptly and publicly repudiated. Meetings of both landholders and ryots have since been held to renew their protests against both the Survey and the scheme for maintaining the Record ; but the Government has the support of the authorities at Home, and there is very little prospect of its receding from its position.

The composition of the Opium Commission, a majority of the members of which consists of men holding pronounced views on opposite sides of the question, may probably be regarded as indicative of a desire on the part of the Government to gratify the abolitionists with as little risk as possible to their own freedom of action. It is, humanly speaking, impossible that the outcome of the enquiry should be a unanimous report, and highly probable that its only result will be to emphasise existing differences. The question whether India or England

is to pay the piper has, apparently, not yet been finally decided, but, from the latest official announcement on the subject, it seems probable that the cost will be divided between the two countries.

The selection of Sir Henry Norman for the Viceroyalty is generally more or less strongly condemned, most strongly in official circles, and the nearer to Simla the more vehemently, partly on the ground of Sir Henry's age, and partly because he is known to have held, and believed still to hold, views, especially on frontier matters, which make the appointment an anachronism. A widespread apprehension prevails that the choice augurs an intention on the part of the Home Government to put back the hands of the clock. This apprehension is probably unfounded, for Mr. Gladstone has hitherto shown himself fairly ready to accept accomplished facts. At the same time there are good grounds for thinking that Sir Henry Norman is being sent out to put a check on the further development of the policy which has led to the accomplishment of these facts, and this alone is enough to make his appointment unpopular with the military clique which has, for many years past, dominated the policy of the Government in such matters. Yet more widely distasteful to the official mind is probably the prospect that Sir Henry Norman, having the advantage of most of his entourage as regards knowledge of Indian affairs, will be less disposed than most Viceroys to lean on them for advice.

If this were all, we should be inclined to side with the not inconsiderable minority who look forward to the coming change with a sense of relief. We cannot help feeling, however, that there is something behind, contingent it may be, upon events still in the womb of the future, to explain a choice which, if only on the ground of age, is extraordinary, beyond precedent; that the appointment, in short, conceals a purpose which has nothing to do with frontier policy, or perhaps, with anything with which it is associated in the public mind; and feeling this, without knowing what the purpose is, we prefer to reserve our verdict.

The United States House of Representatives have passed a Bill for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman Act, but opinion on the subject in the Senate is understood to be very equally divided, and an attempt will probably be made to substitute a Bill which will, in some measure, protect the interest of silver. Should that be the case, the result will probably be a prolonged deadlock.

As to the Franco-Siamese affair, while little or no harm has probably yet been done to British interests, France has reached a point, and disclosed her hand to an extent which

make it essential that England should have a clear understanding with her as to the limits beyond which any further advance on her part will be treated as an act of hostility.

Preparations on the Ameer's side for the safe conduct and reception of the Mission to Kabul are in active progress, and the announcement of their completion is daily expected. In the meantime it is understood that communications from the Ameer to the Government of India continue to be of the most friendly description ; and this, together with the personality of Sir Mortimer Durand, and the certainty that, under existing circumstances, the demands of the Government of India will be of the most moderate character, justify the hope that the Mission will result in a marked improvement in the relations between the two countries.

The result of the elections in France will be greatly to strengthen the Government and to improve its diplomatic position in Europe in a corresponding degree ; but whether it makes rather for peace or for trouble between the nations, is doubtful.

September 11, 1893.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Penal Settlement of Port Blair for 1891-92.

COL. HORSFORD, aforetime a terror to Oudh budmashes and refractory Sergeants' wives as Cantonment Magistrate of Lucknow, submits this Report, although Colonel Cadell, V. C., held the appointment of Chief Commissioner and Superintendent throughout the twelve months reported on. The most notable event during this time was the disastrous cyclone of the 2nd November 1891; but there is but incidental reference to it in the Blue Book before us, which advises that a separate report on the subject has been sent to the Government of India.

The number of persons implicated in criminal cases in which free labourers were concerned was only 55 against 64 in the previous year, the number of convict cases tried judicially fell from 31 to 15, and the number of convicts implicated in them from 41 to 18. Five cases of murder and 2 cases of attempt at murder by convicts, were brought to trial, against 8 cases of the former, and 4 of the latter, in the previous year. There was also one case in which 5 Car Nicobarese were tried during the year under Sections 304 and 118. Four men were sentenced to death against 9 in the preceding year. There were 3 appeals from convicted parties and 1 by the Public Prosecutor. Of these, 3 were rejected and 1 re-tried, resulting in the conviction of the accused acquitted by the Lower Courts.

The daily average number of convicts throughout the year was 11,459 against 11,804 during the previous year, and the number at the close of the year was 11,356 against 11,738 at its commencement. Eight hundred and thirty-seven were received from India and Burma against 901 during the previous year.

At the close of the year there were 8,846, or 70·90 per cent. life convicts, and 2,510, or 22·10 per cent., term convicts.

The estimated value of jail manufactures was Rs. 3,28,527 against Rs. 3,75,901 last year. The weaving of the cotton clothing by the females and the woollen clothing at Viper, by invalids continues. Although the effort to dispense with the services of the female prisoners at sooji-sifting was not successful, the manufacture of bread from flour instead of sooji will, when undertaken, set free the women, whose employment outside the female jail was disapproved of by the Commission.

The attempt made in the Northern District to teach convicts the Roman, to be used in place of the Urdu character was not successful for want of competent teachers. "

Habituals are now located at Viper and worked separately, and it is arranged to keep new arrivals on Viper, Chatham, Ross, and other healthy stations for a year. The re-organisation of the staff of convict officials has been effected, and a mark system devised to take the place of money gratuities to certain classes of convicts. Convict remittances to India have been stopped in the case of labouring convicts and restricted in the case of self-supporters.

The number of offences committed during the year was 2,655, against 2,459 during the previous year, and their ratio to strength 26·16, against 20·85 per cent. The ratio, although comparing favourably with those of Indian jails, is 2·31 in excess of that of last year. The greater number of offences are, however, of a petty nature, connected with order and discipline and idleness at work. The corporal punishments have also increased. Five hundred and fifty-five floggings were awarded during the year, a ratio of 5·21 to strength, against a ratio of 3·39 last year. The Burman convicts only numbered 11·20 of average strength, and yet 22·88 per cent. of the whippings were received by them. There were 87 escapes, against 86 during the previous year; 68 re-captures were effected, leaving 19 at large, and of these 2 were re-taken; 58 of the convicts who escaped were transported for dacoity, house-breaking, and theft.

There were 2,925 self-supporters at the end of the year—2,412 males and 513 females; a decrease of 72 men and 52 women having taken place during the year.

The number of marriages sanctioned during the year was the same as last year, 37; 6 female term convicts transported for seven years and upwards, who, according to the recent ruling of Government, may be permitted to marry locally under the same conditions as female life-convicts, were received in the Settlement during the convict deportation season of 1891-92.

There has been an increase of 334 acres of land cleared, and, despite the cyclone, an increase of revenue under 'total collections of Rs. 3,167; Rs. 1,933 of this amount is, however, due to the birds' nest and trepang industries, worked by the Andamanese. The desire of a Chinaman to take up the lease of these farms has not been acceded to, experience in the past deciding us to retain possession of the same, and work them through the aborigines under Settlement supervision.

According to the accounts received, the total receipts and expenditure, as compared with those of the preceding year, were—

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

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			1890-91. Rs.	1891-92. Rs.
Receipts	4,83,153	6,09,069
Expenditure	12,87,308	13,66,944
Net cost			8,04,155	7,57,875

A net decrease of ... Rs 46,680.

The Forest Department figures show a net increase of revenue of Rs. 64,157.

There has also been increased revenue, under the following heads: "Land Rent," "Jail Manufacture," "Hire of Convicts," "Sales of Stores," "Tea Garden Receipts," and other sources. The expenditure has been greater under "Public Works Department," "Marine Department," and "Commissariat supplies," owing to the cyclone and other causes. On the whole the net cost per convict is less than last year by Rs. 1-15-10, due to the realisations on the sale of two cargoes of timber in London.

No cattle were imported during the year. The animals required for slaughter and draught purposes were principally purchased locally or taken from the farm cattle. The deaths, exclusive of those caused by the cyclone are 7 head of slaughter cattle and 33 calves. There was no mortality among the bulls and draught cattle during the year. Of the five consignments of sheep received; one batch, consisting of 399 sheep, received on the 8th June was bad, the average weight of each animal being 49½lb against 52½lb, the average weight for the year. Excluding deaths from the effects of the cyclone, the casualties numbered 14 sheep and 18 lambs, against 50 of the former and 15 of the latter last year. Under instructions from the Government of India, portable engines, Nos. 1 and 2, are to be sold at Calcutta, being replaced by a new engine and boiler similar to No. 4, for which an indent on the Secretary of State has been submitted. The boiler of No. 3 engine was renewed and erected on the site of No. 2, but has scarcely been used. It is in good condition. No. 4 engine and boiler have given every satisfaction. This machinery alone is quite able to turn out the whole of the flour, etc., required to be ground. The ice-machine, which has now been at work for five years, is said to be worn out, and a constant source of trouble to the Mechanical Engineer to keep in working order. It will, however, probably last a couple of years longer. When replaced, a different class of machine should be got.

Agriculture.—On the northern District 57 acres of reclaimed mangrove swamps, 286½ acres of virgin forest (141½ acres by labouring convicts and 145½ by self-supporters), and 26 acres of secondary jungle were cleared during the year;

and on the Southern District 2 acres of virgin forest, $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of swamp land, and 5 acres of secondary jungle: 37,447 feet of trenches of various widths and depths were dug in reclaimed swamps.

The tea garden at Navy Bay continues to be managed satisfactorily by Mr. A. J. King, who also supervises the work of the Assistant Manager of the Goplakabang estate. The out-turn of the former garden, which covers an area of $390\frac{1}{2}$ acres, was 69,961lb against 63,400lb during the previous year. The cash receipts amounted to Rs. 31,050, almost identical with last year's receipts; and the cash expenditure to Rs. 8,790, leaving a cash profit of Rs. 22,260; and after deducting the estimated value of labour and local materials, there still remains a surplus of Rs. 4,505.

The "thread blight" that attacked the Goplakabang garden has been nearly eradicated. The garden like that at Navy Bay suffered from the severity of the cyclone. The quantity of tea manufactured was 49,194lb, against 24,100lb last year. The cash receipts amounted to Rs. 17,935, the cash expenditure to Rs. 3,538, giving a cash profit of Rs. 14,397. The estimated value of convict labour, etc., was Rs. 9,950, so there remains this year a net profit of Rs. 4,447.

As to forests, the total credits this year amounted to Rs. 2,72,338 against Rs. 1,58,325 last year; the total debits to Rs. 1,79,908 against Rs. 1,30,052, and the surplus to Rs. 92,430 against Rs. 28,273: an increase of Rs. 64,157. If to the year's surplus is added the net increase in the value of stock, the grand total becomes Rs. 1,10,493. As remarked, however, in previous reports, the accounts of one year do not present a fair index of the working of the Department during that year, as the value of the timber exported during the year is not realised in that year.

There were larger sales from the London dépôt this year than in any previous year, it being the first year in which two cargoes were sold in this market. One thousand five hundred and thirty tons, consisting chiefly of padouk squares and planks, realised £7.16 per ton, all round rate. The average rate per ton for the aggregate of timber and dunnage board was better than in the previous year.

The prices realised in Calcutta, except for padouk squares, were not satisfactory, 8½ tons realising Rs. 4,549 or Rs. 56 per ton. In Madras padouk squares and round logs realised Rs. 41 per ton, and selected pymeas Rs. 47 per ton.

The tramway was extended a mile during the year and now covers a length of $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The material for the extension cost Rs. 7,568. The saving due to the use of the line is estimated at Rs. 6,149. Two additional miles of tramway are necessary to extract the timber from the girdled areas of the

present and past years, and proposals to this end have already been submitted to Government.

As to *Education*, the European and Eurasian school is quite distinct from the ordinary Settlement schools. It receives a grant-in-aid of Rs. 600 out of the Rs. 3,000 allowed for this purpose by Government. The school fees realised Rs. 322. The average attendance was 5 boys and 74 girls. The school-mistress resigned because her salary was not increased, and the school was temporarily closed last March. It has since been re-opened. In the Settlement school the number of boys on the rolls of the schools was 217, against 207 last year, and that of girls 72, against 81; the average daily attendance of boys 195 against 193, and of girls 65 against 74. There were 9 boys in the Aberdeen school Mensuration class, and 13 in the English school, at that station. The industrial school is favourably reported on, and, as it is an institution that is likely to do good in the Settlement, it should be encouraged in every way.

The schools have a grant-in-aid of Rs. 2,400. The school fees and cess amounted to Rs. 2,650, and Rs. 222 lapsed to Government after all expenses were paid.

The sick rate among the convicts was 59.4 per mille against 58.5 during the preceding year, and the death rate 34.4 against 32.3. The total number of deaths was 485 against 422 of the previous year. Eighty-six deaths occurred out of hospital. Of the deaths in hospital, 60 per mille were reported to be due directly or indirectly to the cyclone. The sick and death rates are higher this year than last.

Twenty-six runaways were re-captured by Andamanese; one of their number, who, with two others, was making away on a raft, was killed whilst in the act of resisting re-capture.

The Andaman Orphanage was successfully managed by Mr. Solomon, Catechist, under the supervision of the Reverend D. G. Latham Brown, who left the Settlement shortly before the close of the year.

Seven visits were paid to the Nicobars during the year. It was ascertained that a cyclone visited the islands on 23rd March 1892, the first that we have a record of doing considerable damage at Nancowry, Camorta, Trinkat, and Kalchal, the central group of the islands. No loss of life is reported to have occurred. The only vessel exposed to its violence, was a Chinese junk at anchor off the north coast of Camorta. She was wrecked, but her crew of 28 Chinamen escaped.

Report on Municipal Taxation and Expenditure in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh during the year ending 31st March 1892.

OF the 103 municipalities in the N.-W. P. and Oudh seven have a population of over 100,000, 10 of between 50,000 and 100,000, and 58 of between 10,000 and 50,000. The total population according to the revised figures of the census of 1891 was 3,270,160. The number of registered electors in the various municipalities was 55,052. As the population of the municipalities in which the elective system was in force was 3,174,051, the percentage of registered electors to population was 1·7 as against 2·13 in the previous year.

The elective system has not been extended to the six municipalities which were without it in the previous year.

Elections were held in 65 municipalities during the year. Of the persons entitled to vote in the various wards where elections took place, an average number of 26·7 all round actually voted as against 31·2 per cent. in the preceding year. The municipalities in which the largest number of votes were recorded were—

Mainpuri, where 86·9 per cent. of electors voted.

Dhampur " 82·2 " "

Fatehpur " 94·4 " "

On the other hand the public interest in the elections appears to have been slight in—

Jalesar, where 7·9 per cent. of electors voted.

Mau Rānipur " 15·2 " "

Meerut " 16·1 " "

Nanpara " 18·2 " "

Bulandshahr " 24·1 " "

The same six towns as last year have an *ex officio* Chairman of the Board in the person of the District Magistrate.

In all the other municipalities to which Act XV of 1883 applies, the Municipal Boards elect their own Chairman under the provisions of section 18 ; but as a matter of fact the following six municipalities alone have elected non-official chairmen :—

Bilsi.		Bhinga.
Fatehpur.		Muhamdi.
Nanpara		Fyzabad.

The following boards held the largest number of meetings during the year :—

				Total number of meetings
Allahabad	...	...	...	49
Kasganj	...	...	...	38
Cawnpore	...	...	...	36
Hapur	...	...	...	34
Naini Tal	...	...	...	34
Shahabad	...	...	...	33
Chkndausi	...	...	...	30

But says Mr. Holderness, as Sir Charles Elliot says apropos of Bengal Municipalities, this comparison does not imply that these boards were necessarily the most attentive to their duties. A number of boards, of which Benares and Fyzabad are perhaps the best examples, work by means of separate committees for the different departments of administration.

The North-Western Provinces and Oudh Water Works Act I of 1891, was extended to the Allahabad, Agra, and Cawnpore Municipalities; and rules were sanctioned under sections 36 and 37 for the Allahabad Municipality.

The total income amounted to Rs. 58,07,837 against Rs. 47,76,959 in the previous year, showing an increase of Rs. 10,30,878. Including the opening balance, the total assets were Rs. 63,70,179.

	Rs.
Municipal rates and taxes	23,97,124
Realizations under special Acts	75,827
Revenue derived from municipal property and powers apart from taxation... ..	5,65,556
Grants and contributions (for general and special purposes)	10,99,075
Miscellaneous	42,936
Loans and other extraordinary items	16 27,319
Total	58,07,837

The principal form of taxation was octroi, which was in force in 82 municipalities. The other systems of taxation were as follows :—

	<i>Municipalities.</i>
Tax on houses and lands in	21
„ animals and vehicles in	14
„ professions and trades in	23
Tolls on roads and ferries in	5
Water rate in	1
Conservancy (including scavenging and latrine rate) in	2
Tax on servants in	1
Stall tax in	1
Site tax in	1
Tax according to circumstances and property in	10

The total gross income octroi was Rs. 26,75,916, as compared with Rs. 24,31,773 of the preceding year.

The total net income from taxation was Rs. 23,97,124 against Rs. 23,14,126 of the previous year. The incidence of taxation per head of population within municipal limits was thus eleven annas and eight pies, as compared with the eleven annas and four pies in 1890-91. It was highest in the municipality of Naini Tal, where it fell, under the exceptional circumstances of a hill station, at the rate of Rs. 4-5-8 per head, and lowest in Bhinga, where it was one anna and nine pies only.

The results of the year's administration are pronounced good on the whole.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

Memoirs of my Indian Career. By SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, M.P., K.C.S.I., D.C.L. Edited by SIR CHARLES E. BERNARD, Vols. I. and II. London: Macmillan and Co. and New York, 1893.

WE happened not long ago on an extremely laudatory, Exeter Hall excogitated, biography of James Hannington, first Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa.* It is recalled to mind by Sir George Campbell's "Memoirs of my Indian Career." Both men were, in the main, self-educated, both of them masterful, and what people without opinions of their own stigmatise as opinionated; both were thick-skinned, and, like the aphoristic boys who threw stones at frogs, deficient in understanding that what was fun for them might be death to more sensitive organisations; both had a mission to which their lives were devoted; one endured martyrdom in the flesh, the other in the spirit, and because of uncomprehending depreciation, detraction, and obstructiveness. There the parallel ends. Reading between the indulgent lines of a friendly memoir, one cannot help seeing that the fundamental elements of Bishop Hannington's mental and moral outcomes were foundationed on no small amount of personal vanity; a quality from which George Campbell's inner self was entirely free. A pleasant characteristic of his memoirs is their *abandon*, their repudiation of varnishes, their self-evident, candid reality. Stories that tell against himself are re-told without any false shame; errors of judgment are acknowledged and regretted, or *more Scottico* argued around: there is nowhere sign or token of approach to, or wish for, slurring over or concealment. To be able to say that of an autobiography is to be able to sav a good deal. In accord with the doctrinaire assumptions of the Exeter Hall School, James Hannington's narrowness commands admiration: the reward accorded to George Campbell's good works, catholic breadth of view, and work-a-day altruism was—detraction and abuse, save at the hands of an unprejudiced few, willing, as well as able, to distinguish between facts and their vestments, to recognise actuality as something distinct and different from a *roobakaree*, and not necessarily heretical when

* James Hannington, D.D., F.L.S., F.R.G.S., First Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa. A History of his Life and Work 1847-1885. By E. C. Dawson, M.A., Oxon. London: Seeley & Co, 46, 47, and 48, Essex Street, Strand.

endued with a rasping voice and unconcealed contempt for mere tradition. In this connection it will not be out of place to remark that, though Sir George Campbell was unpopular in Bengal, he had, in all the varied course of his previous career, in no wise been considered, either demi-officially, or by the public, either a killjoy, or a too precipitate radical (except perhaps by Sir Charles Wingfield). As a matter of fact, the stagnation, and worse, of a long continued course of privileged secretariat bureaucracy was the active cause of the reforming Lieutenant-Governor's unpopularity with the Services. Be that as it may, the administrative gospel inculcated by Sir George Campbell, scorned and rejected, though it was in his own day, and by the men of his own generation, is now, twenty years afterwards, a very generally accepted one. Faithful and appreciative friend of the dead man, Sir Charles Bernard, has done what little editing the memoirs stood in need of, and is entitled to the thanks of the reading public for his reticence and unobtrusiveness. In a half page of preface to the memoirs he tells us :—

They are published as he left them, the old spelling of Indian names being retained. The memoirs give some idea of Campbell's diligence, his thirst for information, his grasp of great affairs, his many-sidedness, his steadfast adherence to principle, his sympathy with the oppressed and afflicted, his honesty of purpose, and his untiring energy. His reforming zeal on occasions raised opponents, who afterwards recognised that Campbell's measures were generally sound and beneficial. He left a permanent mark for good on the administration of Bengal, the Central Provinces, Oude, and part of the Punjab

But the memoirs do not fully bring out the warmth of heart, the unselfish kindness, and the thoughtfulness for others which endeared George Campbell to those who knew him best during his Indian career.

Scotus nascitur is an everlasting axiom. Being Scotch, Sir George Campbell, his rampant radicalism, his vaunt of cosmopolitanism notwithstanding, was proud of the pride and ancestry of his genealogical tree, and he is careful in the first chapter of his memoirs to inform all and sundry that his family owed descent to Donald Campbell, Abbot of Coupar Angus, son of the Argyll who fell at Flodden; careful also to explain that Donald had been a soldier and a married man with a family before it suited his canny Scot views, before, in the fitness of things mediæval, he dropped into the family "living," pretty much, it would seem, as the younger sons of protestant patrons to English livings do now. Donald "managed to feather his nest," and left comfortable estates to each of his several sons; from one of whom Sir George descended. The reader desirous of a particular history of the family and its fortunes is referred to the well-known life of the Chancellor, Lord Campbell, author of the *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England*. He was Sir George's uncle. At the early age of eight, he was sent to the Edinburgh New Academy, got two

years of *propria quæ maribus* there, and then three years more of gerund-grinding at St. Andrews—waste of time, he seems to have thought.

There was a gleam of another state of things when I came to mathematics proper, to Euclid, at the age of twelve. Then I suddenly found that without any effort I was easily head of a class of some fifty boys. The fact is, that any powers that I have, are of a ratiocinative character. At the end of a year I had triumphantly mastered the six books of Euclid, though I don't think my mathematical education ever went very much further. However the ratiocinative character of my mind has always stood me in good stead, or in bad as the case may be. I think I have always been prone to fixed and logical principles of action. But, on the other hand, I have perhaps been too much given to independent views; too little apt to follow the current tide of opinion. That has not always been to my advantage, even if I may sometimes think that my opinions were only a little in advance of most of the world, and were right, though premature.

It surprises us to read that, fifty years ago, in the secondary schools of Scotland, religion was very little taught. To the best of my recollection, says our autobiographer "it was not taught at the Edinburgh Academy at all. At St. Andrews we had a weekly dose of the Shorter Catechism, just enough to make me hate it—a hatred which I have maintained through life." Five years spent between Edinburgh and St. Andrews made up the sum of his "regular" education. "I don't think I knew more Latin and Mathematics when I left the University at fifteen than when I went there." Deprivation of "regular" education in youth and concomitant cramps and closures on the thinking faculties has proved a blessing to not a few of our most capable Anglo-Indian administrators—Hastings, Clive, Elphinstone, Napier, by way of instance. Now-a-days we get highly charged educational retorts of the Lord Reay and Mountstuart Duff altitude. Does their conduct of affairs warrant assumption that the mere machinery of education is, for the manufacture of men able to govern other men, palpably superior to the strength of will and the compelling power of thoughtful common sense, with which a good many men, not erudite in the schools, are endued. Erudition would not have been of much use to Hercules in the Augæan stables. There are a good many Augæan stables in India still in sore need of cleansing,—and intimate acquaintance with Sanskrit roots, or the intricacies of the differential calculus, won't afford much help to the man who would like to do what he can towards their cleansing and disestablishment. But this is a digression.

In view of Sir FitzJames Stephen's lately republished *Horæ Sabbaticæ*, not a bad way of recovering our subject matter will be a citation of that part of Sir George Campbell's apologia for his educational shortcomings, in which he tells us that he had none of the dislike for Paley that he felt towards the Shorter

Catechism. "On the contrary, I have an affection for Paley to this day, and though he has now gone out of fashion, I have not heard that anything better has been found to put in his place. I need hardly say that my preference for Paley to the Shorter Catechism does not involve any liking for Anglican forms; on the contrary I have always infinitely preferred the Presbyterian system of my fathers to the Episcopal Sacerdotalism of the Anglicans." Immediately following this profession of faith is a characteristic utterance for which we must find a place. "The examination for Haileybury was then not competitive, but qualifying, and qualifying examinations seldom keep many out; yet I went up with some trembling, and was very agreeably surprised to find that I had greatly distinguished myself, and was much complimented by the examiners." At Haileybury his "principal subjects" were Political Economy and Law. "Political Economy had not then been sent to Saturn, and I really think Jones taught it in a very sensible way. I never was a rigid disciple, but I do trace in my letters for the next two or three years, little priggish economical statements which I would not venture upon in these days." It will be remembered that in 1873, he, being then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, wanted to lay an embargo on the export of rice, but was overruled by Lord Northbrook. In after years he often thought over the situation, but could never reconcile his intellect and Lord Northbrook's decision.

Sir George Campbell argues thus:—

I still incline to the belief that millions of money were sacrificed to an idea, and great efforts and labour were rendered necessary, when a very simple order prohibiting exports would have done almost all that was required by a self-acting process. The position of the Government of India seems to me to have been somewhat illogical. I can understand non-interference with trade; but in this case the enormous Government imports amounted to an artificial interference with trade quite as great as the prohibition of exports. If the Government were willing to run the risk of supplying work only and trusting to private efforts for food, no doubt Behar and North Bengal were by no means so isolated as Orissa. Private imports would, sooner or later, have been drawn in, and I think that prices would probably never have reached the extreme point that they did in Orissa, nor would famine (though on a larger scale) have been so acute. But the effect of the known determination of Government largely to import was to prevent an immediate extreme rise of prices, and the deflection of the trade of Lower Bengal; consequently for some months the export of rice from Bengal went on in its accustomed channels. The strange spectacle was seen of fleets of ships taking rice out from the Hooghly and passing other ships bringing rice in; often, no doubt, the same ship brought one cargo in and took another away. Inasmuch as the export took place in the earlier months of the year, while the Government imports were considerably delayed, the means of carriage up country were not utilised in the earlier months, and an excessive strain was thrown upon them at a later and much less favourable season, involving an enormous expense.

The Sepoy Mutiny bulks largely in these *Mémoires*. Sir George was on leave at the time at Simla, and as unapprehensive as all the rest of the Anglo-Indian world of the impending whirlwind. He thinks we have been unlucky in regard to a history of the events of the time. He charges Kaye with overpainting his colours, making his heroes too heroic, his panics and atrocities possibly somewhat over-sensational; and crucially, "as regards his political views, I do not think him at all reliable," inasmuch as he does not deduce his opinions from facts, but seeks to make those facts fit in with preconceived opinions. Sir George, the out of office man at the time, unattached, and with no responsibilities other than those pertaining to a *pro tem* *Times* war correspondent, deemed himself a much more competent critic, with reason on his side possibly. It seems to us that Kaye *was* at a disadvantage, although we cannot altogether hold with the dictum, that he constructed out of his inner consciousness an elaborate political foundation for the Mutiny. We do agree with Sir George in thinking Colonel Malleson's report much less reliable, and it is textually evident that he, "professing to write a continuation of Kaye's history, thinks it necessary to re-write, as he says, the third volume; but in reality he re-writes both the second and third, mainly it appears, for the purpose of contradicting Kaye and reversing his judgments—setting up as heroes those whom Kaye has condemned, and pulling down those whom Kaye has praised." Criticism going more to the pith of Colonel Malleson's literary work, more applicable to all of it, we have never come across. Love of paradox and contrariety is his besetting sin.

As regards Kaye's political theories of the cause of the Mutiny, I will only say that there is not one tittle of evidence in support of them; they are only opinions—what one may call "pious opinions." And what is more important is, that none of the results which legitimately ought to have followed the political circumstances which he depicts did follow. The ill-used native princes, who ought to have lost all faith in us, remained in the main faithful, or at worst temporised, and so played our game. In our own territories, Oude excepted, there was no considerable civil rebellion at all. When our power was swept away for a time, a few isolated people set up on their own account, but there was nowhere anything like general or popular rebellion—at most there was only anarchy, some plunder by predatory tribes and individuals, and a good many cases of land-holders, who had been expropriated by the civil courts, taking their own again. As the first civil officer who returned to the territories which we had lost, I am in the best position to say that we then encountered no opposition whatever, and going back among the people resumed our intercourse with them exactly as if nothing had happened.

Sir George pertinently reminds forgetful critics that it was not till after the failure of the first relief of Lucknow under Havelock and Outram had become apparent, and still more

after Sir Colin Campbell's first capture of the city and subsequent retreat and abandonment, that the Talookdars as a body went into full rebellion.

Further, the Mutiny was not in its inception altogether a swift or sudden event—in some sense it had been long preparing. I do not claim to be wiser than other people, but as I am writing of my own recollections, I may quote what I said in my volume, *India as it may be*, published in 1853, page 349. "It is impossible to attach too great importance to the subject of Sepoy mutinies. Shall I venture to say that the great combinations which occurred a few years ago were compromised rather than quelled? The system and discipline under which such things may any day occur must be anxiously looked to. Most serious mutinies have occurred in the early days of our army, but they were open and local outbreaks, and were quelled with a strong hand. General, silent, deep combinations, involving concession and compromise, are much more serious." "Something then," I said, "must be wanting in our system." And after discussing the causes of the want of discipline among the Sepoys, I dwelt on the deficiency of European troops, insisting that it was much better economy to increase them and diminish the regular native troops—especially that very expensive force, the native regular cavalry. I proposed a plan for re-arranging the army, by an increase of Europeans and native irregulars, and a diminution of the number of native regulars.

Sir Charles Napier was not a hero in our autobiographer's eyes, though Lord Dalhousie was; the one a peppy, injudicious firebrand, the other a statesman equable, far-seeing, and strong. Sir George Campbell was at Simla when the Mutiny broke out, and in a position he alludes to as peculiar. Having made over charge of one office and not taken over another, he constituted himself a general doing duty officer, and, as such, with different fighting columns, participated in some of the fighting. Apropos of the Simla skedaddle, he writes that it was "a kind of cross between a panic and a picnic." The worst alarm was at Umballa, where were many grass widowers with wives and families up the hill. It was occasioned by an officer of high position and character who brought down the news that he had actually seen Simla in flames from the Kussowlee ridge. The report was soon contradicted (we refer to it as a type of the numerous "shaves" that got into circulation at the time), and the grass widowers turned their reassured faces towards Delhi, unattached George Campbell going with them in desultory sort, eyes and ears open, waiting an opportunity, a by no means unappreciative onlooker.

While I was at Kurnal the so-called siege train arrived on the way to Delhi. I did not know much of these things, but I could not help thinking that it looked a very trumpery affair to bombard and take a great fortified city—some half-dozen old-fashioned 18-pounders and some howitzers and mortars. I have no doubt that I echoed the opinion of those who understood the matter better than I did when I wrote, as I find I did at that time, expressing a strong belief that Delhi would never be taken with that battery. One thing did impress me very much at that time, and that was the pluck, courage, and zeal shown

by all our people on the way to Delhi in the frightful heat of that country in the last days of May and first days of June. In the excitement of the time, heat that would be intolerable at any other time, was not felt. Young men who had been on leave at Simla, and were away from their regiments, were delighted to be sent down to Delhi in charge of bullock carts, or in any other subordinate capacity. I have not always thought my countrymen perfect in all situations, but I do doubt whether any other people could have equalled them in such a crisis as that.

Marshal Canrobert had much the same idea of our countrymen's capabilities when he was onlooker at the Balacava charge of the 600. Our onlooker, "having no military function with bullocks or otherwise," tried to push on, but, finding the road to Meerut and Agra completely stopped, had perforce to return to Umballa. There he came to the conclusion that the Sikh Cis-Sutlej chiefs behaved admirably, giving us every possible assistance. On to Simla, to settle his wife in a house, in which she remained quietly until the *balwa* was overpast. Then

Early in July I returned to Umballa after having invested in some native gold coins—gold mohurs—and divided them with my wife. We sewed them up in our clothes, and kept them there in case of accident. On my way down the hill I met a chaplain returning invalided from Delhi, and he insisted upon presenting me with a sword, which he girt about me. A terrible trouble that sword was—it was always getting between my legs and otherwise annoying me—and when I tried to use it, I was *not* covered with glory. At Umballa, however, by paying an excessive price, I obtained a very fine revolver, a much more useful weapon, which was my constant companion for a long time to come.

To this critic of the conduct of affairs in 1857, Lord Canning does not appear a man of very exalted genius, or such a hero as Sir John Kaye makes him out to be. A man cast in quite other mould, morbidly slow and dilatory in his work, and very far indeed from an efficient administrator. "In dealing with the Mutiny his principles were right, but his practice very imperfect, and he owes his reputation more to sympathy with the noble stand he made against the Calcutta disposition to excess, and the sobriquet of Clemency Canning, than to his success in controlling his subordinates. Certainly, for a long time, Lord Canning did not at all realize the seriousness of the Mutiny." And he blew alternately hot and cold at very short intervals. His clemency in May was superseded in June by promulgation of an Act of quite unnecessary severity, under which most unjustifiable things were done on a very large scale, in the way of summary Courts Martial and single Special Commissioners with unlimited powers of life and death. Such powers were given wholesale to all and sundry, and barbarities were committed with a flimsy pretext of legality, but without any semblance of decent judicial procedure, or, of the most elementary justice. Sir George's experiences of martial law led

him to define that indefiniteness as "a general leave to any military person to kill anyone, take any property, or do anything else he pleases. * * *

Even if Kaye has a good deal exaggerated our atrocities (I think they *are* exaggerated in his pages) I would say that if a half or a quarter of what he alleges was really done, Lord Canning and his Government were very greatly responsible."

It was not till the 31st July that an order was issued intended to check the "exuberant severity" of Courts Martial and Special Commissioners, and even then precise rules of a merciful kind were laid down only for sepoy; for civil offenders there was only a general exhortation to avoid unnecessary severity, which was of no effect practically.

Lord Canning's mercy was always chiefly in favour of Sepoys; he judged much more harshly those of the civil population who had been led into acts of rebellion. I have always taken the other view, that though the Sepoys were possessed by a kind of madness, still they were men who, having eaten our salt, had turned on us in the most savage manner; whereas, when our power was completely swept away and there was nothing but anarchy, we could hardly expect all our native subjects to remain devoted to us as if they had been our own countrymen, or attribute much moral guilt to those who thought our day was past and set up for themselves. The wonder, I think, is that so few did so. Wherever the Sepoys broke out, as a rule they murdered all the Europeans they came across. It was the exception when they did not do so. On the other hand, among the civil population our fugitives were generally spared and often assisted; it was quite the exception when they were murdered. I confess then I was not much inclined to be lenient to Sepoys, and would rather have spared any others.

To a younger generation it reads strangely that in the Mutiny time Nicholson and others went about calling John Lawrence an old woman, while Herbert Edwardes whom he consulted about the abandonment of Peshawur, and others whom he had trusted, took credit for saving him from this or that weakness. Our autobiographer remembers him as a very strong and courageous man, but deprecates his being represented as in any degree affecting a military character, and regrets that his bronze presentment should be handed down to posterity girt with a great sword, and got up in quasi-military costume. "I doubt if he often wore a sword, and his dress was always *most* unmilitary and informal. He was the Carnot of the campaign, not the Napoleon. Also, he was not one of the sanguine men who hazard rash things in a magnificent way, and become heroes if they succeed. In fact he was rather of the opposite and anxious turn of mind." As to his policy in that fateful Mutiny time, we find, in the pages before us, interpretation that strikes us as a true as well as new one. Thus:—

It is truth, the means by which John Lawrence saved India in the

Mutiny were more remote than the mere arrangements of the day ; it was the system of administration that had satisfied the people of the Punjab. The Sikh Government, though indigenous, was not national. Runjeet Sing had destroyed the independent Sikhs, and he governed through mercenaries of all sorts ; and although latterly, for a short time, there was a sort of pretorian rule which gave the soldiers a good time, the people never liked that. The patriotism of a native of India is rather for his village than for his country. When, then, under Lawrence's *régime*, they found that their institutions were respected, the land revenue demand was moderated, and they were allowed to manage their own affairs without too much interference, while those who liked to go for soldiers could have good service with us, they were quite content and gladly assisted us to get rid of the hated Sepoys.

In carrying out that latter measure and ridding ourselves of the Sepoys still in the Punjab, even Lawrence, with all his authority, could not wholly restrain the more violent men ; but things would have been much worse if he had not used his authority on the side of moderation.

His predisposition towards iconoclasm notwithstanding, Sir George considers it, perhaps, a pity to spoil the stories about the natives worshipping John Nicholson ; stories which are about as authentic as that of Highland Jessie, "whose best friends now show her, if she ever existed, to have been a Glasgow slavey, and to have derived the divine afflatus from the street music of her native Gallowgate. At all events these pretty stories are decently contemporaneous, and far more justifiable than the romantic songs invented generations later about that contemptible and drunken young man, Charles Stuart, whom his followers at the time did not treat with civility, to say nothing of deference." The Memoirs abound with characteristic side lights of that sort, enlivening and illumining their sober record.

By the way, Sir George gives the meaning of "*mokabilah ho raha*," as "a battle is going on." Enough of Mutiny times, though one Mutiny reminiscence is irresistible, and must be quoted. The scene of action is the neighbourhood of the Kharee Nuddee ; ten miles from Agra. There, after capturing single-handed three of the enemy's guns,—

I overtook an armed rebel, not a Sepoy, but a native matchlockman ; he threw away his gun, but I saw that he had still a large powder-horn and an old-fashioned pistol in his belt ; my blood was up, and I dealt him a mighty stroke with my sword, expecting to cut him almost in two, but my swordsmanship was not perfect ; he did not fall dead as I expected ; on the contrary, he took off his turban, and presenting his bare head to me, pointed to a small scratch and said, "There, Sahib, evidently God did not intend you to kill me, so you may as well let me off now." I felt very small ; evidently he had the best of the argument. But he was of a forgiving disposition, and relieved my embarrassment by cheerful conversation, while he professed, as natives do, that he would serve me for the rest of his life. I made him throw away any arms he still had, safe-conducted him to the

nearest field, and we parted excellent friends ; but I did not feel that I had come very gloriously out of it. I have never since attempted to use a sword as an offensive weapon, nor, I think I may say, attempted to take the life of any fellow creature. After my experiences with pistol and sword, I have been for the most part satisfied with the weapons of a civilian.

Here is Havelock's reputation in a novel light :—

Havelock was undoubtedly a most excellent man in all the relations of life, and there is no character so much admired by the modern Britisher as the religious soldier—the man with the sword in one hand and the Bible in the other. But one hardly understands Havelock's very great popularity. He was hardly bloody enough for the Old Testament Christians (falsely called Christians), and he was unpopular with his soldiers to an extraordinary degree. He was a martinet, very formal and precise, and seems to have maintained a rigid, and perhaps somewhat sour discipline which they could not bear. Outram, on the other hand, was the most popular of men—the soldiers adored him.

Sir Colin Campbell was not *persona grata* with his namesake ; is depicted as obstinate, pigheaded, stupid. "He delayed everything for months, because he would do nothing till he chose, gave us a great deal of trouble, and involved us in embarrassments, with political consequences of which we have not seen the end yet." Apropos of his abandonment of Lucknow, we are reminded that Windham's misadventure afforded a sort of *ex post facto* justification to Sir Colin, and shielded him from criticism.

After the suppression of the Mutiny, George Campbell was appointed Judicial and Financial Commissioner of Oudh, with a very liberal salary, an arrangement that "entirely pleased" the canny Scot part of him. Outram was his chief—a charming man personally, and not less so officially in this instance, since "he was well employed in political and military matters, and readily left all the rest to me." Lucknow, at the time, was a sad spectacle of a much battered and gutted city, occupied by a victorious army, after the many contests of which it had been the scene for the past nine months.

In the course of a few days things quieted down—the bodies got buried out of the way—the troops got into quarters, and though the enemy were not far off, Lucknow itself seemed pretty secure. Then I managed to get my wife to join me, though I had much difficulty about it, and her presence was rather connived at than sanctioned. There was an order—a very sensible one I think—that ladies were not permitted to come up country at that time. But then my wife had not come up, but was one of the rescued ladies from above ; and, though I had taken her to Allahabad, I maintained that she was outside the rule. I got Lord Canning to say privately that I might get her up, subject to the risk of Sir Colin Campbell—he would not answer for him.

Outram and his successor, Sir Charles Wingfield, were on the Talookdars' side in the tenant right dispute that ensued in Oudh on the subsidence of the Mutiny, Campbell, with Sir

John Lawrence to back him, 'was equally decided in support of the cultivators of the soil.' It is 'a perennial story in the New India we English folk have created. Detailed history of its vicissitudes in Oudh may be found in these pages. Sir George Campbell in some respects resembled Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, in love of gardening *inter alia*. That was his relaxation at Lucknow. He boasts of having cultivated strawberries very successfully, though his "great subject" was always mangoes. Here is a *naïf* extract:—"In the second year of our residence at Lucknow, my eldest child was born, and that occupied us a good deal."

From Lucknow to Calcutta, as a Judge of the local High Court. Not a congenial appointment, for his talents and proclivities were administrative rather than judicial. He liked Calcutta; in his experience even unimproved Calcutta, before the era of drainage schemes and waterworks and so forth, "and when, according to sanitary experience, everybody ought to have died," was a very tolerable place. Up-country people, with a turn for posing as superior persons, usually think it incumbent on them to declare to the contrary. Of Calcutta's south wind cool nights, the theory is advanced that there comes up the estuary of the Hooghly, a sort of belated sea breeze which, starting from the sea in the early part of the day, reaches Calcutta towards evening, and blows throughout the night. He could never rest content without a *raison d'être* for everything coming within his ken. It is noteworthy that he found his colleagues in the High Court very agreeable and friendly, as were many other Ditchers—before he became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The Chief Justice and four or five judges were English lawyers. The majority of the Court were Indian civilians, and there was one native judge, who, at that time, happened to be a Cashmeree Pundit. He was a most excellent and estimable man. I do not instance him as a man of very peculiar brilliancy, but still it was curious that in Calcutta, in the Bengal Court, the first native judge who had won his way from the rank of pleaders should be a Cashmeree. It shows what a pushing and enterprising people the Cashmerees are—they are found all over the country. Nowadays, Bengalees, in virtue of English education, find their way to distant parts of India, but I never heard of their doing so in native times.

In English times, they show their gratitude by waxing fat as Bulls of Bashan, and trying to kick into limbo the ladders by means of which they have risen to preferment and voice in the Government of a country that was never theirs. Fresh from the Oudh fight, Talookdar *vs.* Tenant Right, the new High Court Judge happened on a similar controversy raging in Bengal, history of the course of which is duly given, together with precedents, rulings, analogies, etc., etc. More interesting are some remarks on the Criminal Procedure Code,

pronounced really very good indeed, quite above the commonplace prejudices of English law, and following the view that the criminal law is an engine for the protection of the public against crime, by discovering and punishing criminals, and neither a game in which fair play is to be given to a criminal, as to a fox who may be hunted, but not shot, nor a suspicious proceeding, jealously guarded to protect a free people against a tyrannical Government. "In India we have no clap-trap maxims about a man not being bound to criminate himself and the like, and errors may be set right by appeal or revision, whether the error be to the prejudice of the prosecution or the defence. The Procedure Code of 1861, as amended in 1872, was, I think, quite a model. I am only afraid that in subsequent years some of the prejudicial ideas of English lawyers may have been allowed to creep in."

There is not much to be said about Sir George Campbell's incumbency of the Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces. He did good work there, instituted serviceable reforms; and did well what it was appointed to him to do. But, all the while, his heart was in the Highlands of Scotland, longing to be with wife and bairns there. When he went to them, after leaving the Central Provinces, he quite thought his Indian career finished. Even when the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal was offered to him he hesitated over leaving home ties and returning to India.

The fact was that it went, rather against the grain to accept the charge of a province where I did not understand the language nor know the masses of the people. My family, too, were of an age to require education and supervision, and I should have to leave them at home. I let it be understood then that I had it in my mind that I probably might not stay more than two or three years. No objection was made, and I accepted office free in that respect. From the first, therefore, I had the idea of rather doing a great deal in a short time by high pressure, than working out a long service in the ordinary way. I looked upon myself as undertaking a kind of special mission to carry certain reforms. At any rate I am heartily glad that I accepted the office. My period in Bengal was in many respects the most active and interesting of my life. My only regret now is that it was not more prolonged.

Into the story of Sir George Campbell's administration of the Government of Bengal, we do not purpose entering here. It has been discussed on all sides, almost *ad nauseam*. And perhaps the time is hardly ripe even yet for adequate review of that bouleversement and its manifold upheavals. Meanwhile, to readers who can appreciate a manifoldly interesting book, we cordially recommend perusal of these Memoirs.

James Thomason. By SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART., M.P., G.C.S.I., D.C.L., L.L.D., formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Governor of Bombay. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press; 1893.

PERPETUAL motion and variant posings of his own personality are the ideals Sir Richard Temple now sets before himself, and pursues with an ardour that ought by rights to induce a blush of shame to the cheeks of less demonstrative actors in the World's Fair. His latest achievement, in the interludes between Parliament debate, School Board tuition and universal factotumism, is an essay at a life of James Thomason, a civilian of the good old times, who was lucky enough to be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces when only thirty-nine years old, and still more lucky in holding that dignified appointment during ten years of uneventful, unembarrassing rule of thumb. The only remarkable feature in his character was the religious fervour fashionable in official circles fifty years ago—evangelicism of the perfervid Clapham stamp. It is with special regard to this salient characteristic, and his own affinities thereto, that Sir Richard Temple has claimed a right to interpret rightly Thomason's motives and actions. Using apologetic third person singular, he is careful to declare in a preface to his book that "his high estimate of Mr. Thomason, and his religious treatment of the subject, are based on his own intimate acquaintance with Mr. Thomason's life, and alike for that high estimate, and for religious treatment of the subject, the author desires, to take the undivided responsibility." Let us hope that the Clarendon Press is thankful for being relieved of the onus.

To our thinking, Thomason's claims on the respect of posterity do not rest on the narrowness of his religious ridge, but on the encouragement he gave to irrigation schemes and engineering projects at large. He was able to see that, if worthy outcomes were to be begotten of these, they must be made to recommend themselves to popular approval, and that to ensure this, security of tenure in land was a *sine quâ non*. "Men will not undertake to improve the land (he wrote in an early Minute on the subject), until we assure every man of his right." His principal efforts were put forth on behalf of the Ganges Canal, about which Sir Richard Temple rhapsodises:

Nowadays the Ganges Canal, as a *fait accompli*, is one of the wonders—it might be depicted as one of the beauties and glories—of the world. In its special line it has not been equalled by anything ancient or modern anywhere. Within twenty miles from its head at Hardwar to Rurki, are to be found more hydraulic works of magnitude and difficulty than in any similar place on the earth. The total length of the main trunk amounts to nearly a thousand miles, that of the branches to two thousand. The canal itself, over a hundred feet broad, its banks fringed and lined with

shady avenues, affords a spectacle as noble as it is picturesque. By this channel the waters of the Upper Ganges are carried off to fertilize the Indian Mesopotamia, that is, the country between the Ganges and the Jumna. It irrigates some two millions of acres. In the heart and centre of these Provinces it bars the way against the gaunt famine that once stalked without hindrance through the land. On the whole it is one of the chief ornaments and monuments of British rule in India.

It would perhaps be ungracious to ask—does it pay? Lord Ellenborough was Thomason's patron and exemplar in statesmanship. His grandiose doings were objective of many exuberant poems of praise in their and his time, though they are not accepted in that light now.

Mahābodhi, or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya. By Major-General Sir A. Cunningham, R.E., K.C.I.E., C.S.I. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S.W. 1892.

MAHABODHI is a handsome, gilt covered, photo-zinco-graph adorned history of the great Buddhist shrine at Gya, that in its ancience and dilapidations had for long centuries been forgotten, and allowed to crumble away towards the *nirvana* appointed for disappointed masonry, till Sir Ashley Eden and Mr. Beglar shunted its destiny, and essayed restoration of pristine glories to sand-buried, sadly unpicturesque ruins. To superior perrons restorations usually appear appropriate butts for ridicule and disparagement, and those accomplished under the Bodhi Tree at Gya have proved no exception to this rule of experience. Sir A. Cunningham's reputation as an archæologist, reverently minded towards the past, as well as practically minded for the needs of the present, should be taken into account in forming judgment. Vain pedantry of antiquarianism, and philistia iconoclasm, are equally foreign to his methods; and he accords distinct approval to Mr. Beglar's concept of old world architectural ideas, and his translation of these into concrete form—concept by no means altogether dependent on evolutions of inner consciousness, for it was afterwards aided, abetted, and fortified by opportune finding of a small model in stone that showed the whole original design of the building. From this model, and from the still existing remains of the façade, the front pavilion, as it now stands, was derived: also the four corner pavilions, prominent features of restoration, concerning which General Cunningham remarks:—“This additional work has been much criticised, and I have been roundly abused for it in company with Mr. Beglar, although I had nothing whatever to say to it. At the same time I must confess that, since I have seen it, I think his design of the front pavilion is a very successful completion of the entrance, in the style and spirit of the original work as shown

in the model. It is, of course, a *restoration*, which, as it was based on the double authority of existing remains and an ancient model, I consider as legitimate and justifiable."

The first result of the researches ordered by Sir Ashley Eden was the discovery of the remains of the original temple of Asoka, with the polished Vajrâsan Throne, exactly as portrayed in the Bharhut *bas relief*, with the view of the Bodhi tree of Sakya-muni close by. On the north side of the temple were found the remains of the cloistered walk, with its 22 pillared bases still *in situ*, each marked with a letter of the Indian alphabet of Asoka from *a* to the cerebral *t*. On the question of antiquity General Cunningham writes:—

A.D. 140.—The age of the present Great Temple is shown by the presence of a gold coin of the Indo-Scythian King Huvishka, amongst the Relics deposited in front of the Throne, along with some silver punch-marked coins. The date of Huvishka is now known as covering a large portion of the first half of the 2nd century A.D. The same age is declared by the presence of an Indo-Scythian inscription on the outer Vajrâsan Throne, and also by the discovery of the colossal statue, just outside the Temple, with an Indo-Scythian inscription dated in the year 64, which if referred to the Saka Samvat gives A.D. $78+64=142$. I formerly thought that there was no Mahâbodhi Temple standing at the time of Fa-Hian's visit, A.D. 399 to 409; but I now see that his actual words distinctly imply that Temples were then standing at *all the four famous sites* connected with Buddha's history. These were—1. Birthplace at Kapila. 2. *The Bodhi Tree at Uruvilwa*. 3. The Deer-park at Benares. 4. Place of Death at Kusinagara. Fa-Hian must therefore have seen the present Temple about one century and a half after its erection.

450 A.D. circa.—The early date of the Temple is proved by its straight sides, which form a *square* truncated pyramid, whereas all mediæval Temples that I have seen have curved or slightly bulging sides, which give a more graceful form. The entrance pavilion in front of the Temple, which was seen by Hwen Thsang, and which he describes as an after addition, may perhaps be the work of King Sado, called *Tha-no-Meng* in the Burmese inscription. Some repairs must certainly have been made about this time, as we know that the pillared roof of Buddha's Walk had fallen down before the time of Hwen Thsang, who does not notice it.

Notable points in early temple history brought to light in the course of Mr. Beglar's researches, are the cutting down of the Bodhi-tree by Raja Sasangka, in the beginning of the seventh century, and its restoration twenty years afterwards by Raja Puruṣa Varma, who surrounded it with a stone wall 24 feet high to prevent recurrence of the profanation; then the extensive repairs made by the Burmese in the 11th century, as recorded in an inscription dated A. D. 1079. Other repairs are supposed to have been made in the latter half of the twelfth century, by Asoka-bala, Raja of Sawalak, just before the Mahomedan conquest in A. D. 1198. Of Mahâbodhi temple fortunes subsequently to that anti-Buddhist cataclysm no records have been discovered. In the monograph before us

we read that "in the chronicles of Mewar mention is made of expeditions in the 13th and 14th centuries for the recovery of Gaya from the infidels; but these notices refer to Brahma Gaya of the Brahmanists, and not to the great Buddhist temple of Budha Gaya. I however look upon these expeditions as pious wishes of the Bardic Chroniclers." The essential history of the Mahabodhi temple is written on its stones; in alterations of original structure and successive additions made to it. It is detailed as far as may be, and elucidated by the scholarly text of the greatest living authority on the ancient monuments of India, and the facts and folklore discoverable in connection with them. Apropos of the sand in which the temple was buried, tradition has it that in olden time there was a village called *Uruvilwa* or *Uruwela* as it is called in Pali Chronicles, near the site of the temple, and that this village was, as its name betokens, set down in the heart of a forest of *bel* trees.

"In a former age there were ten thousand ascetics resident in that forest, and it was their custom that when any of them were troubled with evil thoughts, they arose early in the morning, and going to the river, entered it, and waded on until the water reached to their mouths, when they took up a handful of sand from the bottom and put it in a bag. They afterwards confessed the fault of which they had been guilty in the midst of the assembled ascetics, and threw down the sand in their presence as a token that the appointed penance had been performed. By this means, in the course of years, a sandy plain was produced 16 miles in size."

Mahabodhi is the popular name given to the Great Temple. It occurs in a Brahmanical inscription regarding a grant made by Raja Dharma Pala in A. D. 850, and it is found in *all* the inscriptions of the granite pavement slabs, which range in date from A. D. 1302 to 1331; Buddha Gaya is an erroneous unauthorized title, first found in the apocryphal inscription of Amara Deva.* Abul Fazl mentions Brahma Gaya as a place of Hindu worship sacred to Brahma; but the Mahabodhi temple stands a short distance to the north of the village of *Ural*, or *Uruvilwas*, 6 miles to the south of Gaya, and has no connection whatever with the name Gaya. The full name of the holy pipal tree was, we are instructed, *Bodhi-druma*, or the tree of wisdom. The throne, or the seat of Buddha, was called *Bodhi-manda*, the temple erected over that throne was *Mahabodhi Vihara*, the monastery close by was known as *Mahabodhi Sangharama*. All authorities agree in crediting King Asoka with the erection of the first temple raised on the locality indicated. According to the inscribed Bharhut *bas relief*, this structure was an open pavilion supported on pillars. In the middle of it was the Vajrasana Throne, decorated in front with four flat

* Asiatic Researches, I, 284.

pilasters, behind which appeared the trunk of the Bodhi tree rising up high above the building. On each side of the tree was displayed combined symbol of the *Tri-Ratna* and *Dharma-Chakra*, standing on the top of a short pillar. The top of the Throne was ornamented with flowers, but there was no figure of Buddha. Many details are given. Taking into consideration their imports on the whole, General Cunningham thinks there can be no reasonable doubt that "we have now discovered the actual remains of the original Temple of Asoka." Plans and drawings inserted by way of an appendix elucidate this contention, with regard to which we quote—

According to Hwen Tshang, Asoka surrounded the holy Pipal Tree with a stone wall 10 feet high. Mr. Beal † also translates *stone*, but adds within brackets the word *brick*, without giving any reason for the correction. The actual remains of the stone Railing still exist, the only *brick* portion, as I have already pointed out, being the plinth on which the stone Railing stood. These brick remains, which are marked F1, F2, and F3 in Plate II., were all found under the solid basement of the present Temple. As I have already stated, they prove that the circuit of the Railing was as nearly as possible 250 feet, which agrees exactly with the number of 100 paces or 250 feet given by Hwen Tshang, if his measurement refers to the Temple of Asoka.

The Pillars of the present Railing are proved to have belonged to the original Railing by their inscriptions in Asoka characters, which are also found on the Rail Bars and Copings. The shafts average about 14 inches by 12 inches in section, the corner pillars being perfect squares of 14½ inches each side. The average distance from centre to centre of the pillars was about 3 feet, 11 inches, and as the existing pieces of plinth foundation show a circuit of from 253 to 255 feet, an arrangement of 64 Pillars would cover 63 spaces, plus two half pillars, or just 246 feet 9 inches, leaving an opening of 6 feet to 8 feet for an entrance on the east side. The Gateway openings of the Great Temple are 8 feet 8 inches in clear width. This width corresponds very nearly with that of the Toran Gateway on the east side of the Temple, which is 8 feet 3 inches at the ground level, but as the Toran Pillars have a rapid slope, the clear width at 5 feet is exactly 8 feet 6 inches.

As this particular number of 64 is both a favorite and a fortunate one amongst the Hindus, its occurrence here seems to add another corroboration to the accuracy of the Plan of Asoka's Temple, which has been already determined from other sources.

The building next in importance to the Great Temple was the Mahābodhi Sanghārāma, or Monastery of the Bodhi Tree, early mention of which is found (A. D. 409) in Fa-Hian's account of his travels, and he speaks of three monasteries, all of them inhabited by priests, charitably disposed monks, who "gave the pilgrims what food they required without stint:" rich monks already running counter to the poverty abiding ordinances of the Buddha, their three storey high pavilions richly ornamented, and they vain-gloriously delighting in a statue of him, cast in gold and silver, and decorated with gems and precious

† Si-you-Ki, II., 118.

stones. The seeds of dry rot and disintegration have already, A. D. 409, begun to sprout. The ascertained position of the monastery to the north of the Great Temple corresponds, it is pointed out, exactly with the extensive mound known as Amar Sinh's Fort. The lofty walls of the monastery, from 30 to 40 feet in height, would naturally have led to its occupation as a fort *after the decline of Buddhism* in the 11th century. The date of Amar Sinh is quite uncertain ; but as he is said to have been a *Suir* or aboriginal *Savara*, I conclude that he must have held power before the rise of the Pála Rajas in 800 A. D. Buchanan mentions that the mound was called Rājathān, or "the Palace," a name which is now confined to the group of buildings outside the north-west corner of the monastery enclosure. Other buildings at the north-east corner are also called Rānivās, or the "Rani's Palace." Perhaps these names may refer to the period of Amar Sinh's rule.

The plan of the monastery conforms to the usual Hindu fashion, being laid out in 36 squares, six on each side, of which the four corner squares are assigned to corner towers, and the four middle ones to an open pillared court containing a well. Each square measures 18 cubits of 17·66 inches, or 16 cubits of nearly 20 inches. The middle courtyard was surrounded by a cloister supported on pillars, on the four sides of which were small groups of cells.

On the north and south sides, the centre cells led into the small rooms, which are outside the main line of wall. These inner rooms probably contained statues of Buddha, but the other rooms were, no doubt, the cells or dwelling-rooms of the superior monks. Only one statue, of gold and silver, is mentioned by Hwen Thsang, and this probably occupied the outer cell on the north side, with the middle cell as a hall in front of it. The outer cell on the south side may have been the Treasury and Relic Chamber of the monastery. The remaining chambers on the ground floor could not have accommodated more than 16 monks. A second storey might have held 20 more, and if there had been a third storey, the whole number of cells would not have held more than 56 monks. I conclude, therefore, that the lower orders of priests must have been lodged in chambers arranged inside the walls of the surrounding enclosure, which was about 400 feet square. As the wall of this enclosure is said by Hwen Thsang to have been from 30 to 40 feet in height, there may have been three storeys of chambers ; and, as each side of the enclosure was about 400 feet in length, the whole length of the rows of chambers would have been from 1,500 to 1,600 feet in each storey, equal to about 600 apartments. But as the number of monks is said by Hwen Thsang to have been about 1,000, I conclude that there must have been other smaller monasteries on the great mound, the sites of which still remain to be discovered.

The earliest stūpas erected by pilgrims to Mañabodhi as votive offerings and memorials of pilgrimage, appear to have been simple barrows. After a time these earthen mounds were faced with brick or stone, as at Srāvastī, and still later

they were composed throughout of stones. The fashion of the plinth meanwhile was towards gradual increase in height. As is still the fashion in Burma, all these old stûpas were crowned with umbrellas, either of stone or copper gilt.

At a later date, during the reign of the Pála kings in Magadha, the style of these votive Stûpas was much altered, the basement being still further heightened, and the number of umbrellas increased to 9 and 11, and even to 13, with a vase full of fruits forming a finial on the top. The whole height of the Stûpa thus became equal to three or four diameters of the hemisphere. At the same time figures of Budha were placed in niches on each side of the square base, while the different tiers of mouldings were separated by rows of sculptured figures. These generally consisted of lines of small niches filled with figures of Budha, or of rows of small Stûpas. In some cases the donor himself is represented below, with his gifts arranged on each side of him.

The earliest statue of Buddha which has yet been found at Mahâbodhi, is adjudged coeval probably with the building of the Great Temple. It has the full lips and round face of the Gupta style, as seen in the Sârâth sculptures. The seated figure is 3 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 1 inch in breadth across the knees—dimensions that would represent a standing statue about 7 feet in height. Huen Tsang refers to one he had seen 11 feet 5 inches in height, with a breadth across the shoulders of 6 feet 2 inches, and across the knees of 8 feet 8 inches. Its full height, if standing, would therefore have been rather more than 20 feet. No trace of this colossus exists now; but the still existent sculptures at Buddha Gaya and in its neighbourhood, are thousands in number. Much of it reveals the complete adoption by whilom Puritan Buddhists of the Tantrika system of mediæval Brahmanism. The chief figure is that of Mahakâla or Siva, represented dancing on a corpse, with a bowl full of blood in his left hand, a drawn sword in his up-raised right hand, and a serpent round his neck. *Sic itur ad verum*: to Hindu affinities, Hindu cults. Asoka's edicts might coerce the men of Hind to a seeming acceptance of Buddhism; they never availed to convince the men's minds, or to bring about more than conformity to lip service. Mahomet excepted, no revolutionary prophet has ever won honor in his own country. It was surely malicious irony of the fates that the Buddha was incarnated in this world at Benares, instead of at Pekin or Mandalay. General Cunningham suggests A. D. 1308 as about the time when both holy Pipal Tree and Temple were appropriated by Brahmans to their own use. He writes:—

At present there is a large Brahmanical monastery, with a Mahant, and upwards of 200 followers. This establishment has gradually grown from a very small beginning. Early in the last century it is said that a Bairâgi took up his residence under a tree, in the midst of the wild jungle which then surrounded the deserted old Temple. He was killed by a tiger, and was succeeded by a disciple. Others

followed and acquired property, until the successor of the poor Bairāgi has become the richest person in the district. In the walls of his extensive residence are no doubt concealed many architectural and sculptured treasures, which at some distant period may be brought to light. I had the luck to find a Chinese inscription, thickly coated with black dried oil and whitewash, inserted in one of the walls, and the large Burmese inscription was discovered, upwards of 50 years ago, in a similar position. At my first visit in December 1861, I found a long Sanskrit inscription let into the ground with a hole bored in it, in which the lower tenon of the gate played. Several fine statues also exist both inside and outside the Mahant's residence, but these are all accessible. It is in the walls themselves that future discoveries may be made.

Sir Morell Mackenzie, Physician and Operator. A Memoir compiled and edited from private papers, and personal reminiscences. By the REV. H. R. HAWEIS, M.A. Author of "Music and Morals." "My Musical Life," &c. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited; 13 Waterloo Place, 1893.

MR. Haweis' memoir is in effect a resuscitation of the beginning-to-be-forgotten scandals, that foregathered round the Emperor Frederick's dying bedside, and were, for "reasons of State" and other equally vain excuses, promoted in certain court circles, and amongst certain jealous professional cliques. Very full descriptions of the origin, course, and effects of the German doctors' jealous interferences with Mackenzie's treatment of his royal patient have appeared in English newspapers and reviews, and we fail to see what good object can be gained by raking up over again and re-duplicating the unsavoury muckheap. As to the merits of the dispute between the German doctors and Mackenzie, none but scientists and specialists could be empanelled as a jury. As to the political issues involved, the truth about them cannot be known for the next fifty years at least. Mr. Haweis, however, thinks otherwise, and does not think that his friend was sufficiently recompensed for his professional attendance on the German Emperor by a fee of £12,000 and an English knighthood. His account of the great specialist's early life and struggles is characteristic:—

The father and mother of Morell Mackenzie were no ordinary medical man and his wife. Stephen Mackenzie (*p. 2*) was a man of great taste, various learning, and much literary enthusiasm. His wife Margaret (*née* Harvey) was a woman of great liveliness and ability, a ready and entertaining talker—even as I recollect her in a later life—a first-rate manager, a devout soul, withal; over-zealous at times that others should do their duty and profess correct opinions on all religious and social questions upon which she might happen to feel strongly herself; a woman not to be talked over or talked down, with a tendency to have a finger in every pie; whose advice was often given unasked, and was not always acceptable, but generally worth listening to, even when it could not be taken. I remember well this Margaret Mackenzie, who died in 1877, a fresh-coloured, well-preserved old lady, with great powers of narrative and talk, not to say rattle, and always incisive and pointed, with a certain

vivacity and *empressment*, which attracted strangers, but occasionally wearied familiars. There was no doubt a certain want of repose about her, born of a life of bustle and anxiety, but she was a faithful and devoted mother and idolized Morell, who in turn worshipped her with a tenderness and practical liberality which knew no bounds up to the day of her death.

As Morell's father and mother were exceptional, so also was the atmosphere and *entourage* into which he was born.

In other words, the cockney village of Laytonstone, six miles from London; in which favoured spot "the star of Byron had not long set, and Shelley's voice seemed still to haunt the air," while withal "the rippling verses and the guitar of Moore still tickled the ears of the polite cognoscenti." At school Mackenzie developed a mechanical turn for the composition of Latin verse, and the drawing master specially noted the delicacy of his hand, and the correctness of his eye, the moral of which is, of course, that the boy was father of the surgeon who reached "the acme of technical skill in operating," and was capable of making drawings and diagrams for professional purposes in coloured chalks. A school friend describes him about the year 1850 as a "chubby, round, powerful, strong ruffian, who played excellently well fives and cricket." A fondness for athletics he retained all through his life, though debarred from much enjoyment of them by a chronic asthma. His father (a surgeon) died when Morell was fourteen years old, leaving his family in straitened circumstances, and Morell was pitchforked on to a clerk's stool in a city Life Assurance office, and set to do routine work, which his biographer judges to have been a good preparatory schooling for the business of his life.

Whilst still at the Union Assurance office, he entered his name for a series of evening classes at King's College, which he attended most regularly. In order to profit to the utmost, it was necessary to "read up," and in order to read up it was *de rigueur* to get up. His mother and sister, entering his room to wish him good night on one occasion, found him tying himself up in a most ingenious manner his right thumb being connected with his left toe, so that the least movement would wake him. This was to enable him to rise at five every morning, so as to secure a couple of hours of medical reading before he started for his office."

A student of medicine may not serve two masters, and in the nature of things this dual service could not have long continued. Luckily an aunt rescued him from the quandary, and provided funds that enabled him to prosecute his medical studies at the legitimate fountain heads, and, whole heartedly passing through the medical schools at Paris, Prague and Vienna, as well as the London University, he took his M.B. and M.D. degrees at the London University, but "it was in Germany 1859, that the note of his future destiny was struck. He there met Professor Czermack, and was introduced to the laryngoscope, an instrument invented by Manuel Garcia, the great singing master, which Czermack was then bringing into clinical use." Mackenzie's speciality was found: thenceforth

his practice was principally confined to diseases of the throat. Before long he started a Hospital for their treatment, the first of its kind in England. Twenty pages of the memoir before us are filled with account, in detail, of jealous English doctors attacks on the novel institution and their repulse. It was Mackenzie's manifest destiny to be perpetually involved in combat with corporations and vested interests. As his biographer puts and extenuates it:—

A very general impression prevails—and it is one sedulously fomented by a section of the medical faculty—that Sir Morell Mackenzie was, to use the language of a prominent doctor, “a free-lance and semi-outlaw in his profession—a sort of Ishmael whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him.” That he walked through some medical conventions which he deemed injurious, that he was not only a physician but a skilful surgeon (to combine the two seems a great medical offence in itself by the way), that, when attacked, he was in the habit of hitting back rather smartly, that he wrote and spoke freely, and did not think it necessary to decline any newspaper, magazine, or pamphlet, or book form of utterance calculated to render generally intelligible what he had to say to a generally intelligent public—these are, no doubt, qualities possessed by the few but obnoxious to the many.

A professional income of from twelve to fifteen thousand a year was, however, the chief source of his distinguished unpopularity. But on the other hand, in France and in America, and before he became an awkward rival, in Germany too, the name of Mackenzie was held in something like exalted reverence, as undoubtedly the greatest throat specialist alive—whose book was the standard one on throat disease, and whose genius by overstepping those limits of routine prescribed by use and wont, which are the fatal watch-dogs of vested interest and mediocrity—had opened up a new sphere in surgery, and popularized and developed a new instrument in diagnosis which has saved thousands of lives and relieved millions of sufferers.

Morell Mackenzie was a constant theatre-goer, and a great admirer of what Mr. Haweis styles “the histrionic profession.” Its members he invariably treated free of charge, and many a pretty story is told of the notice he took of the lowliest. Observing sometimes, from his stall or box, some “super” or novice evidently suffering from throat or chest, he would present himself between the acts, behind the scenes, ready with advice and sometimes handy with the promptest remedies. It was no unusual thing for singer or speaker to turn up *hors de combat*, and say to Mackenzie, “I must have my voice back for two hours to night, and Mackenzie would say: “so you shall, but then go home and go to bed, and don't stir till I come.” He was one of the hardest working men in London, but, unlike your tussy would be always busy man, he could always make leisure where a useful purpose would be served by so doing. In spite of his large practice, and the many duties that, as a public citizen, he cheerfully took upon himself, he was a voluminous writer on medical subjects, and the author of opportune essays on various topics. Apropos of one of these, Mr. Haweis writes:—

In the amusing and pointed paragraph which opens the essay on smoking, only the vigilant reader will observe that in the first *twenty-eight* lines there are

no less than *ten* quotations, showing an acquaintance with Greek criticism, French and Spanish literature, English medical books, proverbial philosophy, Athenian history, Shakespeare, Calverley, etc.; yet all these witnesses to a full brain and a ready memory are so woven into the fabric of an entertaining and instructive disquisition, that they pass almost without notice.

In these days of aggressive sanitation, tobacco, like nearly every other gift of God to man, has been denounced by well meaning fanatics as the cause of numberless ills both to soul and body. I am inclined to think that to this indiscriminating anathema the practice of smoking owes, at least in some measure, its present all but universal diffusion. A French *dévote* is reported to have said of some innocent pleasure, that it would be perfect if it were sinful. In the same spirit, no doubt, the "average sensual man" feels that indulgences in themselves almost indifferent, gain additional relish from the fact that they are regarded as wrong by the "unco guid," or by truculent sanitarians as hurtful.

The gospel of health is an excellent thing, but, like the poor, it is perhaps a trifle too much with us, and the relentless zeal of its preachers wearies men of ordinary mould as the just Aristides bored the Athenians. I say this out of no irreverence towards Sir Edwin Chadwick, Dr. B. W. Richardson, and the other apostles of hygiene, whom I honour on this side idolatry as much as any, but because it seems to me that they are apt to forget that physical well-being is not the sole end of existence. I wish it to be understood that, though a doctor, I do not consider it to be my function to stand at the feast of life, and, like poor Sancho's physician, condemn everything on the table. I am not a member of the Anti-tobacco League, nor do I believe that all those who seek solace from the "herb nicotine—

"Go mad and beat their wives;
Plunge, after shocking lives,
Razors and carving knives
Into their gizzards."

On the contrary, I am teleologist enough to think that, as tobacco is supplied to us naturally from the bounteous bosom of Mother Earth, it is meant to be used, and if used in the right way, it is often helpful rather than injurious. I have no sympathy with the famous "Counterblast" downwards, who would deprive poor humanity of one of the few pleasures which tend to make our way of life, in however small a degree, less desolate than it otherwise would be.

It must not be supposed that Mackenzie extended his approval to any approach to excess in smoking. "That Mario smoked incessantly he holds to be the exception proving the rule, rather than an example for imitation. That Tennyson drank a bottle of port every day for fifty years, and died quietly, at a good old age, is no proof that port wine prolongs life." One of the last written literary efforts of the great specialist in throat diseases was an essay on influenza—the malady to which he soon afterwards succumbed.

Some further Recollections of a Happy Life selected from the Journals of Marianne North, chiefly between the years 1859 and 1869:—Edited by her sister, Mrs. JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. London. Macmillan Co. and New York. 1893.

PEOPLE who took our advice of six months ago, and read the two volumes of Miss North's *Recollections of a Happy Life* which we then gave some account of, will welcome the announcement that her friends have now put forth a supplementary volume, as breezy gossip, good-humour-pervaded a volume.

as either of its predecessors, differing from them only with regard to the localities described, in its freedom from absorption in natural history studies, and in a correspondingly keener sympathy with human nature. It consists of chapters concerning Miss North's earliest travels, (chiefly between 1860 and 1870) which, her sister tells us, were in the first instance eliminated from the record, "in order to make room for those more distant journeys by which her name has become known to the world." The displacement is intelligible. Now, as ever, distance lends enchantment to the view. Description of those far journeys was accordingly well received by English men and women not of the globe trotting tribe, albeit Switzerland and Italy are tolerably familiar holiday excursion fields with them. Out here, on the other hand, we much prefer for our reading reminiscences of travel in the Alps and by the shores of a blue Mediterranean to word pictures of Dustypore, and Ganges sand banks and Gungaram Syce and Priscilla Ayah. Of such assort are *Some further Recollections of a Happy Life selected from the Journals of Marianne North*. Its material should by rights have been incorporated with the first volume of the *Recollections*, covering as it does a decade of European travel anterior to the death of the father to whom she was so devotedly attached, and to the wide stretches of travel embarked on after that bereavement. That father's active, impatient personality is vividly brought before us. A man of many contradictions; intolerant of opposition either in word or deed; impetuous always, yet always thoughtful for others; an aristocrat, and a precisian by virtue of his birth and family traditions, but in temperament and practice inclined to Bohemianism; a man with perennial grievances, and not averse to airing them, yet who never allowed them to interfere much with his enjoyment of life and appreciation of its humorous side. His daughter inherited much of his character. From her early youth she was accustomed to regard him more in the light of a friend and companion than as a grave and reverend senior. All over Europe they roamed together in sympathetic companionship. The travellings gossiped over in the pages before us comprise three separate journeys in Europe and one through Egypt and Syria. All of them, Mrs. Symonds reminds us in a preface, over well-trodden ground now-a-days, but ground which thirty years ago afforded more interesting, though rather more fatiguing, experiences. Railways and Cook's steamers had not then, in Spain and on the Nile, quite supplanted the leisurely methods of more primitive travel. So these experiences of the past have perhaps a certain value of their own. The jogging caravan of mules is now, almost everywhere, a thing of the past; so is the old Spanish diligence with its twelve wild horses. There is a big

hotel at Luxor land, in Europe at least, the ubiquitous railway will, in a few more years, have made travelling everywhere exactly alike. With a view to indicating the scope and direction of the journeys of which a graphic account is given in the volume, we cannot do better than cite the Table of Contents, as follows :—

CHAPTER I.—In the Pyrenees and Spain, 1859-1860.

CHAPTER II.—Switzerland—Italy—Trieste—Pola—Fiume—Pesth—the Danube—Constantinople—Smyrna—Athens, 1861, 1862.

CHAPTER III.—Adriatic and Syria, 1865.

CHAPTER IV.—Egypt, 1865.

CHAPTER V.—Palestine and Syria, 1866.

CHAPTER VI.—In the Dolomite Alps, Austria, 1867.

CHAPTER VII.—Mentone and Sicily, 1869-1870.

CHAPTER VIII.—Syracuse and its Neighbourhood—Taormina, Monte Generoso, and Trafoi, 1870.

We shall not attempt to follow Miss North's eclectic course of travel and running commentary on its incidents ; but out of an abundance of plums therein imbedded, a couple will not be missed. One, European—

Both Florence and Rome are too full of art treasures ; one does not know what to see and what to leave unseen in a short time, so that one is kept in a perfect fever of excitement. I enjoyed more wandering with my father through the gardens, with their outdoor views, than over the buildings and galleries. At Rome he made friends with Gibson, and used to join him in his stroll round the Pincio before breakfast in the morning. Once Miss Raincock took me to see Gibson's young American pupil, Miss Hosmer, in a large unfurnished studio she had just taken, where she was preparing to make a portrait statue of some famous countryman, it was to be nine feet high, she said (looking herself like a small child) ; she had only one chair, which she gave me, as the stranger ; seating our old friend on the table, she mounted to the top of a high ladder herself, from whence she chattered and laughed with the happy air of one who is successful and sure to please. Miss Raincock had once received a note from Gibson,—“That poor American girl has fever, come and nurse her,” so she had packed up her old carpet-bag and gone at once to obey the order, thus forming a friendship for life.

One day we saw a grand mass in St. Peter's, during which the poor old Pope in vain tried to get a pinch of snuff ; no sooner had he got his fingers on his box than he was violently seized, and put into some gorgeous new raiment, and had to hide it up again : he never to the end succeeded, though he was infallible.

One apropos of a halt, at Grand Cairo.

Europeans seemed popular with the people, who liked showing off any words they knew, one poor man carrying wood outside the gates wished us *bona sera*, and chuckled to himself in the distance a long while afterwards ; their dark skins were very beautiful, and the silver rope bracelets and sham corals looked glorious on their polished arms, their wrists were so slender, and the gap left in their huge heavy bracelets, through which they slip them on, was perfectly impossible for European arms of average size ; they had great rings round their necks, and all sorts of jingles in their ears and from their noses, so that I could quite understand the delight of despoiling

CRITICAL NOTICES.

the Egyptians. I found picture subjects without end ; when a merchant left his stall he merely hung up a net over the front and no one thought of touching it, though all sorts of valuables might easily have been stolen ; many of the figures looked just like walking mummies and required no extra wrapping when they died, while the striped *abbaisks* when drawn over the head, made men look like sphinxes, the lines falling around it just in the same formal way.

I confess to having looked at Egyptian things from a purely picturesque point of view, and was scolded for this by the Cairo clergyman's wife : " Dear, dear, like all travellers, you wander hither and thither and see nothing with a proper object, every thing from a false point of view. I suppose you never considered that on the precise spot where those Mameluke tombs stand the Israelites made their bricks without straw ! " And her husband took us to the top of a hill and showed us the *very* stone on which Moses stood to count the Israelites as they passed out of Egypt !

At the last moment, yet one more extract proves irresistible ; its imports æsthetic, its moral suitable alike to far West and furthest East, to New England wooden-nutmeg maker and Heathen Chinese, as sung by Bret Harte :

We stopped to see the caves of Beni Hassan, and found cool air up amongst them. They are said to be very old, about as old as the Isaac of the Bible, and have simple Doric columns cut in the solid rock, possibly copied by the Greeks at Ægina and in the Parthenon ; the other columns are purely taken from the lotus. There are few sculptures, but much painting on the walls,—scenes of everyday life, such as a clever boy of ten might have painted, of games, of wrestling, running and even leap-frog, and the saying that " shams do not last " was proved untrue there, where one of the Doric pillars of limestone had actually been *painted* to look like red granite some 4000 years before ; the dates in Egypt quite suffocate one.

Historic Personality. By Francis Seymour Stevenson, M.P., London : Macmillan & Co. and New York. 1893.

MR. STEVENSON'S twelve essays treat of character and its characterisation, as revealed in history, diaries, memoirs, table-talk, portraiture, imaginative literature, &c. To the consideration of his subject the author brings classical training, erudition, and a healthily reflective habit of mind. His style is easy, unaffected, and attractive. It is true, for all time that the proper study of mankind is man and woman. Reading with judicious eye between the lines of their memoirs, letters, diaries, one may often discern more of real character, better comprehend the mind workings and the motives to action that influenced notable personages, than could the people who mixed in their society, and listened to their conversations. Very good friends, as the world goes, will, if men and women of the world, always be on their guard when conversing together in salons, or even when gossiping in boudoirs. And yet their ideas *must* in some wise win a vent. Diaries and letters charitably minister to their need, much as aforetime the

reeds by the river bank relieved Midas of the oppression of his secret. Studies such as Mr. Stevenson adumbrates and points the way to, are always fascinating for students of the inexhaustible book of human nature. We append a specimen of Mr. Stevenson's method and style, taken from an essay on *Letters* :—

There are few species of compositions in which women have attained to such a degree of excellence as in letter-writing ; and the reason is to be found in the fact that they possess in an eminent degree, the qualities which are most necessary for the purpose. Insight into character, intuitive sympathy, gracefulness and perspicuity of style, appreciation of detail, and lightness of touch, constitute the principal charm in correspondence, and fully atone for occasional rashness of judgment and want of ballast ; and it is not a matter for surprise, therefore, that the best letters should have been written by women, and, among them, by French-women. In Madame de Sévigné's letters, those merits are united in an unparalleled degree, though for wit they are surpassed by those of Madame du Deffand, and for ardour, by those of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse. They combine the finish of the *salon* with the balmy atmosphere of a morning in May. In our own language there is, perhaps, no correspondence equal to that of Lady Mary Wortley Montague for variety of interest, vividness of description, and brilliant vivacity of language. Writing to Lady Mar, in 1724, she challenges comparison between herself and the great French authoress in the following words : "The last pleasure that fell in my way was Madame Sévigné's letters : very pretty they are, but I assert, without the least vanity, that mine will be full as entertaining, forty years hence. I advise you, therefore, to put none of them to the use of waste paper." Lady Mary Wortley Montague has an adventitious advantage derived from the glamour of the Eastern scenes she so often and so well describes ; but it may be doubted whether, in spite of the admirable qualities of her writings, she possesses in the same degree as Madame de Sévigné, the faculty of making the most perfect art appear as fresh as if it had sprung from nature's own workshop. Leaving Madame de Sévigné, however, out of the comparison, there is probably no other writer who is equal to her in that particular branch of literature. In the present century, again, women play a highly important part in the epistolary sphere of activity. Even Paul Louis Courier must yield to Madame de Staël and to George Sand, and, great as is the interest which attaches to the correspondence of Thomas Carlyle, and strong as is the light it casts on his own personality, it may be questioned whether the letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle will not enjoy a yet longer span of literary life. Even the men who have excelled in correspondence, such as Cicero, Pliny, Rousseau, Walpole, Gray, Cowper, Byron, Shelley, Lamb, have generally had something feminine in their nature. Of letters it may be said, as of much else, *das ewig Weibliche zieht uns heran*.

The Churches of Paris, from Clovis to Charles X. By S. Sophia Beale. Author of "A Complete and Concise Handbook to the Museum of the Louvre," etc. With Illustrations by the Author, from original sketches, photographs and engravings. London W. H. Allen and Co. Limited, 13 Waterloo Place. S. W. 1893.

IN these days of steam and cheap travelling most Anglo-Indians "do" Paris at one time or another in the course of their service. To some of them Miss Beale's æsthetic Guide Book to the treasures and traditions of Lutetian Churches, should prove useful ; especially to those who have not too much time to spare for sight seeing, and would like—

to devote what they have to worthy pilgrimages, and sacrificings at the most eligible shrines of the beautiful and the antique. Miss Beale has taken pains with her work and gathered together a deal of quaint legendary lore which makes pleasant enough reading. She is radical in her political sympathies, but for all that strives to be just in her judgments on dead royalties and bygone aristocratic institutions. The engravings accompanying the letterpress are very unequal in quality, some of them good, some very blurred. We give a specimen of Miss Beale at her best. She is discoursing of the pictures at the Pantheon—M. Sainte-Genevieve as she prefers to call it.

Jeanne d'Arc is no more fortunate here than elsewhere ; it seems as if she were an impossibility in art. When one contemplates the number of painters, sculptors, poets, and musicians who have essayed her history and sung her praises, one is appalled by the results. One of the most sublime pages of history ; the finest character among heroines ; the grandest of women, of patriots, and of dreamers ; the most modest, the most saint-like, the most unselfish of warriors, *la Pucelle* seems to oppress everyone who tries to depict any scene from her life. Perhaps the greatest success of modern times is Frémiet's fine Renaissance statue in the Place des Pyramids. Very beautiful also is Bastien-Lepage's *Jeanne* as a whole ; but the figure does not possess the nobleness which one attaches to the militant maiden. Certainly M. Lenepveu's compositions form no exception to the general failure of Jeanne d'Arc. The maid is tied to the stake surrounded by a goodly assemblage of faggots ; one monk reads, another flings a cross into her hands as if the poor maid had objected to the cross ! Soldiers are all about, and old Rouen at the back is picturesque with its gabled houses, and the cathedral in the distance. A man is just seizing a torch, and you know the end is near ; but you are not impressed ; you either do not care, or you do not realise the horror. But it is popular with the populace, and so serves one purpose for which it was painted—that of pointing a moral of patriotism and unselfish devotion almost unique, but for the recent example of Garibaldi.

A Digest of Civil Law for the Punjab, chiefly based on the Customary Law as at present judicially ascertained. By W. H. Rattigan, LL. D. Allahabad : Printed at the Pioneer Press.

LAWYERS, and men who are aware what a sound lawyer Mr. Rattigan is, will not be surprised to hear, that his *Digest of Civil Law for the Punjab, chiefly based on the Customary Law as at present administered*, has reached a fourth edition. A first edition was critically examined in the *Calcutta Review* thirteen years ago, and the learning and research evidenced in its preparation were adverted to.

It is unnecessary now to say more than that the 1893 development of the work, has been carefully revised and annotated up to the end of March last, in the broad spirit of the author's chosen motto *Vix ulla lex fieri potest que omnibus commoda sit, sed si majori parti prospiciat utilis est.*

The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Edited with a Biographical Introduction by James Dykes Campbell:—London, Macmillan and Co., and New York, 1893.

IT is a very old story that poets (like marriages) are invented in heaven. Samuel Taylor Coleridge was gifted with poetical genius in a superlative degree, and deliberately postponed—almost, one might say, abandoned—his high vocation for indulgence in pursuit of chimæras of metaphysic, and the excursive dilettante cloud of words ordinarily begotten of such aberration. His life story affords an instance of unconscious abnegation of faculties unique probably in the history of modern literature—an irony of fate, regrettable exceedingly in the interests of posterity, for he was permeated with the poetic temperament to an extent vouchsafed to but few mortals. His ideals were always great and good and illimitably catholic. He was sympathetic with humanity—"to a fault," as literary Pitt Crawleys, might incline to say. Depths of human nature that find expression in tragedies not tinselled, as stage ones are, he had sounded. The domestic proprieties that are the be the all and end all of English home life, he had experience of, and knocked the bottom out of. He was not, as so many poets, from Pindar to Tennyson have been, deficient in the sense of humour. And with the grey matter, or whatever other constituent element it is in which brain power consists, he was remarkably well endowed. Mr. James Dykes Campbell has made careful study of his life and work, and in a biographical introduction to his new edition of the poet's verse sets forth clearly, and yet not unsympathetically, the defects (and worse) of his qualities. Hazlitt's was a hard, but none the less discerning saying, that Coleridge was capable of doing anything which did not present itself as a duty. Culpably weak, and too yielding in most respects he knew himself to be—and sought compensatory balance of self-esteem in affording proof of his ability to execute hard tasks, when the spirit moved him to them. He was unhappy in his relations with his wife, and more blame has been imputed to him on that score than he deserved. Foolishly careless over money matters, as far as he was personally concerned with them, he invariably showed himself studiously regardful of the interests of his wife and children. But from his wife he wanted sympathy, ability to appreciate his aims, take mutely helpful share in his aspirations. To the demand the—poor, fretful, jealous soul was unequal. The old story, older than Xantippe's conjugal joking together with Socrates, new as the latest edition of the life of Charles Dickens, or the melancholy sequences of Thomas Carlyle's love match.

Coleridge's poetical deliverances are better received than they

were when first cast as bread on the waters. Mr. Campbell has gathered together more of them than have ever before been printed together—too many of them. Crude flights attempted in his school days, might have been very well spared, *e. g.* idle immaturities of such sort as the following stanzas :—

<p>I On a given finite line Which must no way incline ; To describe an equi— —lateral Tri— —A, N, G, L, E. Now late A. B. Be the given line Which must no way incline ; The great Mathematician Makes this Requisition, That we describe an Equi— —lateral Tri— —angle on it : Aid us, Reason—aid us, Wit ! II From the centre A. at the distance A. B. Describe the circle B. C. D. At the distance B. A. from B. the centre</p>	<p>The round A. C. E. to describe boldly venture. (Third postulate sec.) And from the point C. 20 In which the circles make a pother Cutting and slashing one another, Bid the straight lines a journey— ing go. C. A. C. B. those lines will show. To the points, which by A. B. are reckon'd, And postulate the second For Authority ye know. A. B. C. Triumphant shall be An Equilateral Triangle, 30 Not Peter Pindar carp, nor Zoilus can wrangle.</p>
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William George Ward, and the Catholic Revival. By WILFRID WARD, author of "William George Ward, and the Oxford Movement." London : Macmillan & Co., and New York. 1893.

IN a book given to the world a few years ago,* Mr. Wilfrid Ward, reviewing his father's attitude towards the Oxford Movement, gave proof of ability and acumen ; in the much more difficult piece of work he has now brought to a conclusion, he has shown that such a son may write an honest account of the part played in the world by such a father, without offending against any of the canons of literary justice. "Ideal" Ward's character—"Socrates and Falstaff rolled into one," a candid friend once described it—lends itself graciously, it may be added, to affectionate and yet impartial treatment at friendly hands. *William George Ward, and the Catholic Revival* may be regarded as a continuation of *William George Ward, and the Oxford Movement* ; pourtrayment of logical developments in a mind essentially logical, constitutionally opposed to compromise. His contention was that the Church of Rome had preserved the reality of Church authority, and that in spite of its corruptions, it had retained the true ideal of a Church, which that of England had lost. "Her change," we find him writing to Dr. Pusey as early as 1841, "Her change seems to have been objective, ours (which seems a much more radical change) subjective. With all her corruptions, with all the toleration of a low

standard 'in the mass of men . . . she has always held up for the veneration of the faithful, the highest standards of holiness." Conscience, as well as intellect, shut Ward out from compromise: conscience, rather than intellect, he held to be the true guide in such religious inquiry as was at that time engaging attention at Oxford; yet we take it that, unconsciously to himself, it was the intellectual faculty in him that mainly determined the position he took up. He never shared the belief, entertained by Cardinal Wiseman and other Divines of the period, that Catholic England had, by virtue of re-division of the country into Papal Dioceses, with Bishops holding territorial Sees, "been restored to its orbit in the Ecclesiastical firmament." He had too profound a conviction of the anti-Roman temper of Englishmen to coincide with that view, and felt convinced that anti-papal bigotry was a necessary consequence of the traditions which Englishmen inherited. This conviction deepened with years: long years after the turmoil over the new Dioceses and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill had subsided, he wrote deliberately, "If I were a Protestant I could not bring myself to tolerate Catholics. Fancy if there were a body of Englishmen who followed obsequiously the Lord Mayor of London as a matter of conscience! And they think much worse of the Pope than I do of the Lord Mayor."

Ward was the first of the Oxford Tractarians to signalise the completeness of his conviction of the truth of the new Evangel by severing connection with the Anglican Communion and publicly professing allegiance to that of Rome. In so doing, he sacrificed much—old friends, associations that were dear to him, worldly position and prospects. He and his wife lived for some years in poverty. It was not till 1849 that he succeeded to the family property, and, what he seems to have valued a good deal more than the wealth, the courtesy title and county position accorded in bucolic districts to "The Squire." Here is an extract in point:—

He somewhat astonished the people of Cowes by the large number of "Popish Ecclesiastics" who visited him. Cardinal Wiseman, Father Faber, Father (afterwards Cardinal) Vaughan, and Monsignor (afterwards Cardinal) Howard were among his guests within six months of his arrival at Northwood. He found his way as often as he could to the other end of the island, with its breezy downs and lovely scenery. He often stayed for weeks in Freshwater. Here he not unfrequently met some of his old pupils, and enjoyed the confusion which arose between his theological capacity and his capacity of landlord. The island was, in those days, primitive in habits, and his desig-

"Dr. Ward," and was sent away with the assurance that no such person was staying there. "Doctor, me no doctor, Sir," Ward said to him when they met; "my foot is on my native heath, and my name is 'Squire Ward.'"

* "Campbell, me no Campbell, Sir; my foot is on my native heath, and my name is Macgregor!"—*Rob Roy*.

'Before becoming a squire, Mr. Ward had done good Catholic work for his day and generation, as a lecturer in Moral Philosophy and afterwards in Dogmatic Theology, at St. Edmund's College. For some years he edited the *Dublin Review*, and made it a formidable controversial organ. And by his correspondence with the Vatican, and with the Ultramontane party in France and Germany, acting as a medium for the intercommunication of ideas between Continental Catholicism and English, he ably served the Roman cause. As a recognition of his services Leo XIII. appointed him a *Commendatore* of the order of St. Gregory the Great.

Fifty years ago, Lord Macaulay expressed a hope that some future historian would trace the progress of the Catholic Revival of the 19th century. "No person," he added, "who calmly reflects on what within the last few years has passed in Spain, in Italy, in South America, in Ireland, in the Netherlands, in Prussia, even in France, can doubt that the power of this Church over the hearts and minds of men is now far greater than it was when the Encyclopædia and the Philosophical Dictionary appeared." Mr. Wilfrid Ward, on behalf of his book, disclaims any pretensions to its being considered as *history*; but suggests that one part of it may be regarded as a contribution towards a not unimportant chapter in such a history.

The share of the Catholic Church in the great transformation of Christendom which we are witnessing—a transformation which was initiated by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic war.—is a subject which no student of the times can pass over. That share was characterised by two tendencies among Catholics, which have become popularly known as the Ultramontane and the Liberal.* The one has been in the direction of organisation and centralisation among Catholics themselves, the other towards the adjustment of their thought and action to the conditions of modern times. The former was associated at its outset with such names as those of Joseph de Maistre and de Bonald in France, and Leopold Stolberg and Frederick Schlegel in Germany. The latter found its first definite expression in such men as Lacordaire and Montalembert. The two tendencies were at first quite compatible with each other. Indeed, the Liberal Catholic movement was in some sense an offshoot of modern Ultramontanism. As time went on, however, each of the two was carried to an extreme. Adaptation to an age of liberalism and progress tended towards disparagement of tradition and authority, and advocates of authority became excessive in their claims. Ultramontanism incurred the charge of narrowness and aggressiveness in such a writer as Louis Veuillot; and Liberalism, in such men as Döllinger and his followers, stood convicted of disloyalty to the Pope.

The acute collision between the two extreme parties in the eventful years preceding the Vatican Council, the comparative disappearance of both since then, and the subsequent renewal, in a more permanent form, of the combination of Ultramontanism with the endeavour to find a *modus vivendi* with modern thought and modern political conditions, make undoubtedly a turning-point in the history of contemporary Christian thought. In the events surrounding this crisis Mr. W. G. Ward took, both directly and indirectly, an active share. He represented in politics and theology the unqualified opposition to the extremes of Liberal Catholicism against which Pius IX's pontificate was a constant

* I say "popularly" because, as I elsewhere explain, the original and true meaning of the word Ultramontane is not identical with that which it has come to bear.

protest; and in philosophy his tendency was towards the fusion of Ultramontane loyalty, with a sympathetic assimilation of all that is valuable in contemporary thought, as the best means of purging it of what is dangerous. The history, then, of this crisis is naturally given in the story of his life.

Mr. Wilfrid Ward has executed with tact and judgment the task he set himself. Men interested in the subject will do well to consult his pages, and cannot fail to be interested by its lights and shadows. The general reader will prefer those more lively portions of the book treating of the social aspects of the man, his friendships with John Stuart Mill and Tennyson and other men of the world, his devotion to *opera bouffe*, anecdotes illustrative of his keen sense of humour, his *bon-homie*, &c. &c. There is a deal of this sort of thing interspersed through 462 pages of beautifully clear type.

Here is a typical extract from the book:—

I once asked him how much he had known of his father's first cousin, Sir Henry Ward, who had taken a very strong and effective line as Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. He replied quite gravely, "I only saw him twice—once as a boy, when he came to see my father; and then again I had an interview with him about a matter of business soon after I came into my property. We arranged at the end of it not to be on speaking terms;"—quite a superfluous arrangement, it may be added, as Sir Henry Ward lived at that time in Ceylon, of which he was Governor, and in fact never came again to England for a prolonged visit.

On one occasion the harmless nature of such estrangements was rather amusingly illustrated in the case of his brother Henry. They had been for a year or so on these terms, and one night they met at the Haymarket Theatre. Each of them had for the moment quite forgotten the quarrel, and friendly greetings passed and a talk about the play. Next morning came a letter from Henry Ward: "Dear William, in the hurry of the moment to-night I quite forgot that we had arranged to meet as strangers, and I write this lest you should misunderstand me, to say that I think we had better adhere to our arrangement; and I remain, dear William, your affectionate brother, Henry Ward." My father replied: "Dear Henry, I too had forgotten our arrangement. I agree with you that we had better keep to it; and I remain, your affectionate brother, W. G. Ward." With his brother Arthur, whom Cambridge men and cricketers remember, as for many years president of the University Cricket Club, and a well-known figure at Lord's, there was a similar arrangement for a time, but I do not think it lasted long.

A Short History of China—Being an Account for the general reader of an Ancient Empire and People. By Demetrius Charles Boulger, author of the "History of China," "England and Russia in Central Asia" &c. &c. London W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13 Waterloo Place, S. W. 1893.

CHINA is a big empire with big vistas of running to seed behind and in front of it. Mr. Demetrius Boulger has won his way to acceptance as historian of its dim past, and prophet of its portentous future. The book now before us is a second effort in this direction, and he is careful to premise that, though it contains only 419 pages, quarto, it is hot an abridgment of his larger History of China, but a new departure, entirely rewritten and re-arranged with the view of giving prominence to modern phases of history.

Having fellow feeling with Mr. Boulger in his repudiation of old word myths and the paramount importance of *fin de siècle* politics, as compared with study of the growth and vicissitudes of nations and national characteristics, we need say nothing about the first 107 pages of his work, in which account is rendered of antique history, up to a time roughly corresponding with that during which the Stuart family reigned in England, a time in which, in China, the Manchu dynasty was establishing itself on the throne. Here is a companion picture to those afforded by Oliver Cromwell's method of waging civil war. A rebel against the Government of the day—name and date not particularised—having proclaimed himself king of the West and signalised that assumption of title by atrocities to which the Bulgarian, even on Mr. Gladstone's showing, were but a flea-bite, orated to his army in these terms :—

"The province of Szchuen is no more than a mass of ruins and a vast desert. I have wished to signalise my vengeance, and at the same time to detach you from the wealth which it offered, in order that your ardour for the conquest of the Empire, which I have still every hope of attaining, should not flag. The execution of my project is easy, but one obstacle which might prevent or delay the conquest I meditate, disturbs my mind. An effeminate heart is not well suited to great enterprises; the only passion heroes should cherish, is that of glory. All of you have wives, and the greater number of you have several in your company. These women can only prove a source of embarrassment in camp, and especially during marches or other expeditions demanding celerity of movement. Have you any apprehension lest you should not find elsewhere wives as charming and as accomplished? In a very short time I promise you others who will give us every reason to congratulate ourselves for having made the sacrifice which I propose to you. Let us, therefore, get rid of the embarrassment which these women cause us. I feel that the only way for me to persuade you in this matter is by setting you an example. To-morrow, without further delay, I will lead my wives to the public parade. See that you are all present, and cause to be published, under most severe penalties, the order to all your soldiers to assemble there at the same time, each accompanied by his wives. The treatment I accord to mine shall be the general law."

When the assembly took place, Si Wang slew his wives *coram populo*, and his followers, seized with an extreme frenzy, followed his example. It is said that as many as 400,000 women were slain that day.

Chinese historians do not repudiate this atrocity; popular moralists have not reprobated its cordial acceptance at the hands of the rebel leader's followers: it was in truth but an object lesson in assertion of the dogma that *Might is Right*, such as is every day made familiar to the populace by the Board of Punishments, and the propriety of which it never enters into their callous hearts to question. After all possible allowance for the exaggerations incidental to Eastern figures have been granted, Western World apologists (if any are to be found) for this illustration of the trendings of national character would find attempt to whitewash it Herculean labour. Callous cruelty, practical negation of the claims of humanity, are distinctive traits in that national character, yesterday, to-day and for ever; racially derived, very little dependent on locali-

sation for their inherency. *Grattes le Russe, et vous trouverez le Tartare*, said Napoleon, experientially as well as epigrammatically. To a modified extent, owing to admixture of lazier strains of blood the animadversion applies to "the unspeakable Turk."

Students of Chinese history and the possible effect of its future chapters on European politics, will be helped towards comprehension of the situations involved by bearing in mind the nature and affinities of Tartarism. Mr. Boulger has not done so, and in so much, his work is defective.

"A short History of China" is, in effect, more of a political apologia on Tory lines of justification by faith, than a consistent record of events, and in that capacity is replete with account of the causations of the first and second foreign wars, opium controversies, diplomatic meddlings and muddlings, &c., &c., These, as being twenty dozen times told tales the interest in which has lapsed, we pass by. Here is something more definitive. Captain Elliott, the new Superintendent of Trade in the Factory at Canton, is represented as alternating concession with threats, and while vaunting the majesty of his sovereign, yielding to demands which were unreasonable and not to be endured.

At this juncture it happened that all the vague and innate objections of the Chinese Government to an extensive intercourse with foreigners who refused to be classed among tributary nations, took a more definite and pronounced cause for specific reasons. In the first place, the old Manchu dread of Europeans working on the latent feelings of hostility with which they believed that their Chinese subjects regarded them, had become intensified by the seditious movements throughout the Empire during Taoukwang's reign. In the second place, the drain of silver, as a necessary accompaniment of the foreign trade, had spread the liveliest alarm in official circles, which was not wholly unreasonable, seeing that the annual export was admitted to be three millions sterling. These facts were more alarming to the government than to the Chinese merchants, who showed an increasing eagerness to engage in what was undoubtedly the profitable foreign trade. With the view of arresting this tendency and inciting the public mind to make some demonstration against the trade with foreigners, it became necessary to denounce some special branch of that trade, and to introduce that moral aspect into the question which plays so large a part in Chinese life and politics. These considerations led to the first serious denunciation of the opium traffic. The balance of trade against China was the principal cause of the export of silver, and the balance of trade was only against China, through the increasing import of opium. Without acquiescing in the least with the strong allegations of the anti-opium party, there is no reason to doubt that the excessive use of opium, especially in a crowded city like Canton, was attended with sufficient mischief to justify its official denunciation. The Pekin Government may be so far credited with the honest intention to reduce the mischief and to prevent a bad habit from becoming more and more of a national vice, when they determined for far other reasons, to place it in the front of their trade against foreign trade generally. They soon found that it would be more convenient and more plausible to substitute the moral opposition to the opium traffic for the political disinclination to foreign intercourse in any form. They scarcely expected that in this project they would receive the assistance and co-operation of many of the Europeans themselves, who shared with them the opinion that opium was detestable, and its use or sale a mark of depravity.

They did so, however, the devil, even in China, not being always as black as he is painted; or, because nothing happens to professional politicians but the unforeseen, if our readers prefer that explanation. Apropos of a late snatch vote in the House of Commons and the current Exeter Hall crusade against opium, and Mr. Boulger's chapter on the 2nd Foreign War, Sir Henry Pottinger is worth quoting:

"I take this opportunity to advert to one important topic on which I have hitherto considered it right to preserve a rigid silence—I allude to the trade in opium; and I now unhesitatingly declare in this public manner that after the most unbiassed and careful observations I have become convinced during my stay in China that the alleged demoralising and debasing evils of opium have been and are vastly exaggerated. Like all other indulgences, excesses in its use are bad and reprehensible; but I have neither myself seen such vicious consequences as are frequently ascribed to it, nor have I been able to obtain authentic proofs or information of their existence. The great, and perhaps I might say sole, objection to the trade, looking at it morally and abstractedly, that I have discovered is, that it is at present contraband and prohibited by the laws of China, and therefore to be regretted and disavowed; but I have striven—and I hope with some prospect of eventual success—to bring about its legalization; and were that point once effected, I am of opinion that its most objectionable feature would be altogether removed. Even as it now exists, it appears to me to be unattended with a hundredth part of the debasement and misery which may be seen in our native country from the lamentable abuse of ardent spirits, and those who so sweepingly condemn the opium trade on that principle need not, I think, leave the shores of England to find a far greater and besetting evil."

We will quote Mr. Boulger, too, by way of a hark back to appreciation of the conduct of an irresponsible Government in the flowery land. He tells us that the ink on the Tientsin treaty was scarcely dry, before reasons began to be furnished against the sincerity of the Emperor and his desire for peace. Before the fleet left the Peiho, workmen were already engaged repairing and re-arming the Taku forts, and the morrow of Lord Elgin's departure from Hongkong, witnessed the revival of disturbances round Canton, where the new Imperial Commissioner Hwang, instead of seeking to restore harmony, had devoted himself to inciting the population to patriotic deeds in emulation of Commissioner Yeh. It was found necessary to take strenuous measures against the turbulent patriots of Kwantung, and to break up their main force in their strong and well-chosen position at Shektsin, which was accomplished by a vigorous attack both on land and water. The suspicion that the Chinese were not absolutely straightforward in their latest dealings with us, was confirmed by the discovery at Shektsin of secret Imperial edicts, breathing defiance to the foreigners and inciting the people to resistance. These and other facts warned the European authorities on the spot that there was no certainty that the Treaty of Tientsin would be ratified, or that a British envoy would be admitted into the capital for even the temporary business of a diplomatic ceremony. While people in Europe were assuming that the Chinese question might be

dismissed for twenty years, the English consuls and commanders in the treaty ports were preparing themselves for a fresh and more vigorous demonstration of Chinese hostility and animosity.

The portion of this short history to which the general reader, for whose benefit it has been produced, is likely to turn with most satisfaction, is that dealing with the Taeping Rebellion and the triumphs of General Gordon's "ever victorious" army, a judiciously compressed and yet complete enough epitome; the lesson of which is, that circumstance is not necessarily Fate, but that a *man*, when he knows exactly what he wants and is bold enough and strong enough to defy it, is master of the situation. An appendix, reprint of articles in the *Times* of 27th and 30th September, 1889, giving a summary description of how China is governed," should be useful to the general reader.

Leaves from a Sportsman's Diary. By Parker Gillmore, "*Ubique*"
London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S.W.
1893.

THESE clippings from a diary kept in many lands, form a collection of "wrinkles" and memoranda on matters connected with sport, natural history, and the hunter's equipments that is sure to find favour with St. Hubert's devotees. *Ubique's* practical experiences in a field he has made his own, have been manifold, and entitle his dicta to respect. He has shot tigers in India, lions in Africa, grisly bears in America, smaller game, one may say broadly everywhere. And he has always cultivated an open eye for other aids to happiness besides sport, for zoology, landscapes, the mechanism of firearms, &c.—unbendings from the paramount excellence of straight shooting that enhance the value of his essays; a marked feature in which is impartiality. Let the following passage from one entitled Bears and Beavers bear witness to it:—

It appears to me almost heresy in a Scotchman to say that anything can excel the beauty of the colour of Caledonia's mountains, when covered with blooming heather, but regardless of consequences, and of even being thought unworthy of my Fatherland, I fearlessly assert, that the unprejudiced eye will see more grandeur of colouring, and more perfect blending of tones in a Canadian forest, in the early part of the fall of the year, than will be found in any glen or ravine in the highlands of bonny Scotland.

On the vexed question of claw or no claw to the lion's tail judgment is in favour of the noes, although the judge holds that "the tuft of black hair which forms the extremity has its use, *viz.*, to protect the termination of the tail from an excess of violence;" which is probably the reason why the devil has the termination of *his* tail painted pea-green. Rash assertion of racial difference between leopards and panthers. is thus disposed of:—

Why this distinction? for I have ever upheld, and do uphold, the conviction that leopard and panther are synonymous terms, and mean identically the same species. For a long period I have tried to instil this belief, but it is only within the last year or two that my labour has produced any results. I see that great Nimrod, Sir Samuel Baker, has come to my way of thinking, for in his new book, there is a picture of one of these creatures crouching, with a line of explanation underneath, "The leopard, or panther, always wary."

Appropos of ivory and differentiation between African and Indian Elephants, it is written:—

It is a great mistake to think that the largest elephants produce the heaviest tusks, for such is not the case. Tho loftiest elephants propably in the world were to be found, a few years back, on the banks of the Limpopo. Livingstone speaks of one he saw there, and measured, after its death, which exceeded 12 ft. in height, and I am certain that I have seen several that were not far from that enormous stature. Now an Indian elephant that measures 10 ft. 2 in. is a very big specimen of its species. Jung Bahadoor is said to have had one that stood 10 ft. 6 in. Roughly speaking, therefore, the reader can calculate that there is a difference of five or six hands in the height of the respective breeds, as much difference, say, as between a twelve-hand pony and an eighteen-hand horse. The observer who has seen representatives of the two breeds side by side will be struck with amazement.

Ubique recognises a morality that should shape the sportsman's aim even in big game shooting, and in a preface to his "Leaves" protests in these terms against battues.

Although it will be learnt that I have made heavy bags, I have never done so unless the game could be utilised as food; for unnecessary slaughter, to my ideas, is one of the greatest wickednesses that the human family can be guilty of. I wish, therefore, that my countrymen would think as I do on this point, when fortune or inclination places them in the great natural preserves of the Universe.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Rajastnha. A Historical Novel. By Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjea. Hare Press, Calcutta.

COLONEL Tod was a great admirer of Rajput character, and his admiration deepened into enthusiasm, when, by the third quarter of the 17th century, the little hill State of Mewar defied, for the fourth time, the power of the Emperors of Hindustan. Under the leadership of Rana Rajsingha, the Rajputs made war against the mightiest monarch of the time, the Emperor Aurangzib, gave him no rest for four years, and at last made him accept peace on their own terms. This is the most glorious chapter in the History of Rajputana, though, in Mahomedan histories, and in English works based on them, we find very little mention of the events of this Rajput war. Orme and Colonel Tod give full details of these wars and the Rajputs still glory in their result.

Such an important event in the martial history of the Hindus cannot fail to attract the attention of the novelists of Bengal, who have been, for the last 20 years, ransacking every corner of the History of India for great events that would redound to the glorification of the Hindu race, and Babu Bankim Chandra, the best of the Bengali novelists of the day, took up the Moghul wars in Mewar in Aurangzib's time for the subject of one of his novels. His first effort proved, however, a failure. The work was short and it came to an abrupt close. Critics looked upon "*Rajsinha*," as one of his least successful efforts. Recently, however, the author has made an attempt to retrieve his reputation, and this time with very great success. Retiring from the public service, he devoted the best powers of his mind to the improvement of "*Rajsinha*," and making it one of the greatest works which an educated Hindu can read with pride and pleasure.

The groups of characters that attract the attention of the reader in this work are, first, *Rajsinha*, his queen and his comrades, and second, Aurangzib, and the *begums* of his celebrated seraglio, the *Rangmahal*. The groups have been painted in distinct colours, and one can distinguish one character from another without any difficulty. Babu Bankim Chandra's *Rajsinha*, *Chanchal Kumari*, *Nirmal Kumari*, alias *Inli Begum*, *Maniklal*, *Mabarak*, *Udipuri*, *Zebinnesa*, and last, though not the least, the Emperor Aurangzib himself, are distinct personalities with distinctive characteristic features painted in bold outlines.

The character of Aurangzib shows all the distinguishing

features of a Moghul sovereign—extreme licentiousness coupled with generous sentiments of a high order, which, though dormant in the case of Aurangzib, come out in the presence of bold and generous characters. His confession of love to the intrepid Rajput lady, who entered his seraglio as a spy and an enemy, and made no secret of it, and his generous resolution to let her return to her home untarnished, show that Aurangzib, hypocrite that he was, was not altogether devoid of those generous sentiments which endear Babar and Akbar to the reader. It was a pity that Aurangzib did not get the company of such courageous men and women at Delhi. There his will was law, and there was not a single soul either in his court or in his harem, who could say “no” to anything he did or wished. With the exception of such rare intervals as that in which he was confronted with *Imli Begum*, Aurangzib was cruel, suspicious, hypocritical, and intensely selfish, the very qualities in a monarch which presage the downfall of a great dynasty. Once during the war he was hemmed in on two sides by mountains in a narrow defile, with the ends of the defile blocked up with great cleverness by the Rajputs. In this situation he was dying of starvation with the whole of his army, without any hope of succour from any quarter. Reduced to extremity, he did not scruple to appeal to the generosity of the Rajput girl, *Nirmal Kumari*, who did everything in her power to relieve his distress; and her generous sentiment found an echo in every Rajput heart, and notably in that of the great Rajsinha, who not only let the Moghul off from his perilous situation, but amply supplied him with provisions. But how did Aurangzib reward that generosity? As soon as he was out of danger's reach, he declared the terms of the capitulation null and void, because there could be no treaty with the *Kafir* and, to add insult to injury, from his peacock throne in the great camp he ordered every Moghul to kill cows, desecrate temples, and exact the *zizia* from the whole of the Mewar state, acts of oppression against which the Rajputs were still fighting. The consequence of this ungenerous action was the almost total annihilation of four Moghul armies, and the acceptance of a humiliating peace four years later; and more than this, this action really shook the foundations of the Moghul Empire, because henceforward no one dared to put faith in the great Moghul.

It is a relief to turn from such a repulsive character to Rajsinha, the bold, the generous, the intrepid soldier and skilful general and astute politician. While engaged in a hunting expedition in the company of one hundred chosen Rajputs, he gets, by accident, an appeal from a noble Rajput lady for help against the great Moghul, who wants to take her against her will to his

seraglio at Delhi. Her father, a petty chief, has not the power to resist the Great Moghul, and even thinks of making the match a source of influence at the Moghul Court. The lady in her distress appeals to the Rana, and no time is to be lost, because the Moghul escorts are already at Rûpnagar, the capital of the girl's father. The Rana loses no time, does not bestow a second thought on the subject, but tells his men that they should prepare themselves for a perilous game, and at once goes and conceals himself in ambuscade at the side of a mountain defile. They succeed in carrying the girl off and thereby incur the displeasure of the Great Moghul. But they could not help it. They knew the risk, and they had resolved either to win or to die. Fortune smiles on them and they win. A small handful of men succeed against the immense hordes of the Moghul, backed by the resources of a great Empire.

All this is history, and the charm of the novel lies only in the painting of character and the description and manipulation of scenes and surroundings. The introduction of Aurangzib at the gate of the seraglio is masterly. The first appearance of the great Monarch in his *Am darbar*, surrounded by his Omrahas, is really imposing. But every Moghul Emperor held Darbars, and there is nothing new. We next find the Emperor at the gate of the seraglio alone at midnight, and watching. This is perfectly in consonance with his suspicious character. The Khauja who was conducting Nirmal Kumari startles at the sight of his white beard and flies away, and Nirmal is caught. The Emperor eyes her with suspicion and cross examines her closely. The Rajput girl, nothing daunted by the mighty presence, gives him no information which he can make use of. Such scenes abound in the work and are sure to be admired and appreciated.

• But there are two, or three characters which are Bankim's own, and it is these which shew his genius to the utmost advantage. We will say nothing of Udipuri, the Georgian slave girl, who was transferred from the seraglio of Darasheko to that of the present Emperor. She is a drunken slut, without the least spark of any high sentiment. Her only recommendation is her beauty, for which every Georgian girl is famous, and she is the presiding deity in Aurangzib's narrow and ungenerous heart, and is the cause of much of his misfortune.

Zebunnesa is another creation of the author's powerful imagination. She is every inch a Shahajâdi,—Emperor's daughter. She lords it over the whole *Rangmahal*, and indeed, the whole Moghul Empire. Her will there is none to resist. In her pride and in her arrogance she considers herself superior to other human beings, and thinks that she is not amenable to the miseries and sufferings of human nature. But when we

see this very proud soul falling at the feet of the Mewar Ráni for a second interview with her lover, consents to marry him, and at last celebrates her nuptials with him, a Moghul soldier of fortune, we cannot help admiring the genius of the writer who can show us such transformations, such mighty changes in the human heart, and who has such a deep insight into human nature.

But the most glorious creation in this work, so rich in poetical fancies and embellishments, is the Rajput lady, Nirmal Kumari, the impersonation of all that is noble, bold and good. She has a tender feeling for every human being, for her dear friend Chanchal, as well as for the great object of her hatred—the Moghul Emperor. She is born to do good to others at any risk : at the risk of life, of property and indeed of every earthly possession save honor. Aurangzib threatens her with torture, starvation, loss of religion, and even loss of caste, but fails to make any impression on her. He coaxes her, tempts her, proposes to marry her, but with no better success. She knows her business, and nothing can divert her attention from that. She is firm and resolute in prosperity, but she is the guardian angel of the weak and the suffering. Such characters are rare even in the best works of fiction, and their creation is the work of a great genius in its full maturity.

Hindu Shástra, Parts I, II, and III. Calcutta, printed at the Elm Press, 29 Beadon Street, and published by S. K. Lahiri, 54, College Street, Calcutta.

THE religious literature of the Hindus is vast and varied, and there is in it a great deal in which the general reader will not find of much interest. There is, therefore, some necessity for selection and abridgment. This necessity has long been felt, and attempts have often been made on a small scale to meet the requirements of the times, with varied success. But no one took up the subject in earnest till last year, when Mr. R. C. Datta furnished a scheme for the publication of the Hindu Shástras in eight volumes, embracing the whole body of the religious and philosophical literature of the Hindus, written in Sanskrit, and some of the best scholars of the time agreed to contribute their quota. The first three parts are to contain the substance of the whole of the Vedic literature, the fourth that of the Smritis, the fifth that of the six Schools of Philosophy, the sixth, the Rámáyana, the seventh, the Mahábhárata and the eighth, the Puránas. The names of the various scholars who have promised to write on the different subjects are a guarantee that the work will be well done. Most of them are specialists in the subjects on which they will write.

The first collaborateur of Mr. R. C. Datta to take the field is

the old veteran Pandit, Satyavrata Sámas'rami, at this moment, the best Vedic scholar in India. He appears to have set himself to work with some enthusiasm, as it was calculated to diffuse Vedic knowledge—an object, for which he has worked without intermission all his life, now editing Vedic works for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, now translating big Vedic works at his own risk, and now starting Vedic journals to rescue from oblivion short works on Vedic grammar, orthography, philology and sacrifices. Such is the earnest scholar who promised help to Mr. R. C. Datta, and he has fully discharged his obligations by issuing all the three parts in the course of 12 months from the inception of the scheme, and the works fully sustain the reputation of Pandit Sámas'rami. In the short compass of about 250 pages have been given interesting extracts from almost all the various classes of Vedic works, the Samhitas, the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, the Upanishads, and the three divisions of sacrificial aphorisms. These throw much light on the private and public life of the Indian Aryans, their faith, belief and conduct, their laws, regulations and politics, and their knowledge, education and learning. The information given about the countries inhabited by the Aryans at different periods of their colonization is exceedingly interesting. The geographical information given in the Rig Veda is confined to the Punjab and its near neighbourhood eastward and westward. The Sindhumatá is said to be the first and the Sarasvati the seventh of the seven sacted rivers of the Rig Veda. The Aryans were in those days principally settled in the land watered by these seven rivers. But at the time when Baudháyana wrote his Sutras, about 800 years before Christ, as conjectured by the Vienna orientalists, the principal settlement was Aryavarta which is practically the same as Hindustan as defined by the Musalmans. Magadha (Behar), Avanti (Malwa) Saurashtra (Gujrat), Dakshin (Deccan), Upávrít (Konkan ?), Sindhu and Sauvira (Sindh, Multan and Western Rajputaná) were inhabited by mixed races, while travelling in countries beyond these, such as Bengal, Kalinga &c., was prohibited under the penalty of performing some expiatory ceremonies. In large works on *Smriti*, composed during the last centuries of Hindu dominion in India, there is always a chapter, a big one, too—on the subject of the purity of Brahmans according to their residence, and Baudháyana is the chief Vedic authority that is relied upon.

Mr. R. C. Datta is very cautious in fixing the date of the composition and compilation of the Rig-Veda in this work. In his Bengali work on the History of India, he fixed the date of the Aryan Immigration, i.e., the date of the composition of the Rig-Veda, at about 4,000 years before Christ, and in his English

work on the same subject, he fixed it at 2,000 B.C. But better counsel seems to have since prevailed with him. In the present work, he does not give any date at all, but leaves the reader to draw his own inference from such facts as these:—The Aitareya Brahmana, the next work, in point of antiquity, to the Rig-Veda, mentions the division of the Rig-Veda into Mandalas, Suktas and Richas, which division is exactly the same as at the present day. Experience has made Mr. Datta cautious, and it is hoped that not only he, but the whole Bengali community will profit by his experience and the maturity of his scholarship, for he is perhaps the only gentleman who has earnestly and enthusiastically taken up the work of thoroughly educating his co-religionists in the literature of their religion.

Memoir of Professor Tāradāth Tarkavāchaspati and Progress of Sanskrit Learning. By Tāradhan Tarkabhūshan. Calcutta, Printed and published by K. C. Datta at the Brahmo Mission Press, 211 Cornwallis Street, 1893.

THERE are pessimists who take a desponding view of Bengali literature, and a high educational officer some years ago reported that English education had not in any way influenced the literature of the country. Poetry, he said, they had, and poetry they write. This is, however, not the case. For the development of a prose literature in the vernaculars, India is indebted solely to Western education, Western influence and Western culture. In prose, again, the different provinces have developed different branches of literature. Bombay and the Punjab have developed a historical literature that will not lose much in comparison with the historical literature of Europe in the eighteenth century. The North Western Provinces and the Punjab abound in polemical works of great value. Madras is busy publishing the *Māhātmyas* of various holy places in prose. Even backward Assam is writing history in prose. The works of fiction written in Bengali prose are numerous and valuable. And all the various Provinces have developed a biographical literature of the greatest importance. All this is owing entirely to the influence of English education, for, in spite of the greatest care and anxiety bestowed in the search, the gentleman in charge of the conservation of ancient MS. has not been able to lay his hand on more than one prose work written before the British rule, and that work bears on the learned subject of Hindu rituals for the use of Sanskrit scholars only.

The Biographies in the modern vernaculars are written in prose, and it is a sign of the times that the Hindus, the great worshippers of the powers of nature, have come down to objects of terrestrial interest, and have begun to admire and study the great men of their own country, and even of their

own times.' The account of Tāránáth Tarkaváchaspati, one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of the nineteenth century, written by one of his nearest relatives, deserves a careful study. For Tāránáth was not only a great scholar, but was one of the greatest men in practical work. While lecturing in the Sanskrit College on the abstruse subjects of Hindu astronomy, Sanskrit grammar, and the six different Schools of Philosophy, he was carrying on an extensive trade in cotton fabrics, jewellery, husking rice, in far off Culna and Birbhúm, and cultivating thousands of acres of land in Western Bengal, where cultivation ends and jungle begins. His literary occupations multiplied and he had to give up trade, but the commercial instinct latent in him, led him to open the business of publishing Sanskrit works which proved exceedingly profitable. Brahmans, as a rule, are noted for their thirst for knowledge, and Tāránáth was most conspicuous among them. After finishing his education in all the branches of Sanskrit Literature then taught in the Sanskrit College and obtaining the highest rewards and certificates, when others were anxious to pass the Law Committee Examination, and become judge pandits, who in those days used to expound Hindu law to the judicial officers of Districts, Tāránáth left Calcutta for Benares, studied there for a number of years and became an adept in Pánini's grammar and Vedanta subjects, in which he was regarded as an authority all his life. His commentary on Pánini is regarded as a work of authority. To speak of all his literary works would exceed the limit of a short critical notice. The Váchaspatya is the greatest monument of Tāránáth's scholarship. Encyclopædias have been, and are being written in other countries, but a large number of specialists work on them for a long series of years under State or other patronage. But the great Sanskrit encyclopædia is the work of Tāránáth—alone and single-handed. It took him eighteen years of hard work, and cost him 80,000 Rupees. This hard work undermined his constitution, and he breathed his last shortly after the completion of the work. The secret of Tāránáth's success was that he never wasted time. The people of Calcutta will remember how Tāránáth used to walk to and back from College, proof sheets in hand, correcting printing mistakes as he went. He used to chew an immense quantity of betelnuts and to take a large quantity of snuff every day. With the exception of these two he contracted no evil habits to the end of his days, and, following the custom of high caste Brahman, he used to cook his own food, and was always satisfied with one meal a day. He had many detractors during his lifetime and he still has many, but Bengal will always regard him as one of the best of her children during the Nineteenth century.

Shri Amiya Nimai Charit Atkāt Sri Gaurāṅga Prabhuṛ Līlā Barnan. By Babu Shishir Kumār Ghosh, Part II. Calcutta, Printed and Published at Smith and Company's Press.

EARLY in the sixteenth century Nadia, the last Hindu capital of Bengal produced the greatest of Bengal Reformers. He is known by various names. Europeans know him by the name Chaitanya, and that is the name by which he is known outside Bengal. Since his death, or, as his followers fondly call it, disappearance, various works have been written, giving an account of his life and doctrines. The first of these is the Chaitanya Bhāgavata by Vrindāvana Dās, who is regarded as the *Vyāsa* of the Chaitanya Incarnation, *i. e.* as *Vyāsa* described the events of Krishna's life, so did Vrindāvan that of Chaitanya's life. The second is the great work of Krishnadās Kavirāja, more philosophic perhaps than many professed works on Chaitanyaite philosophy. The third is that of Lochan Dās, known for its exquisite poetry and charming melody. Any first-class poet would be proud of such an excellent composition. The fourth, that of Chūrāmani Dās, written more than a century after Chaitanya's death, is a new acquisition to the republic of letters—one of the first fruits of the search for Bengali MSS. But all these works were written long ago, when Chaitanya and his achievements were fresh in the memory of men, and perhaps when many of his immediate followers were still living. Many things which were intelligible then, have since become obscure. Many allusions have been altogether forgotten, and many traditions lost. Commentaries have, indeed, been written on one or two works, but they are not enough.

With the revival of ancient learning under the benign influence of English education, a change has come over the spirit of Chaitanyaism. Many educated Bengali gentlemen have taken to the study of Chaitanya literature, but their interest in that literature is purely literary and æsthetic. One of these gentlemen wrote a big work on Chaitanya and his followers. He was a Brahmo, poor soul, now no more. He has been torn away from his friends at the early age of thirty-six. His work will be always popular with the general reader. He gives the narrative of Chaitanya's life in an engaging style and in an appreciative spirit. He gives new meanings to many of the mysterious verses in the works of the early biographers. On various occasions he supplies the missing links in the chain of the narrative.

But there is another class of educated men who have become followers of Chaitanya from a conviction that his doctrines are the best for the amelioration of the condition of suffering humanity, both in this world and in the world to come. One of

these gentlemen is Babu Shishir Kumār Ghosh, the editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. From his early childhood he has been a follower of Chaitanya. He has studied Chaitanya literature, not as a student of art or of history, but as a devoted follower. He knows much of the Chaitanyaite tradition which is a sealed book to others. He has access to many private collections of Chaitanya's works which are inaccessible to others, and, above all, he has associated all his life with distinguished Chaitanyaite. Chaitanyaism is still a living religion. The descendants of many of Chaitanya's disciples are still living, and preserving the memory of the deeds of their illustrious ancestors. Many *dhāras*, or monasteries, preserve throughout the country the traditions of noted events in the history of Chaitanyaism. In fact, the country is exactly in the same position in respect to Chaitanyaism as it was in respect to Buddhism when Hioung Tshang was in India twelve hundred years ago, or perhaps in a better condition, for Chaitanya and his followers lived at a time when Muhammadan influence had infused a historical spirit in the nation which was wholly lacking in the seventh century. With these advantages at his command, Babu Shishir Kumār is perhaps in the best position to give to his countrymen an intelligible account of Chaitanya. This Shishir Kumār has done, and he has done more. He has attempted, and with remarkable success, to give a fair idea of Chaitanya's doctrine of love. To quote the author's own words in the preface to his second volume. —

অতএব আমি ভক্তির কাণ্ড সংক্ষেপে লিখিয়া প্রেমের কাণ্ড বিস্তার করিবার চেষ্টা করিয়াছি। সেই প্রেম হিল্লোল, আমার যথাসাধা বর্ণনা, পাঠক দ্বিতীয় খণ্ডের কয়েক অধ্যায় পরে পাইবেন।
জীবগণ সেই তরঙ্গে সাঁতার দিবেন এই আমার বাসনা ॥

"Therefore I have abridged the portion in which *bhakti* or spirit of devotion plays a prominent part. And I have attempted to dwell more largely on the portion dealing with love. The reader will find the description of the waves of that love as far as my humble powers would permit, in the second volume, after a few chapters from the beginning. And it is my heart's wish that living creatures would swim on these waves!!" Chaitanya's love for living creatures knew no bounds. Some European scholars have pronounced him a half maniac, and so he was. He used to wash the feet of Vaishnavas, and always by word and deed showed that he thought himself less important even than a blade of grass, and more patient than a tree, had no overweening sense of self-respect and was always full of respect for others. . .

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